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From Mines to Native Jewelry Markets:

Unravelling the Settler Political Economy of Turquoise

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in Gender Studies

by

Kristen Barbara Dorsey

2026

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2026

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

From Mines to Native Jewelry Markets:

Unravelling the Settler Political Economy of Turquoise

by

Kristen Barbara Dorsey

Doctor of Philosophy in Gender Studies

University of California, Los Angeles, 2026

Professor Nancy Marie Mithlo, Chair

Professor Shannon Speed, Co-Chair

This thesis is an inquiry into turquoise, a mineral primarily used as a gemstone in jewelry, and one of many different significant materials used in Southwestern Native American cultures and traditions. Despite the diversity of Native jewelry form and materials, jewelry set with turquoise generally overshadows other types of Native-made jewelry as a coveted and collected object for non-Native consumers. This thesis examines settler desires for turquoise mined from Native homelands through time, starting with the territorial New Mexico colonial political economy of turquoise mining in the 19th century in which settler men attempted to construct a narrative that Native turquoise mines had been abandoned. The mineral is also collected for Victorian curio cabinets and displayed on the bodies of white settler women for whom the gem becomes their connection to dead Native sisters of the female settler imaginary.

The mineral discussed in this thesis has saturated the Southwest Native American jewelry market for over a century.

Today, Native jewelers navigate the enduring settler capitalist structure of the turquoise economy, where white mine owners control access to the uncut gem, and where commodified gems as jewelry function as they have since the 19th century as markers of a culture deemed to be of the past. The story of turquoise is the continuing story of Native dispossession: the theft of Native land and resources and the confinement of Natives to anachronistic space and time. It is also the story of refusal and Native contestation of the story of their disappearance and confinement to prehistory. Gender is central to this quintessential story of dispossession and settler capitalism. From the masculine settler subjects who claim the mines, to the white male ethnographers, to the white settler women who narrate and lend content to the imaginary story of the vanishing Indian and her fantasy of dead turquoise-wearing Native sisters, turquoise proves essential to the making of colonial subjectivities.

When Native jewelers sell their turquoise creations in the Santa Fe jewelry market, they must navigate a colonial field of white mine owners and the trading post histories that mark Native labor, creativity, and jewelry as colonial commodities. Gender is central to how these colonial fields can be traversed. If the story of turquoise is the quintessential colonial story of theft and extraction in the Americas and elsewhere, in the Southwestern United States, the story reveals how a single mineral is extracted and commodified into an innocent gem that masks the story of conquest and dispossession. Transformed from a sacred object into an aesthetic object, turquoise tells the story of settler colonialism, revealing the specific gendered procedures and mythologies of settler property regimes in the Southwest.

The dissertation of Kristen Barbara Dorsey is approved.

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University of California, Los Angeles

2026

DEDICATION

I extend deep gratitude to my advisors Nancy Marie Mithlo and Shannon Speed, whose encouragement and mentorship profoundly shaped me as a scholar, as well my other dissertation committee members, Sherene Razack and Alex Flynn who provided invaluable and generous engagement with my work. I am also grateful for the opportunity to learn from the expertise of gender studies and American Indian studies professors including Joshua Javier Guzmán, Elizabeth Marchant, Uri McMillan, Sarah Roberts, and Desi Small-Rodriguez.

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you all as we dream and build creative and innovative Native futures through the arts. I am also shaped by the mentorship and friendships within my Chickasaw Nation community of artists, scholars, and cultural knowledge keepers including Joanna Underwood-Blackburn, Nashoba Tobi (Evelyn Thomas), Lokosh Joshua Hinson, heather ahtone, Traci Morris, Margaret Roach-Wheeler, and LaDonna Brown.

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VITA

Kristen Dorsey is an interdisciplinary scholar in gender studies, Indigenous studies, and Native art studies whose research examines and critiques settler colonial political economies from an Indigenous feminist lens. At UCLA, Dorsey is a Eugene Cota-Robles scholar and her dissertation research has been supported by the UCLA American Indian Studies Center, the UCLA Institute for American Cultures, and the UCLA Center for the Study of Women. Dorsey is an enrolled citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, and before entering her PhD program, she was a nationally exhibited jeweler and sculptor whose artistic practice led her toward curatorial work. She co-curated *Future Imaginaries: Art, Fashion, Technology* at the Autry Museum of the American West, the traveling exhibit *Visual Voices: Contemporary Chickasaw Art* for the Chickasaw Nation, and *Matriarchs* for the El Segundo Museum of Art. Dorsey received a BA in American Studies from Tufts University, and a BFA from the School of the Museum of Fine Arts at Tufts.

PUBLICATIONS

Journal Articles

Dorsey, Kristen. "Darkness, Land, and Capitalism: An Indigenous Critique of Darkness Retreat Center Website Marketing." Submitted to *Folk, Knowledge, Place*, 2, no. 2 (2025): 111-138. <https://doi.org/10.24043/001c.147884>.

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Dorsey, Kristen. "The Land Under the Plinth Los Angeles, California: Field Perspective." In Monument Lab: Re: Generation, edited by Sue Mobley and Paul Farber. Temple University Press, January 2, 2026.

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Robe B., Amber-Dawn, Dorsey, K., Newman-Fricke, S., and Scott, A., "Future Imaginaries: A Curatorial Conversation," In Future Imaginaries: Indigenous Art, Fashion, Technology. An Autry Museum of the American West exhibit and catalog funded under the Getty Foundation's 2024 Pacific Standard Time: Art x Science x L.A., 2024.

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Public Writing/Magazines

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Dorsey, Kristen. "Defying Labels." Native Peoples Magazine, July/August 2016.

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INTRODUCTION

Preface: Becoming Turquoise

August 2017, Santa Fe Indian Market, Santa Fe, New Mexico: The annual Santa Fe Indian market is bustling with crowds, slowly winding their way through booth-lined streets, occasionally pausing to eye displays of pottery, jewelry, textiles, photography, paintings, and sculpture for sale by Native artists, a majority of them from Southwestern tribal Nations, and a smaller percentage from tribes outside of the Southwest like mine.¹ Possibly overshadowing the artwork are the sartorial ensembles of both Native and Non-Native market attendees which compel the crowd's gaze. The Indian market is a place to see and be seen, so much so that the fashion magazine *Vogue* publishes street style photo essays featuring outfits of fashionable Native attendees.² For some non-Native market tourists, heavy silver and turquoise jewelry is the preferred accessory to showcase over costumey "Southwestern-style" clothing, typically vests, billowy blouses, and even fringed buckskins.

¹ The primary, most lucrative sales opportunity for many Native American jewelry artists is arguably the Santa Fe Indian Market. Each August, 1,000 Indigenous artists show their work at the Santa Fe Indian Market, a juried market for Native American artists organized by the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts since 1922. The weekend of art events and market draws over 100,000 tourists and Native art collectors who fly in from other states or countries to attend the show. As a jeweler and a citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, I exhibited and sold my jewelry for many years at "Indian Market." "Santa Fe Indian Market," Southwestern Association for Indian Arts, accessed May 18, 2022, <https://www.santafe.org/shopping/shopping-around-town/markets/indian-market/>.

² Christian Allaire, "Indigenous Creativity Shone at the 101st Santa Fe Indian Market," *Vogue*, August 23, 2023, <https://www.vogue.com/article/santa-fe-indian-market-2023-street-style-designers2023-street-style-designers>.; Travels with Darley, "Bright Colors & Bling, Turquoise & Tiaras, Fashion at Santa Fe Indian Market," Facebook, August 22, 2024, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=2592545380930762>.

After years of people-watching from my own booth, I thought I had seen every type of eccentric Southwestern fashion, when a woman slowly walked by my booth, encrusted in layers upon layers of turquoise-laden cuffs, necklaces, and rings on every finger tipped in turquoise painted nails. Her flowy skirt, the color of turquoise. Her cotton shirt, printed in paisley swirls of turquoise. Like many others in the crowd, she was passionate about turquoise. Yet, it was her lips, applied with a swipe of lipstick in a shockingly bright turquoise hue, that pierced my normally polite composure, leaving my jaw hanging wide open momentarily. Head to toe, she *was* the color turquoise, as if she wanted to *become* the gemstone herself. She kept walking after assessing that I had no turquoise for sale.

Unlike most of the jewelry for sale at Indian Market, my work is not set with turquoise, an intentional choice because throughout my jewelry career I attempted to dispel the predominantly held belief that Native jewelry is only made from turquoise and silver. My designs drew from my own tribal nation, the Chickasaw Nation's adornment practices. Out of respect for my jewelry colleagues from the southwest, I left turquoise work to them, opting for materials like pearls, and copper, that connect to the Chickasaw Nation's Homeland-sourced and traded jewelry materials. Accordingly, I could always tell who will stop to look at my work and who will not based on the jewelry they wear. Older white tourists, who accessorize in heavy cuffs and squash blossom style necklaces set with large pieces of turquoise, almost never stopped

at my booth. Sometimes, I am astounded by the number of turquoise carats they possess, but the turquoise-lipped lady remains seared into my memory.³



Figure 1: Market goes shop at rows of artist booths at the SWAIA Indian Market, Santa Fe NM. Published to the SWAIA Instagram account on April 16, 2021 (<https://www.instagram.com/santafeindianmarket/?hl=en>).

Native American adornment is not a monolith of solely turquoise and silver, but is vastly diverse because every one of the over 575 tribal nations maintains unique cultural practices and adornment aesthetics.⁴ Each tribal nation and Indigenous community maintains its own

³ A carat is a unit of measurement for gemstone weight. Donald Clark, “Carats and Gemstone Grading,” *International Gem Society*, August 18, 2021, <https://www.gemsociety.org/article/carats-karats-and-carrots/>.

⁴ According to the Native American Rights Fund, as of 2025 there are approximately 575 federally recognized tribal nations within the borders of the US settler colonial nation state. “At one point in history, the United States ceased to recognize many Tribal Nations by terminating their federal recognition. Federal recognition is important as it cements the formal government-to-government relationship between a Tribal Nation and the federal government. This affirms certain sovereign rights of Tribal Nations as well as federal obligations pursuant to the United

government, language, cosmology, and situated knowledge systems encompassing medicine, science, philosophy, history, and creativity. Homelands of tribal nations and Indigenous communities hold creation, migration, and origin stories. Tribal homelands are stewarded by generations of Indigenous people, even those forcibly removed by the US federal government. The US is a settler colonial society, established on Native homelands by Europeans whose settlement requires the ongoing theft of Native lands and “resources” which settler society extracts for economic development.

In the jewelry arts of Southwestern tribal nations, turquoise is one of many important homeland materials. However, in my twelve years of conversations with the public, turquoise and silver jewelry was always considered *the* primary formation of Native American jewelry within the public imagination. Turquoise jewelry saturates downtown Santa Fe art gallery windows. Often, galleries host special events featuring lectures and exclusive sales for turquoise jewelry, made by Native and non-Native artists. Native arts patrons wear turquoise jewelry to attend Native arts organization fundraisers, eat in restaurants, and stop to watch Native dancers perform in the streets all weekend. Turquoise vendors sell their stones in Santa Fe area hotels. Countless museum exhibits, printed books, magazines, travel blogs, Youtube channels, Facebook pages, and online discussion forums are dedicated to educating customers about different types

States’ trust responsibility. Because of this, many Tribal Nations have sought to establish or restore their federal recognition.” Within those federally recognized tribal nations, some are composed of multiple nations with unique cultures. In addition to the tribal nations that are federally recognized, some tribal communities are unrecognized due to periods of federal Indian policy efforts to dissolve tribal nations’ sovereignty. Some of these unrecognized tribes seek federal recognition today. “Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ) About Native American People and Tribal Nations,” Native American Rights Fund, accessed May 17, 2026, <https://narf.org/frequently-asked-questions/>.

and qualities of available turquoise. Many focus on how to spot fake or treated gemstones masquerading as valuable and allegedly rare natural, untreated stones.

The question of why turquoise is so sought after by settler art market audiences remained with me as I transitioned from my jewelry practice to academic research in 2020. The stone is culturally significant and connected to the cosmologies and ontologies of my Native jewelry colleagues from Southwestern tribal nations, but what does this stone symbolize to non-Native consumers? It is possible that Native-made turquoise jewelry signals benevolent white patronage of Native artists, an example of what Vine Deloria calls “a ritual drama.” Deloria articulates a ritual drama as a process that white society goes through every 20 years: white society starts to feel guilty, then goes through an apology stage with no actual reparations to Native people. The apology stage is largely symbolic. Deloria argues that ritual dramas operate to mask the lack of actual structural change and maintain settler power over stolen Native land.⁵ Native arts patrons who collect turquoise jewelry may be doing so as a type of ritual drama that signals their benevolence, but this is only part of the answer. I entered this research to understand why turquoise possesses settlers to own and wear *everything* turquoise, even lipstick. From mining turquoise, to the sale of the finished jewelry pieces, ongoing settler capitalist extractivist logics contour a settler capitalist geography in tension with the relational and homeland-based arts practices of the Native jewelers who navigate these markets.

⁵ “A Conversation with Vine Deloria, Jr.,” in *Words and Place: Native Literature from the American Southwest* series (University of Arizona and kuat-tv, 1978), videocassette (vhs), 29 min, <https://nnigovernance.arizona.edu/conversation-vine-deloria-jr>.

Santa Fe is advertised as a tourist destination through images of turquoise jewelry. I began my inquiry into settler turquoise desire by tracking how the stone is depicted in Santa Fe tourism marketing. I found one compelling clue about how turquoise signifies more than a collectable gemstone in a Google ad for the Santa Fe tourism department's "Santa Fe True" campaign designed to attract "young adventure seekers" to the city. The advertisement features a photograph of a light skinned person's hand adorned in turquoise and silver jewelry against a red, black, and white geometric woven garment. The tagline "Uncover your Different" is paired with the image. Even the color of the Santa Fe logo is turquoise.⁶ Together the text and photograph challenges the viewer to visit Santa Fe to acquire their "difference," achieved through the buying and wearing of Native-made turquoise jewelry and clothing. Native-made turquoise jewelry is offered to the tourist as a material of racial transformation, allowing one to embody the exotic qualities of an Indigenous other.⁷ Jewelry is a unique type of art commodity because it adorns the body, and unlike a painting you leave on the wall of your home, jewelry is worn publicly to signal identity, relational connections, and aesthetic taste. Because jewelry can

⁶ TKO advertising, based in Austin, Texas and Albuquerque, New Mexico, was hired by the City of Santa Fe to develop the "Santa Fe True" campaign in 2021. TKO's website posed the project's marketing challenge as "How do you bring a boomer destination into the digital age? While Santa Fe was adored by Boomers, it was off the tourism radar for young adventure seekers." "Tourism Santa Fe," TKO Advertising, accessed March 18, 2022, <https://tkoadvertising.com/work/tourism-santa-fe/>.

⁷ Following scholars of gender, race, and settler colonial studies, I use the term "other" when discussing how settlers imagine and fabricate Native racial differences. The term other charts flows of power as it is embodied and projected to delineate racial boundaries that serve settler capitalism. The Indigenous other, or Native other, is fixed in the past as the settler's counterpart. By contracting themselves with their Native other, allows the settler to frame themselves as contemporary and modern agents. As contemporary and modern, settlers produce themselves as the owners of stolen Native lands, minerals, and objects. Trinh T. Minh-Ha, *Woman, Native, Other* (Indiana University Press, 1989), 19.

be worn, it allows the tourist to conceptually self-Indigenize. Embodied “difference” through turquoise, a locally sourced material, can enable a tourist to live within a fantasy about legitimatizing their occupation of Native lands.

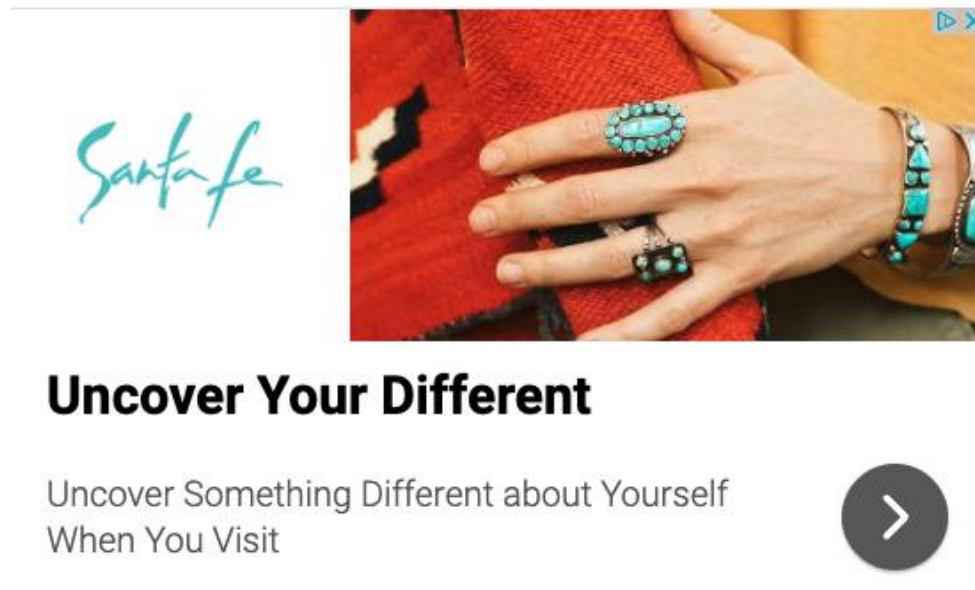


Figure 2: Screenshot by author of Google Advertisement produced for the Santa Fe, New Mexico Tourism department by TKO Advertising, March 18, 2022, *santafe.org*.

The story of turquoise as a Native art market commodity is a narrative of settler colonial meaning making to consume, own, possess, and become the Indigenous other to justify land dispossession. The Native Art market is a settler colonial geography and a capitalist site of commerce fraught with tensions and contradictions. In the eyes of the settlers of Santa Fe, the Indigenous person is only legible if they act as an authentic idea of the “primitive” past, never as a person with an active, legitimate claim to the land. Nancy Marie Mithlo clarifies the tensions I felt in a market where myself and my work challenged the longstanding inability for the non-Indigenous public to view “...Native Americans as simultaneously mobile, contemporary, and

tribal...”⁸ Consumer projections of Native difference failed to find purchase when projected upon myself and my art for those who traveled to Santa Fe to symbolically possess Indigeneity.

Sometimes shoppers laughed when I explained that I was from Los Angeles, because how could an authentically Native person live in a metropolitan center? Once, I was advised to wear my regalia to sell more work, because then my light-skinned “mixed-blood” appearance would align better with customers seeking “difference.” My work itself, lacking turquoise and any recognizable Southwestern style designs, was consistently described as “modern” and “contemporary” in contrast to “traditional” Native turquoise jewelry. My failures to fit into an authentically Indigenous category evidences how settler consumer valuations of Native-made turquoise jewelry are embedded with colonial desire to “preserve” Indigenous arts and cultures, those things which can enrich white-settler entrepreneurs, over the acknowledgement of Indigenous power and sovereignty over the land upon which the city is situated.

One year during Indian Market, I took a break from my booth to walk around and visit with other artists. I stopped at David Gaussoin’s booth to admire his dramatic, sculptural forms. His cuff, *Get Back in Your Box*, captured the ongoing frustration I felt at the constantly imposed categories and definitions of what “authentic” Native jewelry should be.⁹ From casual conversations, to arts institutional judging categories, I observed how Native jewelry seemed to be placed within a binary of “traditional” or “contemporary.” The traditional/contemporary labels fix Native jewelry as either authentically free of other non-Native cultural influences, or

⁸ Nancy Marie Mithlo, *Our Indian Princess: Subverting the Stereotype* (University of New Mexico Press, 2009), 27.

⁹ David Gaussoin, “Get Back in Your Box,” Naja Club, accessed May 17, 2026, <https://najaclub.com/products/get-back-in-your-box>.

fully embracing of modern designs. The labels fix Native cultures as unchanging rather than dynamic and evolving. The centerpiece of Gaussoin's *Get Back in Your Box* is a plastic figurine of a Hollywood-esque painted Indian aiming a bow and arrow. He stands within a small, plastic green drawer with a grey handle, the type that might be a part of a small organizer for hardware. The Indian stands both inside and outside of his box, his arrow threateningly piercing the edge of his bounded space. Gaussoin also includes elements that settler market audiences would recognize as "traditional" or "authentic." Large pieces of turquoise are set on the sides of the cuff. The cuff's architecture is formed from thick gauged silver wire. Although the cuff uses turquoise set in silver, a legible pairing of materials for Santa Fe art market audiences' ideas of "traditional" Native jewelry, Gaussoin's turquoise is labeled as "chalk turquoise." For jewelry connoisseurs, chalk turquoise is too soft to be wearable, easily broken and normally discarded. Chalk turquoise holds little monetary value and is not considered collectable.¹⁰ *Get Back in Your Box* speaks to the instability of categories. Indigeneity as a commodity cannot be permanently fixed in time and space. Gaussoin's plastic figurine and chalk turquoise simultaneously rupture settler capitalist market expectations of Native made jewelry as an Indigenous commodity while also capturing the impossible position in which Native jewelry artists find themselves. The use of the figurine clarifies that the jeweler knows exactly what the collector desires. A racialized other who can be contained through possession. The title of the piece is a command issued out of settler fear of challenges to racialized categories of property and ownership. The Indian that dares rupture his conceptual containment must be disciplined and controlled to preserve the order

¹⁰ What is Turquoise Chalk? T. Skies Jewelry (Tskies), accessed May 17, 2026, <https://tskies.com/blogs/news/what-is-turquoise-chalk>.

of settler society in which the settler is the owner of property and the Indian is the property. The following pages are an effort to lay bare the settler colonial desire to possess and become turquoise as a need to fix the Native in the past in order to possess their future.



Figure 3: David Gaussoin, *Get Back in Your Box*, 2017, Sterling silver, copper, chalk turquoise, found object, 3x3x4 inches, collection of the artist.

My research tracks the ongoing role of race and gender in the formation of white patriarchal economic power from territorial New Mexico's settler mining industry, to today's Santa Fe-based market for Native-made jewelry set with turquoise. Turquoise is both a material and fantasy in an ongoing racial and gendered regime of white patriarchal settler property. Historically, allegorical male prospectors conquer a "wilderness" constructed as savage to discover and claim new mines, while female settler turquoise mine tourists collect Native mining tools and turquoise specimens, curios left by imagined Indian ghosts, waiting for discovery in a

desolate “wilderness.” My research investigates how early travel writers sought to acquire turquoise as a way of performing indigeneity.

Contrary to each settler colonial wilderness fantasy, Native people are not ghosts; they are, and have always been, contemporaneous members of society. The turquoise mining lands I research are still stewarded by the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo, who mine turquoise as an intergenerational cultural practice. Territorial era settler turquoise mining (1890 to 1910) evolved into a racial monopoly composed of turquoise mines and distribution businesses under majority ownership by American, white settlers throughout the Southwest. The white-settler controlled turquoise market is a settler capitalist system which has supplied a Native-made jewelry industry since the 1890s.¹¹ In the Native-made jewelry market today, antique style turquoise jewelry is valued by consumers for its representation of “authentic” Native culture fixed in the past.¹²

My recent interviews with Native jewelry artists clarify connections between the racializing tropes and American settler capitalist structures of territorial New Mexico turquoise mining with today's Santa Fe-based Native jewelry market. Native jewelers experience gendered penalties and harms, including sexual violence, from settlers who wield control over turquoise in an attempt to control and profit from Native cultural production. Native jewelers enact strategic

¹¹ Cheri Falkenstien-Doyle, “Eighteenth-Century Economy, Twentieth-century Merchandising: the Market for Turquoise in the American Southwest, 1900-1940,” in *Turquoise in Mexico and North America: Science, Conservation, Culture and Collections*, eds. J.C.H. King, Caroline Cartwright, and Colin McEwan (Archetype Books, 2012), 215.

¹² Interviewee research for this dissertation demonstrated that many of the customers encountered by interviewees in Santa Fe are seeking jewelry that closely replicates the designs and materials used by Native jewelers (predominantly designs from Navajo Nation artists) during the late 1800s.

methods of engaging this settler capitalist market to mitigate harm and maintain their cultural and personal value systems.

In my introduction chapter, *Unearthing The Settler Turquoise Monopoly*, I outline and define the term *settler turquoise monopoly* as a description of the turquoise mining distribution and Native turquoise jewelry production as a white settler regime of property profiting from ongoing physical and conceptual Indigenous elimination and replacement by settlers. The stakes of the *settler turquoise monopoly* are impacts to tribal sovereignty, access to turquoise mines which are sacred Native homeland sites, and a settler capitalist market system that Native cultural producers must endure and navigate. To analyze the historic and ongoing settler turquoise monopoly, I draw from a theoretical framework of settler colonial studies and Native American and Indigenous studies. I build upon the methods and contributions of Indigenous feminist critical analyses of settler capitalist markets to reveal the way gendered settler subjects continue to produce narrations of Native lands, people, and native made objects within anachronistic time.

Chapter 1: Claiming Frontier Masculinity shows that American settler mineral prospectors used the location of the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo's sacred turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills to determine where to stake mine claims. I utilize discourse analysis of two territorial New Mexico reports to the secretary of the interior authored by Governor Lew Wallace in 1879 and Governor LeBaron Bradford Prince in 1891, both of whom personally invested in turquoise mines. Each report attempts to gain support from the US federal government and Eastern capitalist investments for New Mexico's mining economy. Lew Wallace constructs a heroic figure of the settler prospector who transforms wilderness into settler wealth. Kewa miners are either written out of history, described as wilderness dangers, or obstructions to

mining industry development. The mine claims that were staked over Kewa turquoise mines operate as a unique type of settler property that is both materially and symbolically generative for American imperialism in the southwest.¹³

In *Chapter 2: Collecting “Dead and Gone” Native “Sisters,” Susan Wallace’s Curio Cabinet* I argue that, while the male settler subject is often viewed as the primary actor within the settler imagination, female settlers also generate a symbolic racial geography of white ownership of stolen Native land. In Susan Wallace’s book *The Land of the Pueblos* (authored in 1879 and published in 1888), she narrates her travels to the Kewa turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills, where her husband Lew Wallace, the New Mexico territorial governor (discussed in my prior chapter), had invested in mining claims staked on Kewa Pueblo turquoise mines. I analyze Susan Wallace’s racially charged language to theorize her descriptions of purchasing “primitive and ancient” Pueblo mining tools and pieces of turquoise during her tour. I argue that Wallace’s quest to collect Native-made objects is a performance of a white female wilderness hero journey, and her curio collecting establishes white female settler subjectivity, enfolding the settler domestic space into the settler colonial project of Native elimination and replacement performed by a female settler subject.

¹³ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico, September 23, 1879,” H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1879). Univ. of Oklahoma College of Law Digital Commons, accessed May 17, 2026, <https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6693&context=indianserialset.>; L. Bradford Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico, October 12, 1891,” H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 52nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1891). <https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6153&context=indianserialset.>

The historic settler colonial texts I analyze in prior chapters frame Native land and people as inanimate objects to generate profit from and keep fixed in the primitive past. In *Chapter 3: Sourcing Turquoise in a Gendered Settler Capitalist Market*, I draw from interview research conducted in 2025 with Native jewelers, to show that the markets they navigate are settler capitalist sites in which white settlers continue the same racializing and gendering discourses as those from the territorial New Mexico era. My comparative analysis of jewelers' experiences navigating the production and sales of their jewelry reveals gender as a main variable determining levels of market challenges and harms faced by Native jewelers. In the highly public arena of Native art markets in Santa Fe, Native female jewelers experience more economic penalties, and their physical and mental health is put at risk by gendered market harms, and dangerous labor conditions that their male counterparts do not. Native female jewelers are vulnerable to colonial violence due to ongoing settler colonial framings of Native women as extractable and disposable. The experiences of female interviewees align with my own past experiences as a jeweler working in the Santa Fe Native art markets, where I experienced frequent gendered and racial harassment while exhibiting work. I argue that a near-total settler monopoly on Southwestern turquoise mine ownership and distribution channels culminates in a turquoise jewelry market in which Native women are sometimes targeted by white settler men who hold property and power. Sexual predators use economic resources to control Native female jewelry artists, and in one case, to sexually abuse and manipulate a young Native female jeweler.

The ongoing and intersecting impacts of racial and gender logics work within an unregulated field of Native arts commerce. In *Chapter 4: Negotiating the Commodity Relations of Turquoise Jewelry* I discuss interviewees' experiences with sourcing turquoise from white male settlers, and their ordeals with selling work to art market audiences. Like turquoise mine

ownership, the production and circulation of Native jewelry is also a racial regime of property originating in bordertown trading post economic systems that exploit Native labor creativity and knowledge. Interviewee answers demonstrate that the settler turquoise monopoly continues through a majority white mine ownership, and an ongoing trading post economy in bordertowns where Native jewelers experience anti-Indian treatment when shopping for turquoise in bordertown trading posts that deal in turquoise. Jewelers also navigate a market that continues to fix them in the past. Market audiences hold ideas about what authentic Native jewelry is, and hold concepts of turquoise valuations that lead consumers to only seek turquoise mined from America, even though turquoise from other countries is now more accessible to many Native artists.

I argue that the historic racial logics of constructing Kewa turquoise mine ownership as a racial regime of property inform the contemporary Native jewelry market's commodity chain. Native artists are obligated to purchase turquoise mined from the artists' own homelands by settler mine owners. The result is an extractive treatment of turquoise mines and skyrocketing prices of turquoise which is set by the mine owners and dealers. I conclude by highlighting the creative strategies of Native jewelers to survive such conditions and maintain the cultural practices and value systems of their respective tribal nations. Native artists' methods of enduring and persisting within the settler capitalist political economy of turquoise and turquoise jewelry unveil the mechanics of a *settler turquoise monopoly* that hides underneath a spectacle of white patronage of multicultural arts industries and seemingly innocent settler desires for Native turquoise.

Introduction: Unearthing The Settler Turquoise Monopoly

Indigenous peoples in the southwest have mined, traded, and worked turquoise into adornment for centuries. Turquoise is culturally significant to Pueblo, Diné, and Apache peoples (among many others), and is an essential material used in adornment, ceremonial practices, and economic exchanges for Southwestern tribal nations. The Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo of northern New Mexico has been recognized by other tribal nations in the region as keepers of the turquoise mines located in the Cerrillos Hills. For over 700 years, Kewa Pueblo people and their ancestors have mined turquoise. The mineral is an essential material animating inter-tribal economic and cultural exchanges. For the Kewa, turquoise mining is a religious practice, and their turquoise mines are sacred sites. The turquoise their mines yield is vital to a complex exchange economy situated within what is now the settler state of New Mexico.¹⁴ Turquoise did not have nearly the same meaning to colonizers.

Following the U.S. conquest of the region (1846-1848), the New Mexican territorial government opened the Cerrillos Hills to the public domain to allow mineral prospecting.¹⁵

¹⁴ Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim to the Turquoise Mine Area* (US Justice Department, 1976), 22.; John Adair, *The Navajo and Pueblo Silversmiths* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1944), 128-129.; Milford, "Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill," 175.; The Santo Domingo Pueblo is also known as the Kewa Pueblo (Santo Domingo was the name given by the Spanish in 1600), "Our History," Santo Domingo Pueblo, accessed May 22, 2026, <https://santodomingopueblo.com>.

¹⁵ The Mexican American war was initiated in 1846 and ended with the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1846.; Library of Congress, *Occupation of Mexican Territory. Message from the President of the United States, in Answer to a Resolution of the House of Representatives of the 15th Instant, Relative to the Occupation of the Mexican Territory* (December 22, 1846), <https://lccn.loc.gov/2022697987>.; The Kewa Pueblo's turquoise mines are a part of a Spanish land grant made to the Pueblo. During the Mexican period, the land was claimed by the Delgado family through a grant purportedly made to them by the Spanish government. The Delgado family operated silver mines in the Cerrillos Hills during the Mexican

Settler prospectors and investors descended upon the Kewa's turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills in two mining rushes: in the first settler prospectors sought gold and silver between 1879-1885 and in the second they sought turquoise between 1890-1910.¹⁶ During the first American settler mining rush in 1879, Santa Fe-based white American entrepreneurs targeted the Kewa turquoise mines for development, largely because they believed that the presence of turquoise signaled the presence of silver.¹⁷ Settler mining law enabled one to stake a claim if they are the first to "discover" the mineral potential of the claim, yet even the primary source texts from 1879 acknowledge the presence of Kewa pueblo mines and miners. To assert settler ownership of already existing Kewa turquoise mine claims, territorial New Mexico government officials circulated myths that the mines were long-abandoned by Kewa miners.¹⁸ In the second Cerrillos

period. Upon American occupation of the region, the Delgado family descendants sued for their mining claims. Philip Chambless and Mike Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush, 1890-1910* (Sunstone Press, 2017) 63.; U.S. Reports: *Sena v. American Turquoise Co.*, 220 U.S. 497 (1911), <https://www.loc.gov/item/usrep220497/>.

¹⁶ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush, 1890-1910*, 40-44.

¹⁷ Homer E. Milford, "Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill," in *Geology of the Santa Fe Region, New Mexico*, eds. P.W. Bauer, B.S. Kues, N.W. Dunbar, K.E. Karlstrom, and B. Harrison (New Mexico Geological Society, Guidebook, 46th Annual Field Conference, 1995), 175.; A history of American turquoise mining traces the first white settler purchase of Cerrillos Hills mineral lands to Dr. Enos Andrews, a Santa Fe-based dentist, who along with other investors purchased 2,000 acres of land encompassing the Kewa turquoise mines and Spanish silver mines. Investors in the mines were motivated by the planned railroad extension into the mining region and the presence of Spanish and Pueblo mining. Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 39-42.

¹⁸ Lew Wallace, "Annual Report of Governor of New Mexico, 1879," H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1879), <https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6693&context=indianserialset#:~:text=Notwithstanding%20the%20ad%20verse%20judgment,galena>, 447.; J. Lyman Hayward, *The Los Cerrillos Mines and Their Mineral Resources: A Description of the Mines in the Los*

Hills mining rush of 1890-1910, the Kewa Pueblo's turquoise was mined by settler prospectors after George F. Kunz, the gemologist for the New York jewelry company Tiffany & Co., declared Cerrillos turquoise to be the best quality, particularly for its "pure color," which just so happened to match the famed blue boxes. The company then sourced all its turquoise from a mining company operating in the Cerrillos Hills for use in making Victorian-style jewelry.¹⁹ After 1919, settler turquoise mining spread to Nevada, Colorado, Arizona, California, and Utah, and turquoise mine ownership remains dominated by non-Natives.²⁰

Kewa turquoise miners faced limited access and risked violence from settler mine managers during each rush, yet persisted to mine turquoise, outraging settler miners. In an attempt to obstruct Kewa turquoise mining, the Legislative Assembly of the Territory passed "An Act for the Protection of Mines and Mining Claims" in 1891, which categorized the extraction, removal, and sale and/or purchase of ore from another's mine claim as grand larceny.²¹ Despite the criminalization of Kewa turquoise mining, Kewa miners persisted to mine

Cerrillos and Galisteo Mining Districts, Accompanied by a Map of the Same, Drawn from Actual Surveys (J.C. Clark Printing Co. 1880); Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 65-67.

¹⁹ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 47-49.

²⁰ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 234.; According to Henrietta Lichdi, the National Mining Act of 1872 enables prospectors to easily stake mineral claims on federal public lands, so researchers encounter challenges when tracing mine claim ownership. Historically, claim ownership changes hands within fluid and complex geography of property, making both turquoise mine ownership and actual mine output and turquoise inventory amounts are difficult to specify. Henrietta Lichdi, *Surviving Desires: Making and Selling Native Jewelry in the American Southwest* (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2015), 237.

²¹ 29th Legislative Assembly, *An Act for the Protection of Mines and Mining Claims*, 1891, Chapter 74:133. The act is discussed in: Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder, *The*

when they could under the cover of night, maintaining ongoing relationships with the sacred turquoise mines with the little access they had.

In 1940, the Santo Domingo Tribal Council filed a land claim for the return of the Cerrillos Hills.²² The US court required that they prove their continuous presence throughout the Cerrillos hills history. The Pueblo's contracted anthropologists, Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder, compiled extensive evidence of Kewa mining as witnessed by settlers themselves since 1879. In Ellis and Schroeder's report the Kewa Pueblo argues that the settlers are the turquoise thieves: "The Santo Domingos saw nothing wrong in surreptitiously taking from the mines the turquoise which had been given by Mother Earth to their San Marcos ancestors. It was - in their eyes - the whites who were taking their turquoise."²³ The Pueblo's extensive documentation and tribal oral history submitted to the court shows how Kewa miners adapted techniques drawn from their land-based knowledge to successfully mine turquoise at night at least once a month.²⁴ The land claim proceedings inserted a Kewa perspective that counters the possessive and extractive logics of settler property

Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim to the Turquoise Mine Area (US Justice Department, 1976), 50.

²² In 2000, after over 50 years of litigation, the Kewa Pueblo settled its land claim lawsuit against the US government for the Cerrillos Hills. The Committee on Indian Affairs, *Santo Domingo Pueblo Claims Settlement Act of 2000*, Public Law 106-425 (Nov. 1, 2000), S. 2917, <https://www.congress.gov/106/plaws/publ425/PLAW-106publ425.pdf>.

²³ Ellis, and Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim*, 50-51.

²⁴ Ellis and Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim*, 50-57.

formation. From the Kewa Pueblo's perspective, turquoise mines are not merely sources of personal wealth, they are sacred sites where turquoise mining is an intergenerational cultural practice that maintains their relationship with sacred homelands and supplies a wide network of intertribal trade and adornment arts.²⁵

Interrogating the Political Economy of Turquoise Mine Ownership

The raw material of turquoise warrants further examination through a critical Indigenous and gender studies lens because it is extracted from unceded Native lands. It is an essential material for Native cultural production by artists from Southwestern tribal nations, yet it is also commoditized and monopolized by settler-owned mining and distribution markets. Despite excellent scholarship on strategies for safeguarding Indigenous intellectual property and the gendered impacts of settler property regimes on Indigenous social systems and governance, examinations of Native arts' political economies remain limited. An analysis of contestations and tensions enfolded in the extracting, circulation, and processing of raw materials used in Native arts, lays bare the instability of settler regimes of property generated from ongoing Native dispossession. The total complex of Native arts production (including the acquisition of source materials, Indigenous production labor and the distribution of Native arts through ethnic arts markets) is an undertheorized settler regime of property that extracts and exploits both Native lands and labor.

²⁵ The Kewa Pueblo contracted anthropologists to conduct archival and oral history research about and with Kewa people who continuously mined turquoise from the Cerrillos hills between 500 A.D. and 2000, the year that the land claim was settled. The date of 500 AD as the start of turquoise mining is documented in Ellis and Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim*, 22.

As part of this analysis, I trace turquoise through a commodity chain of mine claims, curio collecting, and Native creative labor. A historical record related to mines staked by settlers authored between 1879 and 1910 shows patterns in settler turquoise market discourse that narrate Kewa turquoise mines as settler property through myths about Native absence and racial inferiority. Mineral prospecting by settlers is framed as a masculine civilizing act within the settler political economy of mining. A close reading of a female settler's search for turquoise for her curio collection reveals a similar pattern of framing Indigenous people as ghosts of the past, to justify the dispossession of Kewa turquoise mines. Each narrative about claiming and collecting turquoise mines and turquoise curios is an example of how gendered settler subjects perform specific roles in the occupation and dispossession of Native lands through transforming turquoise into their property. My interview research about the labor Native jewelers do to source turquoise and make and sell their work illustrates how racial and gendered logics about turquoise persist within the contemporary settler capitalist market for Native jewelry. Native artists encounter and navigate a settler monopolization of turquoise mine ownership, and work within an unregulated commercial Native art market where settler property owners attempt to control the Native person both literally and metaphorically. Turquoise adornment is reportedly desired when it aligns with the settler urge to fix Native culture as unchanging and in the past, conceptually producing the white settler as the modern propertied subject. The challenges faced by Native jewelers today indicate that settler turquoise mine ownership and Native art transactions are an ongoing project of Native dispossession.

I identify and term the historic and ongoing majority settler ownership of Native turquoise mines throughout the Southwest and its enmeshed market for Native-made turquoise

jewelry as *the settler turquoise monopoly*.²⁶ My intention is to insert an Indigenous perspective into scholarship about the turquoise mining and distribution industry. New Mexico turquoise mining historians Philip Chambless and Mike Ryan detail how the American turquoise mining industry was composed of settler-owned mining corporations who unsuccessfully competed with each other. Corporations composed of multiple investors purchased as many promising mine claims as possible to edge out competitors in an attempt to establish a turquoise mining and distribution “monopoly” for themselves. The term *monopoly* shifts across US legal authority, including case law, but typically refers to illegal corporate efforts to consolidate market power and control commodity pricing, eliminating free market competition.²⁷ I use the term *monopoly* to interrogate settler racial constructions of whiteness as the property in question in the context of Native land dispossession.²⁸ By using the term *the settler turquoise monopoly*, I include

²⁶ Throughout the turquoise rush in Northern New Mexico between 1890 and 1910, entrepreneurs attempted to secure monopolies over one another but could not. Chambless and Ryan detail how historic turquoise mining corporations attempted to dominate one another hoping to each secure a monopoly on turquoise mining in Northern New Mexico. Local prospectors often located new mines over what Chambless and Ryan describe as “ancient Indian mining activity,” which prompted local entrepreneurs to acquire deeds to the mines, then “attract “investment capital from the major financial and retail centers of New York and Chicago.” Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 78.

²⁷ Sean P. Sullivan, “Understanding Market Power: An Economics Perspective,” in *Research Handbook on Abuse of Dominance and Monopolization*, eds., Akman, Pinar, Or Brook, and Konstantinos Stylianou (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2023), 8-10.

²⁸ Whiteness is a racial construction used within settler capitalism to signify an ownership class which is racially superior. Native Americans and enslaved Africans are framed as inferior and their lands and labor are constructed as the property of white, settler society. For field defining scholarship on whiteness see Cheryl Harris, “Whiteness is Property,” *Harvard Law Review* 106, no. 8 (1993): 1707-1791, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1341787>.; For an extended discussion of whiteness, property, gender, and colonialism see: Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty*, 2015.

Indigenous perspectives to redefine settler turquoise mining and distribution as a racial regime of property which criminalizes and attempts to eliminate Native turquoise mining and intertribal turquoise distribution networks.

In addition to critical examinations of dispossession, it is equally important to examine ongoing Indigenous economies. Dara Kelly and Christine Woods argue for a need “...to engage Indigenous actors in a dialogue about ethical Indigenous economies and methods for achieving Indigenous well-being.”²⁹ Kelly and Woods argue against the binary division of culture and commerce as a limiting, modernist discourse. Instead, Indigenous ethical economies are Indigenous expressions of Indigenous knowledge systems that produce Indigenous economic freedom by prioritizing inter-generational responsibility, wealth distribution, and spirituality. The Kewa’s relationship *with* turquoise mines, results in their contribution to Indigenous trade networks. As I learned from the Native jewelers I interviewed, turquoise remains an important material within Indigenous economies of trade and gifting. The Native jewelers who contributed interviews to this project enact daily choices that counter and contest settler constructions of property.

The gendered experiences of Native artists who navigate and contend with the *settler turquoise monopoly* are generated by the settler colonial logics that intersect both *the settler turquoise monopoly* and the Santa Fe-based Native Arts market. I follow the methods of Indigenous feminist critiques of capitalism which refuse the notion that Indigenous survival is predicated on successful incorporation into capitalist markets that function through the violent

²⁹ Dara Kelly and Christine Woods, “Ethical Indigenous Economies,” *Engaged Scholar Journal* 7, no. 1 Indigenous and Trans-Systemic Knowledge Systems (2021): 147, <https://doi.org/10.15402/esj.v7i1.70010>.

subordination of racialized and gendered peoples. Leanne Simpson writes about the concept of resurgence, which includes the renewal of her Nishnaabeg society's life ways which are organized through reciprocity, the opposite of capitalism extractive relationships:

There is an assumption that socialism and communism are white and that Indigenous peoples don't have this kind of thinking. To me, the opposite is true. Watching hunters and ricers harvest and live is the epitome of not just anticapitalism but societies where consent, empathy, caring, sharing, and individual self-determination are centered.³⁰

Nishnaabeg teachings provided directions for how to ethically relate to one another and to the natural world. Simpson's critique of capitalism draws from understandings of Indigenous ways of being and knowing, which prioritize making over consuming as the foundation of self-determination.³¹ As I examine in chapters one and two, the historic archive of territorial New Mexico's mining industry exemplifies how settler political economies occupy Indigenous homelands by fabricating the notion that Indigenous societies do not have the technical capacity to accumulate capital from the land. Simpson proves this logic false:

When Nishnaabeg are historicized by settler colonial thought as "less technologically developed," there is an assumption that we weren't capitalists because we couldn't be—we didn't have the wisdom or the technology to accumulate capital, until the Europeans arrived and the fur trade happened. This is incorrect. We certainly had the technology and the wisdom to develop this kind of economy, or rather we had the ethics and knowledge within grounded normativity to not develop this system, because to do so would have violated our fundamental values and ethics regarding how we relate to each other and the natural world. We chose not to, repeatedly, over our history.³²

³⁰ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 76-77.

³¹ Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 80.

³² Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 76.

Simpson issues a critique of capitalism arising from Nishaabeg refusals to over-accumulate. Indigenous feminist critiques of settler political economies deploy a method of mapping and assessing relations between lands, bodies, corporations, and governments as either consensual or non-consensual to assess extents of harm from ongoing corporate impacts on Indigenous people and societies.³³ Indigenous feminist critique of settler political economies prioritize the ways Native women experience intensified impacts of capitalism on their tribal societies, in their families, homes, lands, and relationships, including sexual violence. By focusing on the labor experiences of Native jewelers in interview research, this project contributes to Indigenous feminist critique of settler political economies. Native female jewelers contend with additional challenges not faced by male jewelers, including patriarchal knowledge, resource gatekeeping, and sexual harassment by turquoise market actors. One jeweler is a survivor of multiple years of sexual abuse and labor exploitation by a non-Native art dealer. Each labor experience reported by the Native jewelers who contributed to this project demonstrates how the Native art market and the settler turquoise monopoly are structured by patriarchal white

³³ For an example of Indigenous feminist economic research see: Native Women's Association of Canada (NWAC) 2008. *Leadership Creation: Economic Development and Removing Barriers, Self-Government and Traditional Knowledge/Governance*. Policy Paper. Ottawa; For an example of a gendered analysis of histories of Indigenous experiences with settler capitalism in Canada see: Arthur Ray and Donald Freeman, *Give Us Good Measure: An Economic Analysis of the Relations between the Indians and the Hudson's Bay Company before 1763* (Toronto University Press, 1978); Colleen O'Neill, "Rethinking Modernity and the Discourse of Development in American Indian History: An Introduction," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century*, eds. B. Hosmer and C. O'Neill (University Press of Colorado, 2004); For a discussion of gender violence against Indigenous women as producing settler state power, see Audra Simpson, "The State is a Man: Theresa Spence, Loretta Saunders and the Gender of Settler Sovereignty," *Theory & Event* 19, no. 4 (2016), <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/state-is-man-theresa-spence-loretta-saunders/docview/1866315122/se-2>.

supremacist logics that establish predominantly white settlers in positions of power and control, while Native artists are resources to extract.

I examine historic settler narrations about turquoise mining in New Mexico to identify how settler constructions of gender and race are essential to settler turquoise mining claims. The same set of logics is then analyzed as a structure of the contemporary turquoise mining and distribution market. Interview research with Native jewelers who must purchase turquoise from settler mine owners and stone dealers shows that the impacts of settler turquoise mine ownership are gendered. I deploy a critical Indigenous feminist analysis of turquoise mine ownership as a settler political economy by examining how labor conditions for Native jewelers are gendered.

The raw material of turquoise is followed along three levels: 1) The act of staking claims over existing Kewa turquoise mines (between 1879 and 1910) attempts to produce both tangible settler property and conceptual settler power through the cultural circulation of masculine settler subjects. 2) The act of consuming turquoise through curio collecting turquoise specimens and Kewa mining tools produces female settler subjects who also operate to secure property regimes. 3) The labor of sourcing turquoise, and jewelry manufacturing and sales, as it is performed by Native jewelry artists, reveals the ongoing racial and gendered impacts upon Native jewelers caused by *the settler turquoise monopoly*. The material of turquoise provides a generative case study for mapping tensions between Native arts production and settler-capitalist markets, as they play out within ongoing dispossession of Native land and extracted “resources.” For example, even collectors wearing the finished jewelry product are implicated as potentially signaling not only the exertion of capitalistic power, but also the spoils of land dispossession. Because turquoise is a material that is essential to Indigenous arts and cultural practices and is also

generated from Indigenous homeland knowledge, it is apparent that settler regimes of property are reliant upon the extraction and exploitation of Indigenous knowledge and cultural practices.

Methods

Archival Research

I analyze the settler turquoise monopoly as originating with the theft of Kewa turquoise mines by American settler entrepreneurs and territorial era politicians during the first American mining Cerrillos Hills mining rush of 1879. During the summer of 2025, I conducted archival research in holdings at the New Mexico State Library and New Mexico State Records Center and Archives and the University of New Mexico Center for Southwest Research where I identified territorial government reports and correspondence about mining industry development authored between 1879 and 1910. To identify the role of gender and race in settler constructions of Kewa turquoise mines as settler property, I conduct close readings of settler market discourse and archival materials related to mining, including texts authored by New Mexico territorial politicians, federal government geologists, and ethnographers between 1879 and 1910. This includes the business papers of territorial governors who owned mining claims staked over Kewa Pueblo turquoise mines: Lew Wallace, in office between 1878 and 1881, and Bradford Prince, in office between 1889 and 1893.³⁴ Each governor's tenure corresponds to settler mining rush events in the Kewa Pueblo's turquoise mining region. I trace discourses in the documents with attention to how Kewa turquoise mines are described. I also conducted a discourse analysis of

³⁴ Bradford Prince papers, 1959-174, and Governor Lew Wallace Papers, 1959-085. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, <https://www.srca.nm.gov/>.

Susan Wallace's "To the Turquoise Mines," a chapter published in her book *The Land of the Pueblos*, in 1888. I identify specific types of gendered settler subject structures as they formed within, and promoted, the nascent territorial New Mexico turquoise mining industry on Kewa Land in the Cerrillos Hills. Susan Wallace is Lew Wallace's wife and some of the couple's correspondence is in the collection of the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.³⁵ My findings identify discourses that construct white female settler subjects who enact "discoveries" of minerals to claim and dispossess Kewa lands through curio collecting.

Interview Research

The experiences of Indigenous artists can yield new insights into the extraction and commodification of Indigenous cultural property when a gender and labor studies lens is applied. My interview research methods and analysis are informed by my own perspective as a former professional jeweler, curator, and citizen of the Chickasaw Nation. I have experienced conditions similar to those each interviewee discussed regarding the process of making and selling jewelry, and I have over a decade of observing settler colonial logics of race and gender within systems of Native arts commerce. I have extensive experience participating in Santa Fe-based Native art markets and have developed deep relationships with Native jewelry artist colleagues. These relationships and the application of Indigenous protocols guided my project's methodology. As a researcher, I am concerned with the challenges that my colleagues face as producers.

³⁵ Susan Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, (J. B. Alden, 1888). Governor Lew Wallace Papers, 1959-085. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, <https://www.srca.nm.gov/>.

In the summer and fall of 2025, I completed ten semi-structured interviews with Native jewelers who use turquoise economically and culturally, and who have at least ten years of Native art market experience. From these ten, I identified six for this analysis to ensure equally grouped demographics. My interviewee pool represents diverse age ranges, gender identities, and tribal affiliations, and was identified through a relational snowball method. My insider knowledge as a jeweler generated in-depth discussions about turquoise sourcing challenges and art market experiences.³⁶

Unravelling the Settler Political Economy of Turquoise: Land, Labor, Gender, Race, and Power

I analyze the settler political economy of turquoise through an interrogation of how gender and race is operationalized in the settler capitalist market systems of the turquoise mining and distribution market and the Native jewelry market. I engage in a critical Indigenous feminist political economy analysis that shows how Indigenous women's societal roles, bodily autonomy, and safety are diminished when settler corporations exploit Native people for labor and Native homelands for resources.³⁷ Indigenous feminist research methodologies closely follow gender as

³⁶ See dissertation appendix for Chapters three and four for a detailed summary of interview sampling methods, interview formats, analysis methods, and sample limitations. Interview data is coded by tracing patterns and divergences that emerge from each interviewee's descriptions of experiences with sourcing and purchasing turquoise. My coding focuses on the topics of gender, race, resource access, problem solving, and artists' perceptions of the turquoise mining and distribution markets. Margaret C Harrell and Melissa Bradley, *Data Collection Methods: Semi-Structured Interviews and Focus Groups*, (RAND Corporation, 2009); Rowland Atkinson and John Flint, "Accessing Hidden and Hard-to-reach Populations: Snowball Research Strategies," *Social Research Update* 33, no. 1 (2001): 1-4. <https://portal.issn.org/resource/ISSN/1360-7898>.

³⁷ Jennifer Nez Denetdale, "Return To 'The Uprising At Beautiful Mountain In 1913': Marriage and Sexuality in the Making of the Modern Navajo Nation," in *Critically Sovereign: Indigenous*

a throughline to trace how settler political and economic power is consolidated through gendered logics. Ikaika Ramones and Sally Engle Merry argue that settler colonialism *and* capitalism are co-constitutive frameworks to be theorized together.³⁸ I follow this method to identify how capitalist relations form through racial and gendered logics within the historic territorial New Mexico mining economy, and then identify how these logics are circulated by, and fuel, the contemporary overlapping turquoise mining and distribution market, as well as Santa Fe-based Native art markets.

The field of settler colonial studies defines settler colonization as a type of colonialism in which imperial nation-states forcibly take Indigenous lands to install permanent settlements upon them. Land theft is not a singular moment, but an ongoing structure that continuously attempts to eliminate Indigenous societies both physically and conceptually.³⁹ To dispossess Native homelands and install a permanent settler society upon it, settler colonial nations attempt to eliminate Indigenous societies through various genocidal strategies. Patrick Wolfe describes elimination as an “organizing principle of settler society” which involves the “dissolution of

Gender, Sexuality, and Feminist Studies ed. J. Barker, (Duke University Press, 2017), 72-73, <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822373162-003>; Rauna Kuokkanen, “From Indigenous Economies to Market-Based Self-Governance: A Feminist Political Economy Analysis,” *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 44, no. 2 (2011): 278, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0008423911000126>.

³⁸ Ikaika Ramones and Sally Engle Merry, “Capitalist Transformation and Settler Colonialism: Theorizing the Interface,” *American Anthropologist* 123, no. 4 (2021): 742, <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13655>.

³⁹ Denise Fay Brown, “Tourists as Colonizers in Quintana Roo, Mexico: Tourists as Colonizers,” *The Canadian Geographer/Le Géographe Canadien* 57, no. 2 (June 2013), 190, <https://doi.org/10.24043/001c.147884>; Evelyn Nakano Glenn, “Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation,” *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015), 55, <https://doi.org/10.1177/23326492145604>.

native societies” and then the installation of a new settler society upon the Indigenous land base.⁴⁰ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui adds that Wolfe’s frame of structural genocide “enables an understanding of the relationships between spatial removal, mass killings, and biocultural assimilation.”⁴¹ Dispossessed land is then maintained as settler property through settler laws, settler state policies, and capitalism as the settler state’s economic system.

The Doctrine of Discovery undergirds US property law and is the foundation upon which the US empire is built. As the legal framework of European colonialism, the Doctrine of Discovery asserts that a settler’s ability to own and claim land, through discovery, overrides the rights of Indigenous people who already live there. Historian Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz traces the first use of the Doctrine of Discovery to the mid-fifteenth century, when Christian monarchies in Europe justified the mapping, claiming, and possessing of lands occupied by non-Christians beyond the borders of Europe.⁴² Shortly after US independence from Britain, the international Doctrine of Discovery was adopted as US law. The 1820s Marshall trilogy of Supreme court decisions about Cherokee Nation lands and rights upheld the Doctrine of Discovery as US law that “...gave title to the government, by whose subjects, or by whose authority, it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession.” Indigenous rights were diminished but not fully extinguished, and “Indigenous peoples could

⁴⁰ Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no. 4 (2006), 403, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>.

⁴¹ Kēhaulani Kauanui, “‘A Structure, Not an Event’: Settler Colonialism and Enduring Indigeneity,” *Lateral* 5, no. 1 (2016): 1, <https://doi.org/10.25158/L5.1.7>.

⁴² Roxanne Dunbar-Ortiz, *Not “A Nation of Immigrants”: Settler Colonialism, White Supremacy, and a History of Erasure and Exclusion*, (Beacon Press, 2021), 32.

continue to live on the land, but title resided with the discovering power, the United States.”

Indigenous nations were re-defined by the Marshall trilogy Supreme court decisions as “domestic, dependent nations,” that Dunbar-Ortiz poignantly reframes as “captive colonies.”⁴³

From the Marshall Trilogy of Supreme Court Decisions and onward, Native Nations have had to navigate ever changing policies towards tribal sovereignty and are frequently fighting for the agency to care for their citizens and lands.⁴⁴ The Marshall Trilogy encoded assimilation and subjugation tactics into US law by reducing Indigenous governments to domestic dependent nations. Indigenous studies scholar Joann Barker traces a trajectory of US legal rulings that prioritize corporate interests while eroding tribal sovereignty. US imperialism aims to eliminate Indigenous peoples from the lands. Barker shows “how the foundational legal definitions of the “corporation” and the “tribe” between 1790 and 1887 worked together to establish and protect imperialist social relations and conditions in the United States between powerful financial interests, both government and corporate, and Indigenous peoples.”⁴⁵

Property laws are integral to settler society, and work to transform Native land into a settler-owned commodity. Territorial sovereignty and public law conceptually place the settler society as the rightful owner of the dispossessed Indigenous lands. Robert Nichols argues that private property, as it is held by individual settlers, is the individualized mechanism of territorial

⁴³ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Not “A Nation of Immigrants,”* 33.

⁴⁴ Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice, from Colonization to Standing Rock* (Beacon Press, 2019), 38.

⁴⁵ Joanne Barker, “The Corporation and the Tribe,” *The American Indian Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (2015): 267, <https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.39.3.0243>.

sovereignty that settler colonial nation-states assert over Indigenous lands and nations. Nichols interrogates the term dispossession as problematic for Indigenous land claims because "... a condition of dispossession is characterized by a privation of possession...dispossession means something like a normatively objectionable loss of possession, essentially a species of theft."⁴⁶ The term dispossession extends from the settler capitalist logic of private property, but private ownership of land is not an Indigenous ontology, an inconsistency that opponents of Indigenous land claims exploit. Private property must be produced before it is stolen, so Nichols argues that in a "(colonial) context, theft is the mechanism and means by which property is generated: hence its recursiveness."⁴⁷ Nichols redefines dispossession as a combination of two processes: the transformation of Indigenous "...nonproprietary relations into proprietary ones while, at the same time, systematically transferring control and title of this (newly formed) property. In this way, dispossession merges commodification (or, perhaps more accurately, "proptertization") and theft into one moment."⁴⁸ From this perspective, it is difficult to insist that a mine claim is a type of property that can be stolen because, for the Kewa Pueblo, they are sacred spaces and not owned by individuals. The Kewa retain rights to mine turquoise as a collective religious practice that also sustained Native trade relations. Following Nichols, I examine the dispossession of Kewa turquoise mines by settlers through the lens of proptertization as a moment of simultaneous commoditization and theft. Because Kewa turquoise miners maintained active religious and

⁴⁶ Robert Nichols, *Theft is property!: Dispossession and Critical Theory* (Duke University Press, 2019), 7.

⁴⁷ Nichols, *Theft is property!*, 9.

⁴⁸ Nichols, *Theft is property!*, 8.

cultural, non-property based relations with turquoise mines throughout the territorial period, settler discourses, which sought to erase the Indigenous connection, are false. The term “settler capitalism” denotes how settler colonial societies are fueled by capitalist expansion, which necessitates the continued acquisition of new territories. Settler capitalism works to infiltrate Native land as the germ of imperialism. Social anthropologist Denise Fay Brown argues that capital and profit motivate colonization, and capitalism is a spatial project which “deterritorialize[s] people . . . [then]...reterritorialize[s] them in relation to...[its] requirements.”⁴⁹ I engage Indigenous Studies’ examinations of capitalism as a driving force of settler colonialism, which is a spatial project because market systems fuel dispossession.

The process of settler capitalist expansion into Indigenous lands is violent and often operates to eliminate Native societies for the purpose of extracting and commodifying Indigenous lands and resources. Manu Vimalassery calls this process global capitalist imperialism in which “Colonial violence is a precondition for the exchange value of Indigenous lands in the global market economy.” The geography of global commerce benefits from genocidal violence and enslavement which occurred, for example, when Spanish and Portuguese colonies in the Americas extracted precious metals from Indigenous lands using enslaved Indigenous laborers. Stolen and extracted silver kept European economies operating.⁵⁰ Just as silver supplied the global economy, the white settler turquoise mining market of the 1890s

⁴⁹ Brown, “Tourists as Colonizers,” 191.

⁵⁰ Manu Vimalassery, “The Wealth of the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3, no. 3-04 (2013): 295-310, <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2013.810701>.

extracted turquoise from Kewa turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills to fill a global market demand for a new turquoise source after mining labor disputes in Persia, which was a major turquoise supplier, made turquoise scarce globally.⁵¹

This violent, eliminative system is also furthered by individual settler subjects who are driven by the motivation to accumulate personal property. The individual settler's need to claim and possess Native land is utilized and employed by the settler nation state as a method of efficient imperial conquests of new lands and resources. Settler capitalist industries achieve both the commodification of land and establish white settler spaces through racially organized settlements, allowing for the influx of more landless Europeans to populate settler cities.⁵²

Settler colonial expansions are also driven by international markets. Wolfe demonstrates that European countries established colonies to extract resources and enslave local populations for labor, "...which linked Australian wool to Yorkshire mills and, complementarily, to cotton produced under different colonial conditions in India, Egypt, and the slave states of the Deep South."⁵³ Settler capitalism erodes Indigenous land bases as it requires more land to produce profits from industries such as mining and agriculture.

Settler capitalist markets are bolstered by the theft of Native land *and* labor, including both physical and intellectual labor. The colonial economy that was established on Native land by European settlers only flourished because the land's abundance that settlers profited from was

⁵¹ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 44-45.

⁵² Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 395.

⁵³ Wolfe, "Settler Colonialism," 394.

created through ongoing Native land management.⁵⁴ Manu Vimasallery analyzes capitalist relations, comparing them to Indigenous relations, and argues that land-based knowledge systems include relational practices that counter settler colonial extractive relations to Indigenous land and labor.⁵⁵ My research clarifies that settler profits from turquoise mining and Native arts are only made possible through the ongoing theft and commodification of both Native lands and knowledge.

My inclusion of Indigenous feminist analyses to the study of settler political economies reveals how gender as well as race are logics that fuel settler capitalist systems of power, with their resulting gendered impacts for Native societies and people.⁵⁶ Settler nation-states are structured by a European gender binary and the linked ideologies of heteropatriarchy and heteropaternalism. Indigenous feminist scholarship demonstrates how settler-state projects of dispossession require settler constructions of racial and gender hierarchies. Heteropatriarchy positions heterosexuality and patriarchy as normative and heteropaternalism installs the male as the head of his nuclear heterosexual household. The settler nation-state relies upon these domestic arrangements for systems of exploited female labor, and the control of Indigenous populations and land.⁵⁷ Indigenous feminist scholars Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill

⁵⁴ Vimasallery “The Wealth of Natives,” 304.

⁵⁵ There is a wealth of literature on Indigenous trade systems as a practice of Indigenous relations. See: J. Cosmo Lewis, *Trade Roots: The Macaw Chronicle: Character Sketches, Observations and Reflections* (Santa Fe, New Mexico, Existential Press, 2025).

⁵⁶ Maile Arvin, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill, “Decolonizing Feminism: Challenging Connections Between Settler Colonialism and Heteropatriarchy,” *Feminist Formations* 25 no. 1 (2013), 13, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ff.2013.0006>.

⁵⁷ Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, “Decolonizing Feminism,” 13.

define heteropatriarchy as the normalization of heterosexuality and patriarchy. The settler nation-state relies upon normative nuclear domestic arrangements for both the physical and ideological expansion of settler societies and capitalist economies.⁵⁸

Land dispossession is a gendered process that often transpires through violence against Indigenous women. Indigenous feminist scholar Audra Simpson argues that 19th century marriage laws reflect how settler colonialism operates through gender violence. She demonstrates the settler state's need to dispossess Indigenous women from their political roles, by characterizing them as disposable, to take their land. Rather than care for citizens through social welfare, Simpson clarifies that "Conservative, neoliberal governments" accumulate wealth through "extractive relationships to territory at all times...[because]...land is metaphorically a resource that gives itself to you for this purpose."⁵⁹ Destructive treatment of land by settler colonial states is the same mode by which settler colonial states view Native women. Settler colonial power and control are wielded through extractive logics that view both Native land and Indigenous women as disposable.

Within settler capitalism, Native women become subsumed within patriarchal labor systems that burden them with extra labor and erode the political power they held prior to capitalist social relations.⁶⁰ Rauna Kuokkanen argues for critical consideration of how Native women experience fluctuating tensions between capitalist relations and Indigenous social

⁵⁸ Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, "Decolonizing Feminism," 13.

⁵⁹ Simpson, "The State Is a Man," 7.

⁶⁰ Kuokkanen, "From Indigenous Economies," 291.

relations within geographically, temporally, and culturally specific contexts. Kuokkanen's survey of research on how historical settler capitalist economies caused Indigenous societal changes in North America shows that early capitalist markets introduced economic relations that undermined collective Indigenous social, political, and economic structures, while also eroding individual Indigenous women's status, political power, and economic independence.⁶¹

Kokkukannen contends that historical and contemporary settler corporations extract and exploit both Indigenous lands and labor, a process that Kokkukannen suggests manifests in Indigenous dependency on settler controlled credit and cash economies. Settler capitalist economies, like the Canadian fur trade, venerated models of individual accumulation and male labor, while rejecting subsistence-based practices which often revered Indigenous women's leadership roles in Indigenous governance structures. The incorporation of Indigenous societies into global markets through which European settler colonialism operated has limited Indigenous governance and economies. Kuokkanen finds that capitalist relations forced a loss of Indigenous collective autonomy as well as Indigenous women's autonomy because capitalist modes of resource extraction drastically transformed Indigenous environments, and introduced credit and (later) cash economy systems.⁶²

Settler market systems require the ongoing non-consensual exploitation of Indigenous knowledge and that knowledge becomes commodified within settler-capitalism. Laurie Anne Whitt shows that under intellectual property law, Indigenous culture and knowledge is not fully protected from extraction and becomes fair game for commoditization by settler capitalists.

⁶¹ Kuokkanen, "From Indigenous Economies," 277.

⁶² Kuokkanen, "From Indigenous Economies," 279.

Whitt employs the term “cultural imperialism,” to describe the process by which Indigenous spirituality and cultural practices are misappropriated into products for settler markets. The logics that enable cultural imperialism are deeply ingrained in the US settler colonial project because they flow from settler property law. The exploitation of Indigenous knowledge for settler profit is a conceptual assimilation that operates to subordinate and control Indigenous cultures by Euro-American culture.⁶³

The rhetorics of *the settler turquoise monopoly* provide examples of how the political, legal, and marketing discourses of settler capitalist projects perpetuate the theft of Native lands. I draw from Ailene Moreton Robinson’s theories of property and race. Moreton Robinson shows that racialization and property laws are co-constitutive, and whiteness is a racial category constructed as the rightful owner of property. Whiteness is a patriarchal possessive force anchoring itself within the act of possessing Indigenous lands. European notions of property transform humans into three categories: owning property, becoming propertyless, and being property. Property ownership is specifically white and patriarchal. The right to possess is masculine because Indigenous lands were framed as *terra nullius*, and thus “appropriated in the name of the Crown, signifying the rule of the king and the masculine capacity to possess property and to bear arms.” Furthermore, the disciplinary forces of the judiciary, police, and army are masculine attributes of Nation-states.⁶⁴ Property equips the settler with personhood

⁶³ Laurie Anne Whitt, “Cultural Imperialism and the Marketing of Native America,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 19, no. 3 (1995), 2, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicr.19.3.75725415011514r1>.

⁶⁴ Moreton-Robinson argues that Whiteness Studies and African American Studies often overlook Indigenous dispossession within their analyses of structures of power. She points to the act of possessing Indigenous lands which fuels settler societies with white supremacist

while the propertyless, including within that category Indigenous populations, casts them as something other than “human.”

I theorize *the settler turquoise monopoly*, as what Brenna Bhandar terms a “racial regime of ownership.” In a racial regime of ownership, the ability for a settler to “discover” Native land, and then claim and possess it as property, is a process of producing gendered and racial hierarchies.⁶⁵ Bhandar, describes settler property laws as “racial regimes of ownership” which organize territory while racializing Indigenous populations as outside the category of property owners.⁶⁶ Within Enlightenment discourse, property ownership divides the modern subject from the landless, premodern Indigenous subject. “The nearly uniform justification for casting indigenous populations as premodern was found in the absence of private property laws and particular forms of cultivation...” Those deemed pre-modern were considered to hold no property rights because land possession (from the white settler perspective) is determined by an ideology of improvement rooted in capitalist ideologies, which organizes race using specific types of labor and land use. Bhandar demonstrates that this view of property continues within modern property law, which still facilitates the racialization of Indigenous populations and

hegemonies: Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xii .

⁶⁵ Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership*, (Duke University Press, 2019) 1.; Maile Arvin, “Regenerative Refusals: Against the Logic of Possession Through Whiteness in Hawai`i and Polynesia,” lecture for the Social Justice Institute Noted Scholars Series, October 4, 2017, by University of British Columbia, Youtube, 49:35, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dHKzxpK8FWA>.

⁶⁶ Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 2.

dispossession of land.⁶⁷ Settler notions of property are informed by European constructions of race that are tied to land use. Within Christian Enlightenment, the modern human is distinct from nature because he can transform Indigenous land, or wilderness, into civilization.⁶⁸ Bhandar shows how types of land use become racialized as either civilized or primitive. Land use categories then inform property laws that function as “racial regimes of ownership,” further excluding Indigenous people from the category of property owners.⁶⁹

In addition to the logic of white supremacy, patriarchy also serves to organize settler market systems as a justification for ongoing violent capitalist relations. Anthropologist and Indigenous feminist scholar Shannon Speed explores white supremacy and patriarchy as the attendant logics of settler colonialism, and examines capitalism as interrelated structures of power that contribute to the American settler colonial project. Speed’s argument counsels that “white supremacy is structured into our institutions and everyday social relations...” and I use that perspective to map the evolutions of racial regimes of property in the turquoise mining and distribution market.⁷⁰ The US settler colonial nation state operates through the racialization of Black and Indigenous people to subordinate these groups and to justify the theft of Native and Black land and labor. Alyosha Goldstein defines racialization as an ongoing “expropriation and

⁶⁷ Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 3-4.

⁶⁸ Kay Anderson, *Race and the Crisis of Humanism* (Routledge, 2007), 30.

⁶⁹ Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 2.

⁷⁰ Shannon Speed, “The Persistence of White Supremacy: Indigenous Women Migrants and the Structures of Settler Capitalism,” *American Anthropologist* 122, no. 1 (2020): 77, <https://doi.org/10.1111/aman.13359>.

subjection and the differential devaluation of racialized peoples.” Goldstein articulates how Native and Black land dispossession is an ongoing process of capitalist accumulation in the US because colonialism is a “a primary social, economic, and political feature of the United States itself...”⁷¹ US settler society and its capitalist economy produces racial hierarchies as justification for white settlers to enslave and dispossess Black and Native people for capitalist expansion.

By associating Indigenous persons with wild spaces, settler colonial legal systems erode and eliminate Indigenous agency over their homelands. The United States Supreme Court attempted to legally justify conflating Native people with the wilderness because “[t]hey remain in a state of nature, and have never been admitted into the general society of nations.”⁷² According to settler society racial logics, if Native people exist in a perpetual state of nature, they can be excluded from legitimate land ownership, enabling the erosion of Native rights over their homelands. The racialization of Indigenous populations as incapable of owning the land thereby justifies settler claims to land.⁷³

⁷¹ Alyosha Goldstein, “On the Reproduction of Race, Capitalism, and Settler Colonialism,” in *Race and Capitalism: Global Territories, Transnational Histories*, eds. A. Roy, M. Dawson, N. Connolly, A. Finch, K. Perry, A. Campi, et al. (Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA, 2018), 45, <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/9pz3j3bd>.

⁷² “Fletcher and Dartmouth thereby represented the rearticulation of “Indian tribes” into a legal and economic structure predicated on imperialist capitalism without any corporate accountability.” Joanne Barker, “The Corporation and the Tribe,” *American Indian Quarterly* 38 no. 3, (2015): 250, 256, 266, <https://doi.org/10.5250/amerindiquar.39.3.0243>.

⁷³ Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism,” 387.

To dispute these settler perspectives, I rely on literary scholar Edward Said who uses discourse analysis of settler-produced literature to show that colonial citizens of imperial nations are shaped by and reinforce imperial goals of land resource dispossession through writings that feature dispossessed lands as that nation's property.⁷⁴ Land is the primary struggle within projects of the empire, and the power to control the narrative substantiates questions of "... who owned the land, who had the right to settle and work on it, who kept it going, who won it back, and who now plans its future..."⁷⁵ The territorial era government reports and mining industry marketing narratives I analyze attempted to eliminate Kewa non-property relationships with turquoise mines to justify settler mine claims even though Kewa miners were present throughout settler mining industry operations. As Jean O'Brien shows, settler authored histories consistently write Indigenous populations out of the settler historic record. O'Brien's study of over six hundred local colonial histories written by settlers shows that language about Indian extinction was circulated to refute Indigenous land rights and claims, despite historical records of Indigenous people living within the same cities as authors of these "histories."⁷⁶

Settler-authored fabrications about Kewa mines in the Cerrillos Hills repeat a mythology that suggests that the mines were long abandoned, even though archival records and tribal oral histories prove otherwise. False claims that Kewa turquoise mines were abandoned follows the logic of what Mark Rifkin identifies as settler time. Settler time describes how settler portrayals of Indigenous absence "erase extant forms of [Indigenous] occupancy, governance, and

⁷⁴ Edward W. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (Vintage, 1994), xii-xvi.

⁷⁵ Said, *Culture and Imperialism*, xiii.

⁷⁶ Jean M. O'Brien, *Firsting and Lasting: Writing Indians Out of Existence in New England* (University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

opposition to settler encroachments.”⁷⁷ I argue that placing Indigenous mining practices within settler time is a territorial government settler colonial strategy to exclude Indigenous societies from contesting dispossession in New Mexico. Territorial New Mexico governors and their administrations produced and circulated mining industry documents that sought to frame Indigenous peoples as a remnant of the past, while settlers represented the future, an example of what Kevin Bruyneel calls settler memory. In US political discourse, Indigenous Nations and their citizens are symbolically eliminated to render Indigenous political agency invisible, precluding Indigenous populations from political engagement.⁷⁸

Through archival research, I identify specific formations of both masculine and feminine settler subjects within territorial era New Mexico.⁷⁹ The gendered settler subjects I identify are produced through what humanities scholar Richard Slotkin identifies as the wilderness hero character of US frontier narratives. From the early colonization of the Americas, settlers have produced stories about white men and women who journey into the wilderness. The wilderness is framed as a space of primitive indigeneity and the hero is tasked with mastering Indigenous knowledge to overcome nature before returning home to white settler society. The hero then often wields Indigenous knowledge against Indigenous people to conquer their territory. The

⁷⁷ Mark Rifkin, *Beyond Settler Time: Temporal Sovereignty and Indigenous Self-Determination* (Duke University Press, 2017), 5.

⁷⁸ Kevin Bruyneel, *Settler Memory: The Disavowal of Indigeneity and the Politics of Race in the United States* (The University of North Carolina Press, 2021), 28-29.

⁷⁹ Marta Weigle, “From Desert to Disney World: The Santa Fe Railway and the Fred Harvey Company Display the Indian Southwest,” *Journal of Anthropological Research* 45, no. 1 (1989): 116, <https://doi.org/10.1086/jar.45.1.3630174>.; Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 13.

need for separating (physically and symbolically) the white settler subject from the Indigenous person forms the core of frontier lore. The Europeans who chose to separate themselves from their homeland culture by traveling across the ocean to the “primitive” wilderness became the heroes of these frontier mythologies. Slotkin’s analysis of frontier narratives shows how the framing of colonial American progress was thus linked “to a historical narrative in which repeated cycles of separation and regression were necessary preludes to an improvement in life and fortune.”⁸⁰

The hero journeys reinforce and perpetuate settler gender and sexuality systems that include a male and female gender binary. My archival research identifies both male and female hero journeys. I analyze the construction of the mineral prospector as a masculine hero in Lew Wallace’s 1879 *Report of the Governor of New Mexico*.⁸¹ In the same year of 1879, Lew Wallace’s wife, author Susan Wallace, took a trip from Santa Fe, New Mexico to collect turquoise specimens and Native-made objects at the Kewa turquoise mines. In her memoir she performs the symbolic work of dispossession through curio collecting. Together, each text demonstrates that settler gender is integral to territorial New Mexico’s settler colonial attempts to claim Indigenous mines. Susan Wallace’s female hero journey, which culminates in her turquoise mine tour, is an early form of cultural tourism and is a wilderness journey which is connected to the turquoise industry that emerged later in New Mexico. The southwest cultural tourism industry that emerged between the 1890s and 1940s offered tourists day trips, termed

⁸⁰ Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation*, 13-19.

⁸¹ Lew Wallace, *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior*, September 23, 1879, H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1879), 447-454.

“Indian Detours” to Native pueblo communities that recreated colonial encounters. Marta Weigle shows how the tours follow the wilderness hero journey format in which the tourist adventures into a primitive wilderness to encounter Native people. “Indian Detours” were also used as methods of selling Native-made turquoise and silver jewelry to tourists because the white female tour guides modeled the jewelry for sale by the tourism companies.⁸²

Settler capitalist markets also serve to corroborate discourses of race and gender through advertisements. Through the case study of industries for selling ice and other thermal technologies in Hawai’i, Hi’ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart shows how settler markets for commodities naturalize settler colonialism and operate to further entrench settler racial hierarchies. Colonized territory is maintained through market systems that circulate settler colonial racial logics. Hobart’s examination of newspaper advertisements beginning in the mid 1800s shows how the marketing of commodities like ice for settler consumption produced and further entrenched a racial hierarchy that produced Kānaka Maoli as inferior to white settlers. “Discourses about the cold encapsulate ideas about race, modernity, and the senses and in turn help rationalize Indigenous dispossession.”⁸³ Hobart’s examination of ice as a commodity informs my examination of turquoise as it is extracted and commoditized by settler market systems. Turquoise is used by settlers as an aesthetic object that holds monetary value, so purchasing turquoise seems innocent, yet its aesthetic use masks the ways it often signifies racial hierarchies that naturalize white settlers as property owners and Native jewelers as racialized

⁸² Brown, *Tourists as Colonizers*, 193, 200.

⁸³ Hi’ilei Julia Kawehipuaakahaopulani Hobart, *Cooling the Tropics: Ice, Indigeneity, and Hawaiian Refreshment* (Duke University Press, 2023) 2.

laborers.⁸⁴ I analyze primary sources from territorial-era politicians to show that settler-authored language about turquoise mines, and turquoise as a curio to collect, reveal how white supremacist vantages expand settler state power through the ownership and consumption of luxury commodities within settler capitalist markets.

The Native jewelers I interview still encounter Native art market audience ideas of authenticity that limit jewelry materials and forms to certain designs and styles from the late 1800s. Henrietta Litchdi described the evolution of Native-made turquoise and silver jeweler as a commodity, as follows:

The Southwest can be conceived as a delimited space where a particular kind of visual dialectic is continuously in play around jewellery. Native American jewellery is tangibly present – an object, as image, as idea drawing together multiple constituencies of appreciation. In this expanded and culturally complex field, the making, wearing and viewing of Native jewelry is not easily disentangled into separate subjectivities. As an idea and sign it is pervasive. As an object it is continually transacted: made, sold, gifted, loaned, pawned, used, owned and resold. It has a prodigious capacity to circulate.”⁸⁵

Litchdi’s archival research pieces together the numerous and complex ways that the jewelry is bought, sold, and manufactured within historic overlapping markets of the curio trade, trading

⁸⁴ Readers can reference Chapters 4 and 5 of this dissertation for my specific critique of how these extraction and labor issues are marginalized in the Native arts literature that has maintained a focus on the somewhat narrow constraints of identity issues, marginalization and inclusion into primarily white institutions such as museums and galleries. Critical analysis of Native art market systems remains limited. I draw on scholarship by Mellanie Yazzie who identifies neoliberal, and extractive capitalist logics in the Native arts “cultural industry” situated in Santa Fe, New Mexico. See: Nick Estes, Melanie K Yazzie, Jennifer Denetdale, and David Correia, *Red Nation Rising: From Bordertown Violence to Native Liberation* (PM Press, 2022).; Melanie K. Yazzie, “US Imperialism and the Problem of ‘Culture’ in Indigenous Politics: Towards Indigenous Internationalist Feminism,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 43 no. 3 (2019): 95–117, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.43.3.yazzie>.

⁸⁵ Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires*, 139.

posts, tourism, and contemporary Native Art market. Santa Fe-based Native jewelry markets remain embedded with aesthetic expectation originating from a complex history of jewelry as a transacted object that holds different meanings to different groups. I draw from Lichdi's analysis of how white American concepts of authenticity from the 1930s shaped the formation of categories and conventions used to regulate the Native jewelry market. In contrast, other white entrepreneurs during the same time prioritized commercial success over "authenticity" giving rise to mechanized systems of Native jewelry production, some staffed by Native bench jewelers, and some that did not employ Native people and produced imitation or "Native-style" jewelry set with turquoise.⁸⁶ As reported by interviewees, the tension present in early 20th century Native jewelry production persists today in the form of institutional judging criteria and widely held consumer desire for natural turquoise that was sourced in America, instead of other provenances.

Settler colonial inventions of Indigenous people are gendered and impact Native female artists who are required to navigate co-constitutive markets of turquoise mining, distribution, and Native art sales. In each of these systems, they experience gendered penalties and market harms. I build upon scholarship by Nancy Marie Mithlo's 2008 interview research with professional Native women artists working in Santa Fe. Mithlo examines their experiences as cultural producers to trace the variables of "representation, identity, and power" and Mithlo's analysis concludes that Native female artists contend with ideas projected onto both them and their work because in the public imaginary they are used in national identity narratives.⁸⁷ Without consent,

⁸⁶ Falkenstein-Doyle, "Eighteenth-century Economy," 217.

⁸⁷ "This double expectation, that you be Indian in physical appearance and that your work conform to Indian art standards, could be argued to exist in equal strength for Native men and women, but in my work, it is the women who bear the responsibility as communal artists, thus

Native women are conceptually transformed into holders of national ideologies in which Indigenous people and their art are settler society's racialized other who is fixed in the past.⁸⁸ My analysis of gendered experiences of interviewees demonstrates that, in addition to their creative labor, the bodies of Native female artists are viewed as extractable commodities for settler male economic actors who control material resources in the Native Art market of Santa Fe.

Indigenous studies scholar Kēhaulani Kauanui argues that Indigeneity is also a critical category of analysis, and must be viewed alongside the perpetual structure of settler colonialism.⁸⁹ Kauanui adds that “indigeneity itself is enduring” because “indigenous peoples exist, resist, and persist.” It is this “enduring indigeneity” that settler colonialism, as a lingering and relentless structure, “holds out against.”⁹⁰ Kauanui's articulation that Indigeneity, which is socially constructed, acts “as a counterpart analytic to settler colonialism” is a core tenet of the analysis conducted herein.⁹¹ Thus, addressing the disputations of settler colonialism, and the ways in which Indigeneity endures within specific historical contexts, can reveal the unique experiences of Indigenous nations. .⁹²

positioning Native women as being closer to what may be considered a more accurate register of indigenous arts practices.” Mithlo, *Our Indian Princess*, 2.

⁸⁸ Joshua Miner, “Remediating the “Famous Indian Artist”: Native Aesthetics beyond Tourism and Tragedy,” *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 30, no. 2 (2018), 87, <https://dx.doi.org/10.5250/studamerindilite.30.2.0079>.

⁸⁹ J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, “Thinking with Melissa Gniadek and Beenash Jafri,” *Lateral* 6, no. 1 (2017): 2, <https://doi.org/10.25158/L6.1.9>.

⁹⁰ Kauanui, ““A Structure, Not an Event,”” 1.

⁹¹ Kauanui, ““A Structure, Not an Event,”” 2-4.

⁹² Kauanui, ““A Structure, Not an Event,”” 1.

The protection and return of tribal homelands to tribal governments remains a pressing concern in the field of American Indian and Indigenous studies.⁹³ Indigenous land reclamation projects have recently gained increasing momentum over the past two decades. Indigenous land is transformed by settler society into resources that can be owned. Meanwhile, Indigenous communities continue to assert ongoing relationships with the land. Indigenous activists and Indigenous led organizations have employed the term “Land Back” which describes a collective goal of returning land to Native communities. For example, the Indigenous led organization NDN Collective runs a program called “Landback.”⁹⁴ While legal strategies are the primary method tribal nations have employed to recover dispossessed homelands, I argue that Native arts and cultural practices can shed light on the instability of settler colonial property claims, offering further justification for the return of Native land, and which may also provide further support for tribal lawyers and Indigenous advocates pursuing the return of Native land.⁹⁵

Historical Context of Kewa Turquoise Dispossession

While Cerrillos mining history is extensively documented, the sacred status of the Cerrillos turquoise mines to the Kewa is omitted from mining histories, and the Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo’s 60 years of land claim litigation to recover the Cerrillos hills is

⁹³ Indigenous studies scholar Leanne Simpson articulates links between Indigenous knowledge systems, tribal homelands, and Indigenous futurity because access to homelands is critical for the maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge systems, which include arts and cultural production. Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, 81.

⁹⁴ “Landback,” NDN Collective, accessed April 10, 2024, <https://ndncollective.org/landback/>.

⁹⁵ I use the term Indigenous knowledge as a catchall category which includes Indigenous arts and cultural practices.

unacknowledged within current scholarship and popular discourses about the Southwestern turquoise mining industry. By highlighting the omission of Indigenous perspectives and relationships with the Cerrillos Hills Mines, I point to a pattern in settler-authored historical narratives –the absence of Indigenous property rights within settler colonial law-making. The literature reviewed here is synthesized to argue that US mining laws were enacted as tactics of westward expansion via capitalist acceleration.

Indigenous land dispossession is the first step to forming *the settler turquoise monopoly*. Native nations in New Mexico have navigated three subsequent waves of land dispossession by the Spanish, Mexican, and American settler colonial occupations. Each of these governments implemented various legal mechanisms for transferring Native land to “public land” status. Land grants were made to settlers under the Spanish and Mexican occupations. “The two major types of land grants were private grants made to individuals, and communal grants made to groups of individuals for the purpose of establishing settlements. Communal land grants were also made to Pueblos for the lands they inhabited.”⁹⁶ There were also regional differences in the land grant paperwork under the Spanish government which added to later confusion in the land claim dispute process during the American period.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ “Granting of Land Grants to Individuals and Communities,” New Mexico Commission of Public Records, State Records Center and Archives, accessed May 22, 2026, <https://www.srca.nm.gov/land-grants/>.

⁹⁷ David Correia, “Making Destiny Manifest: United States Territorial Expansion and the Dispossession of Two Mexican Property Claims in New Mexico, 1824–1899,” *Journal of Historical Geography* 35 (2009): 90, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2008.02.002>.

Pueblo lands granted by Spain, especially the lands of Pueblos with declining populations, were also eroded under the Mexican government.⁹⁸ On January 4, 1813, the decree of the Cortes of Cadiz was upheld by the Mexican government and allowed for the privatization of “surplus” public land. “Surplus” was not clearly defined and tied to Pueblo populations. While Spain had prohibited the sale of Pueblo lands, the Mexican constitution declared Indigenous Puebloans “as Spaniards in all things,” transforming them into Mexican citizens.⁹⁹ Mexican law enabled foreigners to receive land grants, and for Pueblo lands to be sold.¹⁰⁰ In 1821, the Santa Fe Trail opened Mexican land to foreign investors. Unlike Spanish land grant laws, Mexican laws allowed foreigners to receive land grants. For example, American “... foreign traders such as Ceran St. Vrain and Carlos Beaubien settled in New Mexico and requested large land grants. These grants often overlapped traditional Hispano and Indian communities.”¹⁰¹

The transformation of Pueblo land holdings into available “surplus” land contributed to the American conquest of Mexico. By allowing US settlers access to Native lands, Mexico unwittingly provided a foothold for American military conquest via trade routes and Mexican business allies. Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz illuminates how trading posts in the southwest functioned as a tool of US imperialism. Prior to the 1821 through 1848 US military invasion and annexation

⁹⁸ Malcolm Ebright and Rick Hendricks, *Pueblo Sovereignty: Indian Land and Water in New Mexico and Texas* (Univ. Oklahoma Press, 2019), 24.

⁹⁹ Ebright and Hendricks, *Pueblo Sovereignty*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ Ebright and Hendricks, *Pueblo Sovereignty*, 24.

¹⁰¹ Ebright and Hendricks, *Pueblo Sovereignty*, 24.

of Mexico, a region which encompasses the current state of New Mexico, American businessmen descended upon the southwest to capitalize upon existing Indigenous-Hispanic trading routes. Dunbar-Ortiz calls this phenomenon “mobile capitalism” which was initially attracted to the southwest fur trade. Settler capitalists established trading post businesses while also intermarrying with the nouveau New Mexico Hispano elite, resulting in growing class disparity. Trading posts established a cash and credit economy in the region where subsistence and barter had previously sustained the Indigenous and working-class Mexican citizens. The credit system created crushing debt for this population, which Dunbar-Ortiz explains as transforming them into indentured servants for the elite entrepreneur class. Racial dynamics of “mobile capitalism” facilitated the US military invasion because these Hispano elite, who were now linked through both familial and economic ties to American businessmen turned on the Mexico state to aid the invasion. At the conclusion of the Mexican-American War, the July 4, 1848, Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo expanded United States territory into what is now the states of New Mexico, Utah, Arizona, Western Colorado, and Southwestern Wyoming.¹⁰²

Immigration into the west increased exponentially when gold was discovered in Sutters Mill in 1848.¹⁰³ In the territory of New Mexico, the treaty initiated American capitalist land

¹⁰² Roxanne Dunbar Ortiz, *Not a Nation of Immigrants*, 90.

¹⁰³ “California Gold Rush,” Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed Apr. 20, 2026, <https://www.britannica.com/event/California-Gold-Rush>.; In 1931, legal scholar Tobias Lewin pointed out that the migration of prospectors and population explosion in mining camps warranted new legal codes to govern prospecting and claim making, yet the Federal government did not act, “...and as a result the miners looked to themselves for the drafting of codes of laws which would best serve them. The rules drawn up were a product of the common-law regulations as found in respect to the tin mines of Devon and Cornwall in England, the Mexican ordinances, and the civil law of Spain.¹⁵ These improvised codes were later recognized by both State and Federal authority.” Tobias Lewin, “The History of Government Property in Minerals in the

grabs by replacing Mexican common-property land tenure (derived from Spain) into the American private property system.¹⁰⁴ Article 8 of the treaty stated that “property of every kind now belonging to Mexicans not established there shall be inviolably respected.”¹⁰⁵

Legal, political, cultural, and market discourses have historically sought to eliminate Indigenous presence on the land, and claims to the land, by remaking histories that install the settler as the rightful owner of the dispossessed land. The Homestead Act (May 20, 1862) and the American Mining Act (May 10, 1872) opened Native land to settler ownership via specific types of land use. The Homestead Act allowed for any adult heads of household, over the age of 21, *who were US citizens*, to claim 160 acres of public land if they occupied and developed it through a farm or ranch for at least five years.¹⁰⁶ The General Mining Act allowed for any mineral deposits in public land to be available for mining claims, but again this was only

United States,” 16 St. Louis L Rev. 245 (1931), 4,
https://openscholarship.wustl.edu/law_lawreview/vol16/iss3/8, .

¹⁰⁴ Correia, “Making Destiny Manifest,” 89.

¹⁰⁵ “Land Grants,” New Mexico Commission of Public Records, State Records Center and Archives, accessed February 18, 2026, <https://www.srca.nm.gov/land-grants/>.

¹⁰⁶ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 39.; “Homestead Act (1862),” Milestone Documents, National Archives, accessed March 18, 2024, <https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/homestead-act#:~:text=The%20Homestead%20Act%2C%20enacted%20during,plot%20by%20cultivating%20the%20land.>

available to US citizens.¹⁰⁷ Of course, it was not until 1924, when the Indian Citizenship Act was passed, that most Native persons were granted citizenship.¹⁰⁸

The Homestead and the General Mining acts operated together to promote new settler-colonial settlement in the West through industrial development. Western historian Gordon Morris Bakken shows that the US Federal Land Disposal Acts facilitated settler capitalist expansion by making dispossessed Native lands public, then allowed for farming, ranching, and later mining. As farmers, ranchers, and miners paid taxes, US export capacity was bolstered. “From the long view of a Western historian, the Mining Law of 1872 did just about the same things that federal land disposal acts did. It put public lands into private hands...”¹⁰⁹ Native lands recently dispossessed through genocidal military campaigns, and removals were transferred into the public domain.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ “About Mining and Minerals,” U.S. Department of the Interior Bureau of Land Management, accessed March 21, 2024, <https://www.blm.gov/programs/energy-and-minerals/mining-and-minerals/about#:~:text=The%20federal%20law%20governing%20locatable,open%20to%20exploration%20and%20purchase>.

¹⁰⁸ Native Indian Freedom Citizenship Suffrage Act of 1924 and 1925, Pub. L. 68–175, 43 Stat. 253, <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-43/STATUTE-43-Pg253-2>.

¹⁰⁹ Gordon Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law Of 1872* (University of New Mexico Press, 2011), 41-51.

¹¹⁰ The Indian Pueblo Cultural Center (<https://indianpueblo.org>) details the historic and contemporary geography of Pueblo locations: “There are 19 Pueblo Tribes in New Mexico. Each Pueblo is a sovereign nation. Today, Pueblo people are located primarily in New Mexico. At one time, the Pueblo homeland reached into what is now Colorado and Arizona, where incredible dwellings and trading centers were established at sites such as Chaco Canyon in northwestern New Mexico and Mesa Verde in southwestern Colorado.” The 19 Pueblo tribal Nations are: Nambé Pueblo, Ohkay Ohwingeh, Picuris Pueblo, Pueblo de Cochiti, Pueblo de San Ildefonso, Pueblo of Acoma, Pueblo of Isleta, Pueblo of Jemez, Pueblo of Laguna, Pueblo of Pojoaque, Pueblo of San Felipe, Pueblo of Sandia, Pueblo of Santa Ana, Pueblo of Tesuque, Pueblo of Zia, Pueblo of Zuni, Santa Clara Pueblo, Santo Domingo Pueblo, Taos Pueblo. “New Mexico’s 19

White American settler land speculators also benefited from the US land grant adjudication process, which overwhelmingly dismissed land claims, opening up New Mexico lands to the public domain.¹¹¹ Pueblo lands were further diminished through the US government's misinterpretations of Spanish land grants. US negligence in identifying Pueblo reservation boundaries worked together with the government's desire to settle the West through extractive capitalism. After the US conquest of the region, US inaction on non-Indian encroachment upon Pueblo land in New Mexico prompted Pueblo delegations to Santa Fe and Washington, DC, to protest non-Indian encroachment and to request US government protection of their lands."¹¹² Pueblo tribal nations experienced land loss in part due to inaccuracies made by the office of the Surveyor General which reviewed and recommended congressional approval of Pueblo land titles. The office was woefully under-resourced, leading to inaccuracies that further

Pueblos The 19 Pueblos of New Mexico," accessed March 22, 2026, Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, <https://indianpueblo.org/new-mexicos-19-pueblos/>; In addition to Pueblo Tribal Nations, the Navajo Nation (Diné), Jicarilla Apache Nation, Mescalero Apache Tribe, Fort Sill Apache Tribe are also federally recognized tribal Nations located within the borders of the State of New Mexico, "23 NM Federally Recognized Tribes in NM Counties," Secretary of State's Office, accessed March 20, 2026, <https://www.sos.nm.gov/voting-and-elections/native-american-election-information-program/23-nm-federally-recognized-tribes-in-nm-counties/>.

¹¹¹ "The U.S.-designed land grant adjudication placed the burden of proof on the communities of Spanish-speaking, subsistence claimants. The process proved almost impossible for all but moneyed interests to navigate. The adjudication of property claims served the interests of commercial speculators and ushered in a period of rural enclosures." Correia, "Making Destiny Manifest," 89.

¹¹² Sandra K. Mathews-Lamb, "'Designing and Mischievous Individuals': The Cruzate Grants and the Office of the Surveyor General," *New Mexico Historical Review* 71, no. 4 (1996): 342, <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol71/iss4/3>.

eroded Pueblo lands.¹¹³ The Kewa Pueblo's Spanish land grant to the Cerrillos hills was not affirmed and the land was opened to the public for purchase in 1870.¹¹⁴



Figure 4: “Pueblos of New Mexico and Neighboring Tribal Nations.” Map by the Indian Pueblo Cultural Center, 2026, <https://indianpueblo.org/new-mexicos-19-pueblos/>.

¹¹³ Rick Hendricks, “Friends of History 1st Weds Lecture – Pueblo Indian Sovereignty,” New Mexico History Museum, Streamed live on YouTube, June 2, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=q5R0z1OrRUU>.; Mathews-Lamb, “Designing and Mischievous Individuals,” 345.

¹¹⁴ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 39.

Chapter 1 CLAIMING FRONTIER MASCULINITY

The genuine “prospector” is here, and comes to stay. He is in the mountains everywhere. Bugbear stories do not stop him, neither do land grants, rattle snakes, bears, nor painted Indians.

- Governor Lew Wallace, 1879¹¹⁵

In the beginning, some clans were given special things by their gods. When the Sun clan was given the turquoise they would have it and be responsible for it forever. But turquoise was intended for all the world, so they would trade it as well as using it for jewelry and in their religion. Turquoise was the most important thing they had.¹¹⁶

-Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo Council, 1976.

The incongruity of *the settler turquoise monopoly* is laid bare when considering the struggles the Kewa faced during American exploitation of New Mexico. On the one hand, American settlers relied on Indigenous knowledge to identify the location of turquoise mines while, on the other hand, the settlers claimed that the mines were abandoned. But the mines are only abandoned from the settler perspective, which is a perspective formed from racist notions of an idealized white hero who exploits land for profit. In reality, the Kewa were still working the mines, including during the time when the settlers began creating the narrative that the mines were ancient and unworked.

Kewa relational responsibilities to the turquoise mines, and to all other peoples who relied on the Kewa Pueblo’s mining and turquoise trade systems, are an ontology standing in stark contrast with US property doctrine grounded in notions of the property owner as an

¹¹⁵ Lew Wallace, *Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior*, 1879, H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1879), 449.

¹¹⁶ Santo Domingo Council statement quoted in Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder, “The Basis for Santo Domingo Pueblo’s Claim to the Turquoise Mines Area,” Plaintiff’s Exhibit 1, 1976. Document and related materials are held at the Maxwell Museum of Anthropology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Catalogue No. 2010.41.1976g. 5.

individual rather than a collective. Tribal claims to land are historically argued in US court systems that require testimony of Indigenous conceptions of spiritual practices in legal claims. Within the US legal system, the Doctrine of Discovery justifies the claiming and taking of Native lands, and it is the legal architecture that enables the US settler state to control Indigenous nations. The Doctrine of Discovery shapes legal definitions of mine claims as a type of discoverable private property which can be claimed on dispossessed Native lands that were transferred to the US Federal public domain.¹¹⁷ Mining claims as individual settler property reveal the individual possessive ideology of capitalist relations which contrast with Kewa views of turquoise mines. The Kewa view the turquoise mines and their care, including the mining and trading of the gemstone, as a responsibility. The Kewa's land claim case sought the return of the dispossessed turquoise mines. The arguments of their case hinged upon proof of ongoing occupancy and ongoing mining work in accordance with settler mining laws that flow directly from the Doctrine of Discovery, yet testimony by tribal leadership for the court also emphasized Indigenous relations that counter capitalist ones.

The Santo Domingo council's in-court testimony (1940-2000) conveys their position with respect to their land claim by translating Indigenous practices of relational connections for a US audience. In this case, the tribe asserted that turquoise mining rights of the Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo in the Cerrillos Hills flow from responsibility, reciprocity, and connection. Testimony reveals that Kewa's ancestral matrilineal kinship system is composed of the Sun, Corn, Fox, and Fire Clans. In a document prepared for the tribe's land claim litigation, Santo

¹¹⁷ US Government. General Mining Act of 1872, Sess. 2, ch. 152, 17 Stat. 91–96. <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/COMPS-5337>.

Domingo tribal council members articulate that around the early 1500s, the Sun and Corn Clans had to separate from the Fox and Fire Clans, eventually establishing the pueblo of San Marcos, in “the whole area which we call Ka-tit-yama or Haoni hanot, which is along the Cerrillos Hills” partially for better hunting and farming, and primarily to steward the turquoise mines in the Cerrillos hills.¹¹⁸ The tribe documents how deities gifted each clan with unique knowledge and responsibility, given that each clan would provide the benefits of that knowledge to others. They state that The Sun Clan held knowledge of turquoise mining, and the Corn Clan held knowledge of pottery. Both clans worked together, as pottery also required the mined materials, galena and copper, from the Cerrillos hills.

It [the turquoise] was used for religious purposes. Some clans were given special things by the supernaturals in the beginning, and they would afterward be responsible for those things. The sun clan had been given possession and knowledge of turquoise. They always had been owners of the turquoise because of this. They always had it. That is what they lived by. This is the best way we can explain it to you: it was fundamental to their economy. They mined and worked it, and they traded lots of it among other tribes. Similarly, the corn clan had been given pottery as its specialty, and the two clans taught each other and could work together, side by side, with stone hammers and picks to get the turquoise.¹¹⁹

The Santo Domingo tribal council’s statement continues, explaining that the Sun and Corn Clans were eventually joined by the Isi (mustard) Clan, and the Isi also began mining turquoise with the Corn Clan. After the Spanish arrived, food shortages and resulting violent conflicts prompted the Sun and Corn Clans to move south and transfer their mines to the Isi

¹¹⁸ Santo Domingo Council statement quoted in: Ellis and Schroeder, “The Basis for Santo Domingo Pueblo’s Claim,” 5.

¹¹⁹ Santo Domingo Councilmen quoted in: Ellis and Schroeder, “The Basis for Santo Domingo Pueblo’s Claim,” 3-4. The people of San Marcos had been mining turquoise since 350-500 A.D. Ellis and Schroeder, “The Basis for Santo Domingo Pueblo’s Claim,” 26.

Clan. The Sun and Corn Clans were taken in by the Fox and Fire Clans who recognized them as relatives. The Isi Clan eventually faced the same hardships and, by 1792, had rejoined the Sun, Corn, Fox and Fire Clans at what is now the Santo Domingo pueblo. After these migrations, as stated in the exhibit document prepared for the court, “[t]heir precious turquoise mines became the possession of Santo Domingo as a whole, and the shrines associated with the mines were sacred to Santo Domingo as a whole.”¹²⁰ The rights and responsibility to the turquoise mines then passed to future generations of Kewa (Santo Domingo) people.

Native American mines were not recognized as legitimate by settler economic and political moguls who pushed mining as a civilizing project, enabled by railroad expansion and American imperialism. If US law had considered Kewa mining as of equal legitimacy to mining by US citizens, or those eligible for citizenship, then no new claims would have been legally made over Kewa turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills. Within settler mining law, mine claims cannot be staked over another claimant’s active mine. The law states that a mine claim is categorized as active if it has had at least \$100 worth of development per year.¹²¹ The discoverer of mineral wealth has the right to claim individual property, as long as he works it with sufficient energy and productivity. Under such a law, the ongoing Kewa turquoise mining should have presented a problem for investors who sought ownership of Kewa turquoise mines.

¹²⁰ Santo Domingo Councilmen quoted in Ellis and Schroeder, “The Basis for Santo Domingo Pueblo’s Claim,” 6.

¹²¹ Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law Of 1872*, 108.

Mine claims staked on dispossessed Native homelands in the West operated as a tool for expanding settler regimes of property during the late 1800s through the early 1900s.¹²² Legal historians frame the political debates that preceded US mining legislation as a push and pull between the federal government's requirement for revenue, and the desire of territorial politicians to see the Western lands settled and developed into a profitable mining industry.¹²³ Jesse Dukeminier and James Krier write that property functions as an institution for resource allocation. "To study property is to study social history, social relations, and social reform."¹²⁴ Property as a mode of allocating resources according to race and gender is widely addressed by Indigenous legal scholarship. Less work has been done on identifying how territorial mining claims operate as methods of dispossession and manufacture hierarchies of race and gender. Congressional representatives saw mining as a strategy of manifest destiny. Scholarly attention has primarily investigated environmental issues and the power of mining lobbyists throughout history.¹²⁵ Less scholarship discusses how settler mining claims, staked upon Native mines,

¹²² Michael Lopez "Tribal Rights: The 1872 Mining Law's Past and Future," *Natural Resources & Environment* 34, no. 3 (2020), 53-55, <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/tribal-rights-1872-mining-laws-past-future/docview/2369311158/se-2?accountid=14512>.

¹²³ Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law of 1872*, 11-16.

¹²⁴ "As an institution for allocating resources and distributing wealth and power, property bears in fundamentally important ways on central issues in contemporary life; as a body of doctrine, it discharges these modern-day tasks with rules and concepts drawn from age-old ways of looking at social relations in an ordered society." Jesse Dukeminier and James E. Krier, *Property* (Aspen Law & Business, 2010, 1st Edition), xxxi.

¹²⁵ Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law of 1872*, 50.; For more analysis of US mining law history see: John D. Leshy, *The Mining Law: A Study in Perpetual Motion* (Routledge, 1987).

operate beyond just wealth expansion and also actively produce and circulate settler constructions of race and gender.

This chapter examines two territorial New Mexico governor reports to the US Secretary of the Interior. The first is authored by Lew Wallace in 1879, who served as the territorial governor between September 4, 1878, and May 5, 1881, and the second is authored by LeBaron Bradford Bradford Prince in 1891, who served as the territorial governor between April 2, 1889, and April 7, 1893.¹²⁶ Through discourse analysis, I identify language describing how the locations of settler mine claims were determined by locating existing Kewa turquoise mines. I pay attention to the language used by each governor to describe settler prospectors, Indigenous mining tools, and existing Indigenous turquoise mines.

Both Wallace and Prince are key actors who staked their own claims within the political economy of mining in the Cerrillos Hills beginning in 1879. While serving in office, each governor personally invested in mining claims staked over the Kewa turquoise mines.¹²⁷ Mining

¹²⁶ Lew Wallace, Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1879, H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 46th Cong., 2nd Sess. (1879). Wallace kept a printed copy of his report now held in the archives of the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives: Lew Wallace, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879," in *Reports of the Governors of Arizona, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington Territories, Made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879*, Washington: Government Printing Office 1879. Folder 7, Lew Wallace, Official papers, Report to Sec. of Interior, 1879, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.; LeBarron Bradford Prince, Report of the Governor of New Mexico, October 12, 1891, H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 52nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1891).

¹²⁷ Wallace and Prince each mention and describe Kewa turquoise mines in numerous mining industry-related government reports and correspondence authored between 1879 and 1910. Governor Lew Wallace Papers, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, Santa Fe, New Mexico.; LeBarron Bradford Prince Business Papers, Mining Interests, Unknown, 5.3. L. Bradford Prince papers, 1959-174. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

claims were staked by American settlers and settler mining activities intensified in the Kewa turquoise mining region of the Cerrillos Hills during two separate rushes. The first mining rush in the Cerrillos Hills occurred between 1879 and 1880 and overlaps with Lew Wallace's Governorship (1878 -1881). During this first Cerrillos mining rush, American turquoise was not initially sought by Wallace and other settler mine investors who primarily speculated for precious metals.¹²⁸ Indigenous turquoise mines are frequently referenced by mining industry texts to attract potential investors because the presence of turquoise was falsely equated with a mine's precious metal yield. The second rush occurred between 1890 and 1910 and overlaps with Bradford Prince's Governorship (1889-1893). During this second rush, turquoise was one of the most desired minerals for American investors, and Bradford Prince held numerous turquoise mine investments during the 1890s.¹²⁹

In this chapter I argue that turquoise mining claims, made by American settler prospectors during the territorial period in New Mexico, are produced by, and reify, the settler discourse of discovery and myths about Kewa absence from their mines. Discourse analysis findings identify how the language choices of each governor follow the foundational mythologies of US settler colonialism, showing the productive power of mining as a civilizing strategy to eliminate and control Indigenous and other non-white settler populations, and construct the settler as the rightful owner of the dispossessed mineral lands. Wallace and Prince's texts each frame American prospectors as heroic masculine settler subjects who perform the

¹²⁸ Persian turquoise was the desired turquoise for settler jewelry manufacturing. Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 45.

¹²⁹ Cerrillos, Unknown, 5.3.2.1. L. Bradford Prince papers, 1959-174, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

work of transforming New Mexico into private property within a racialized regime of property ownership. The territorial New Mexico settler political economy cannot exist without exploiting Indigenous knowledge as well as Indigenous homelands. Indeed, New Mexico's early American settler mining industry required the exploitation of Indigenous knowledge to locate new mines.

The turquoise mining claims owned by Wallace, Prince, and their colleagues can be seen as a type of settler property that is (falsely) produced and legitimized by the settler as "discovery" of an already existing Kewa mine. In actuality, the settlers would not have "discovered" the mines but for their exploitation of Kewa knowledge. Wallace and Prince's reports to the Secretary of the Interior demonstrate the productive power of political language, especially when the documents are examined with a consideration for the simultaneous roles held by each governor as political officials and capitalists. The mechanics of settler myth-making as it animates settler political economies are laid bare when the political and economic power of its authors is part of the analysis.

The Mythologies of "Discovery" in Extractive Settler Political Economies

Settler colonial societies construct a narrative in which the first European settlers who "discover" new territories can claim them. The term *terra nullius* is a foundational narrative of dispossession with settler colonial legal frameworks. Legal and gender studies scholar Sherene Razack argues that racialization is a spatial project, and racialized geographies are encoded into settler laws that justify the settler occupation of Indigenous land. National stories are white settler mythologies that narrate white claims to native lands. They progress through three phases: *terra nullius* "In the first phase of conquest, we see the relationship between law, race, and space in the well-known legal doctrine of *terra nullius*, or empty, uninhabited lands." The land is considered empty by Europeans because no white Christians inhabit it, and Indigenous peoples

are viewed as incapable of sufficiently developing the land through agricultural and commercial enterprises. The “ ‘empty land’ [is] developed by hardy and enterprising European settlers.”¹³⁰

These settlers are masculine and hardy and are shaped by their successful confrontations with the environment.

Male settler property owners performed the manual labor of the settler colonial project to transform “nature” into national wealth through homesteading and mining. Individual American and male settlers who were eligible for US citizenship were given land for homesteading, and could also acquire ownership of mineral lands by filing mine claim patents.¹³¹ Native lands in the West were stolen and transferred to the Federal Public Domain during two main phases of federal government legislation: the period of sale, designed by congress to quickly raise cash through land sales to individual US citizens, and the period of expansion, which “began with the

¹³⁰ The third phase Razack identifies emerges in the 1990s in which the pure nation of whites is “now besieged and crowded by Third World refugees and migrants...” a concept used to increase policing of the border while their labor is rendered invisible. The contemporary political language that Razack identifies as emerging in the 1990s directed towards refugees and migrants, is similar to the mining industry discourse of territorial New Mexico, which racialized Mexican citizens who were living there prior to US conquest. Non-white miners were rendered invisible in the political discourse of the time period. Miners in Cerrillos were recruited from Colorado and were a diverse population. Prince used Mexican labor to develop his mine claims while disparaging Mexican laborers in his report that I analyze in this chapter. Sherene Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society* (Between the Lines, 2002), 3.

¹³¹ “Finally, citizenship was not extended generally to the Indian people until 1924, a delay partially attributable to the perception that Indians were weak and incapable of shouldering the responsibilities of citizenship.” The trust duty has not been applied consistently to all Native Americans. In those territories previously governed by Mexico and Spain, for example, the courts have been unwilling, at times, to rigorously safeguard tribal rights.” Christine A. Klein, “Treaties of Conquest: Property Rights, Indian Treaties, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *New Mexico Law Review* 26, no. 2 (1996), 213, <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmlr/vol26/iss2/6>.

Pre-emption Act and, more particularly, with the Homestead Law of 1862, and then the Mining Law of 1872.”¹³² During the period of sale and the period of expansion, property ownership was enabled through one’s eligibility for US citizenship which excluded Native people.¹³³ The ideology of The Homestead Law of 1862 was based upon the “...agrarian myth of Jeffersonian yeoman farmers...”¹³⁴ Mining historian Thomas E. Sheridan argues that capitalism is the primary force that shapes social and physical space in Western US lands, as dictated by the requirement

¹³² “(1) The Period of Sale. In this period, the principal purpose was to raise money. It extended from the inception of the Federal Public Domain to the enactment of the Pre-emption Law of 1841 [“Act of Sept. 4, 1841, ch. 16, 5 Stat. 453.”] though this was a modified form of sale restricted to settlers.” “the period of sale did not end until the enactment of the Homestead Law in 1862. 4” “[4. Acts of May 20, 1862, ch. 75, 12 Stat. 392, 43 U.S.C. §§ 161-163.”] The Period of sale – from “Federal Public Domain to enactment of the Preemption Law of 1841 or the Homestead Law of 1862. “4. Acts of May 20, 1862, ch. 75, 12 Stat. 392, 43 U.S.C. §§ 161-163.” “(2) The Period of Expansion, Home-building, Use and Development.-This period began with the Pre-emption Act and, more particularly, with the Homestead Law of 1862 and the Mining Law of 1872,5 [“Act of May 10, 1872, ch. 152, § 1, 17 Stat. 91, 30 U.S.C. § 22.”]including the grants for education and internal improvements. “The Period of Reservation and Conservation,”. Which “began with the forest reservations under the Acts of March 3, 1891 and June 4, 1897, the Pickett Act of June 25, 1910, [and] the Mineral Leasing Act of February 25, 1920.” 1 and The Period of Multiple or Optimum Use Conservation remains to the present day a major feature of public domain administration. Horace R. McBroom, “Mineral Exploitation and Recreation Development on the National Resource Lands--Compatible or Incompatible.” *Syracuse Law Review* 24, no. 3 (1973), 1059, <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/syrlr24&i=1069>.

¹³³ “Citizens and persons who had declared their intention to become a citizen of the United States could occupy and purchase these lands.” Citizenship laws between the establishment of the Federal Public Domain and the Mining Law of 1872 specified that eligible citizens entitled to own homesteads or file patents for mining claims were male over the age of 19. Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law Of 1872*, 43.

¹³⁴ Thomas E. Sheridan, “Embattled Ranchers, Endangered Species, and Urban Sprawl: The Political Ecology of the New American West,” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 36 (2007): 121-138, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.36.081406.094413>.

of capitalism to perpetually expand through extractive and destructive land use.¹³⁵ The yeoman farmer could cultivate the wilderness into a civilized agrarian society by dominating nature.

When Hiram P. Bennet, Territorial Delegate of Colorado, introduced the first mining legislation bill to congress he argued that mining was more profitable for US expansion strategies than farming.¹³⁶ Other representatives pressed for taxation on all mining activities to replenish government coffers. Bennet argued for the opening of all lands in the Federal public domain to prospecting because “[i]n Bennet’s eyes, the miner and the farmer were performing the same duty as productive Americans. They were working the public domain and producing national wealth.”¹³⁷

In settler narratives about *terra nullius*, discovery is a masculine act performed by a masculine wilderness hero. The frontier narrative divides the land into racialized geographies of “wilderness,” associated with Indigenous peoples, juxtaposed with white spaces of civilization, urban centers from which the hero of the narrative originates. The hero journeys into the

¹³⁵ “Perhaps no other region in North America better epitomizes the fundamental spatial convulsions of capitalism. As geographer David Harvey (1985, p. 150) observes, capitalism perpetually strives... to create a social and physical landscape in its own image and requisite to its own needs at a particular point in time, only just as certainly to undermine, disrupt and even destroy that landscape at a later point in time. The inner contradictions of capitalism are expressed through the restless formation and reformation of geographical landscapes.” Sheridan, “Embattled Ranchers, Endangered Species, and Urban Sprawl,” 122.

¹³⁶ Bennet “...put the miners in that same basket as yeoman farmers.” Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law of 1872, Past, Politics, and Prospects*, 63-64.

¹³⁷ Morris Bakken, *The Mining Law of 1872*, 63-64.

wilderness to tame it for the benefit of the settler colonial project. Key to this project is the extraction of Indigenous knowledge, which the hero masters.¹³⁸

The frontier hero is both a hunter and a capitalist. Slotkin shows that both identities are central National ideologies and enfolded into the frontier hero to romanticize US settler capitalist expansion in the West. As a foundational national mythology used to mask economic tensions, the frontiersman hero is a figure used to sell the idea of imperial expansion through land theft to the American public. For example, the historical figure David Crockett (*Narrative of the Life of Col. David Crockett*) (1832) is portrayed as a heroic American figure who develops from a “poor frontier farmer, to war hero to successful politician to successful speculator to successful hunter...” Slotkin argues that each phase of Crockett’s life is blended together in literary narrations to provide “American commercial expansionism” the romantic cover of masculine, energetic adventure.¹³⁹

[T]he spirit of the free hunter and that of the speculating protocapitalist...the two emotions went hand in hand: the hunter and the western entrepreneur, the man-on-the-make, were essentially the same in their attitude toward the world and their fellows. Both relied on material success on a massive scale to prove the power of their manhood in a threatening world.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Robinson Aileen, “Imagining the Good Indigenous Citizen: Race War and the Pathology of Patriarchal White Sovereignty,” *Cultural Studies Review* 15, no. 2 (2009): 61–79, <https://doi.org/10.5130/csr.v15i2.2038>.

¹³⁹ Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, (Univ. of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 548-9.

¹⁴⁰ Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, 544.

The hunter archetype dominates the wilderness through violence, shooting both animals and Native people. The Indian Hunter is a persistent type of frontier hero who civilizes the "wilderness" through genocidal violence. Settler societies must construct desired territories as empty wilderness, so Native people are dehumanized as dangerous savages. Frontier narratives operate to naturalize and celebrate the genocide of Native peoples to justify killings and land theft. Jodi Byrd's archival research examines how the settler colonial empire requires a particular trace of Indigenous presence, an Indigenous enemy combatant, as the impetus for expansion. Byrd shows how the Indigenous figure as an enemy of the state is the perpetual problem only solved by ongoing conquest of new territories.¹⁴¹

Mining and the Historical Settler Political Economy of New Mexico

Lew Wallace and Bradford Prince each circulated mining frontier mythologies through their political authority as territorial governors. Their role in shaping settler mythologies about New Mexico can be seen through their dual status as political officials who operate to develop and expand the New Mexico mining industry for white economic interests while also personally investing in the industry. Wallace and Prince were colleagues and it appears that Prince viewed Wallace as a mentor. Prince served as attorney general under Wallace, and Wallace even deeded his mine claims to Prince on November 20, 1882 when Wallace ended his pursuit of mine investing.¹⁴²

¹⁴¹ Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 20-22.

¹⁴² Wallace's personal investment in New Mexico mining claims was short lived. He quickly became frustrated with the lack of profit his mine claims realized. Wallace gave his claims to Prince while Wallace served as an American government ambassador in Constantinople. Wallace deeded his mine claims to Prince for \$1.00. The deed is held in: Wallace, Lew, Private Papers,

Prior to Wallace's governorship in 1879, New Mexico lagged behind California and Colorado in discoveries and mining of precious metals.¹⁴³ Wallace's territorial government saw mineral and agricultural lands as unnecessarily tied up in unaffirmed land claims. Acting as capitalists, Wallace and other territorial politicians enthusiastically invested personally in New Mexico's mining industries because Federal public land legislation and railroad expansion supplied the settler mining industry with necessary logistical infrastructure. For territorial politicians eager to secure American settler economic power by capitalizing on New Mexico's emerging mining industry, they sought to minimize the Native American and Hispano land base, as well as non-white American voting power, prior to advocating for statehood. These efforts utilized three methods: 1) seizing land to designate it as "public" and open to settler ownership and mineral prospecting. 2) "developing" the land through American owned industries such as ranching and mining development, and 3) attracting more business investors and white settlers from the East Coast.

Land dispossession in New Mexico was tied to legal definitions of US citizenship and property rights. Citizenship requirements shifted in accordance with capitalist needs in frontier territories. Citizenship and racial categories were influenced by territorial politicians and judges

folder 34, Mining Deed From Lew Wallace to L. Bradford Prince, Nov 20, 1882, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Wallace and Prince's relationship is also represented in Prince's archival materials held at the New Mexico State Records Center and Archives. Lew Wallace memorabilia, and letter correspondence between Wallace and Prince is held in Prince's archives. Governor L. Bradford Prince Personal Papers, Contemporary New Mexicans, folder 40, Wallace, Lew 1889-1914, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

¹⁴³ Mining in the region prior to the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo -gold deposits discovered in Ortiz mountains in 1821 and a mining camp was established by 1830. Coal was discovered in Madrid, NM in 1835. Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 39.

who were sometimes mine investors.¹⁴⁴ Citizenship in territorial New Mexico encompassed Mexicans per the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo which “guaranteed U.S. citizenship to Mexican citizens who remained in the region ceded to the United States by Mexico in 1848.” In the view of the New Mexico territorial court of 1869, the citizenship status of the Pueblo Indians was unclear, but it ultimately decided that they should be considered citizens. The court drew from settler colonial ideas of race to justify its position. The American settler politicians believed that, even though the nineteen Pueblo tribal nations of Northern New Mexico demonstrated what they perceived as negative Indian characteristics, Pueblo societies also maintained ways of life that settler society viewed as civilized. This included, living in town centers and maintaining government and agricultural systems that white American settlers could understand. Because of these characteristics, the Supreme court ruled that the Pueblos were non-Indians.¹⁴⁵ Indian lands were not considered under Federal trust protections and were subject to the same treatment that

¹⁴⁴ In a study of territorial legislators in Alaska during its gold rush, Michael Schwaiger shows how Territorial Era political officials in the West promoted mining as a strategy to attract white settlers to the regions they reside over. In Alaska, mine patents could only be held by U.S. citizens, so mines are constructed as white property, while other racial categories are actively excluded from mine claim ownership. Michael Schwaiger, “Mining for Citizens: Race, Resources, and the Republic in the Alaska Gold Rush,” *Western Legal History* 24, no. 2 (2011), 167-216, HeinOnline, <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/wlehist24&i=183>.

¹⁴⁵ “The Pueblos' status as non-Indians was confirmed by the Supreme Court in *United States v. Joseph*.” Footnote 92:” *Joseph* held that the Pueblos were not an “Indian tribe” entitled to protection under the Nonintercourse Act (discussed in infra part VII.B). *Id.* at 617. Footnote 96: “In reliance on the *Joseph* decision, ‘3,000 nonIndians had acquired putative ownership of parcels of real estate located inside the boundaries of the Pueblo land grants.’ See G. Emlen Hall, “The Pueblo Grant Labyrinth,” in *Land, Water, and Culture: New Perspectives on Hispanic Land Grants*, ed. Charles L. Briggs and John R. Van Ness (University of New Mexico, 1987).” Christine A. Klein, “Treaties of Conquest: Property Rights, IndianTreaties, and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo,” *New Mexico Law Review* 26, no. 201 (1996): 213-214, <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmlr/vol26/iss2/6>.

Mexican property owners experienced under the territorial government. Under territorial land grant procedures, a vast majority of Spanish and Mexican government-derived land grants were unrecognized by the U.S. “New Mexico land decisions engaged in an increasingly technical interpretation of Mexican law.”¹⁴⁶ The US land grant procedure resulted in only 22 out of 212 Hispanic families’ land claims being patented between 1854 and 1891.¹⁴⁷ “By exploiting the discordances between Spanish and American codes of law, Anglo speculators...managed to buy up many tens of thousands of acres of valuable land grants at little cost.”

Citizenship in territorial New Mexico operated as a mechanism to transfer tribal and Hispanic land holdings to the Federal public domain.¹⁴⁸ The lack of US government patented land grants from the previous Spanish and Mexican empires, transferred vast tracts of land into the Federal public domain, which were then made available to mineral prospectors, homesteaders, and private purchase. Mining exacerbated land dispossession because, as Bakken

¹⁴⁶ “As a result of those decisions, “inhabitants of that territory [New Mexico]-and members of the bar who advised them- generally believed that the Pueblo Indians had the same unrestricted power to dispose of their lands as non-Indians whose title had originated in Spanish grants.” Klein, “Treaties of Conquest,” 214.

¹⁴⁷ According to William Debuys, “Congress did not provide for the confirmation of New Mexican grants until 1854 when it appointed William Pelham the first surveyor general of the territory, and even then, the provisions that it made were woefully inadequate.” Additionally, “between 1854 and 1891, when the Court of Private Land Claims was created to create order out of the land grant mess, only 22 of the 212 claims recorded by the surveyor general had been patented. This meant that for 37 years, more than 35 million of New Mexico's best acres had languished in legal limbo.” William Debuys, “Fractions of Justice: A Legal and Social History of the Las Trampas Land Grant, New Mexico,” *New Mexico Historical Review* 56, no. 1 (1981):76-77, <https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/nmhr/vol56/iss1/4>.

¹⁴⁸ Klein, “Treaties of Conquest,”215.

explains, no matter the land grant status, miners did not care about Indian, or Mexican land titles and were only concerned with claiming “mineral lands unoccupied by another miner,”¹⁴⁹

The transfer of public lands to railroad companies enabled New Mexico’s territorial era mining industry to expand. “New Mexico proved to be marginal in national politics, a situation that remained largely until the arrival of the railroad in 1879.”¹⁵⁰ When the railroad entered the Cerrillos Hills in 1880, mining operations expanded, and New Mexico began to receive recognition for its mining output. The railroad provided the necessary infrastructure for mining regions, which required the import of timber, water, and other supplies, and the export of mining products to assayers and buyers. Mining was good for business, so railroad companies also aided the mining industry by lobbying on its behalf for federal government support. of Western mining because it increased the railroad business.¹⁵¹

Cerrillos Hills settler mining operations continued to expand rapidly with the completion of a railroad station at Cerrillos in 1880.¹⁵² The 1879 Cerrillos Hills rush is one of the territory's

¹⁴⁹ “What concerned miners was their assertion of a property right in placer grounds against other miners.” Bakken, *The Mining Law of 1872*, 52.

¹⁵⁰ Jennifer Ramirez Johnson, Octavio Pimentel, and Charise Pimentel, “Writing New Mexico White: A Critical Analysis of Early Representations of New Mexico in Technical Writing,” *Journal of Business and Technical Communication* 22, no. 2 (April 2008): 217, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1050651907311192>.

¹⁵¹ Federico Cheever, “Confronting Our Shared Legacy of Incongruous Land Ownership: Notes for a Research Agenda,” *Denver University Law Review* 83 (2006): 1039–83, <https://research.ebsco.com/plink/a1837573-780c-3e26-a581-be08b772ba0b>.

¹⁵² Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 39.

most significant mining booms. In an unpublished manuscript, New Mexico mining historian William Baxter lists Lew Wallace among 1879 mine investors who staked claims in the Cerrillos hills. The area had been claimed by the Delgado land grant, and Baxter speculates that the American mine investors probably leased the land from the Delgado family. The site was selected because it held “old Spanish silver mines” and an “old Indian turquoise mine.”¹⁵³ Lew Wallace, who was then the territorial Governor, was not the only New Mexico government official to have staked claims. He was joined by Henry M. Atkinson, the Surveyor General of NM, W.T. Thornton, the future mayor of Santa Fe and future governor of New Mexico, W.E. Dame, later the first chair of the Cerrillos town trustees, and T.A. Maddux, the unofficial mayor of the mining town Carbonateville, and its Justice of the Peace.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ “In early 1872, before the new more restrictive 1872 Mining Law took effect, mining entrepreneurs across the American states and territories scrambled to acquire properties. In the Cerrillos region, Enos Andrews, R.B. Wilson, and John Gwyn were the most energetic scramblers. Andrews, and sometimes with partners such as Julius Fairfield, Names McKenzie, Trinidad Alarid and John Gwyn, came to control about 1,000 acres of mineral land on what had been the Delgado grant, especially in the Vallecitos (later called Hungry Gulch), where several of the old Spanish silver mines were situated. It is assumed that in order to accomplish this, Andrews had made some kind of arrangement with the Delgado family, possibly a lease. Andrews built a smelter on the north bank of the Rio Galisteo and that smelter is one of the few named features to appear on maps of this era. Among his many mining properties in the region, Andrews registered for himself the “old Indian turquoise” deposit everyone called Chalchihuitl. It may be that Andrews himself was largely responsible for setting off the Cerrillos mining boom.” William Baxter, “The Mining Districts of the Cerrillos Hills (Excerpted from a work in progress), 2015 from Baxter Papers,” MSS 1048, Box 1, Folder 7 Mining Districts of the Cerrillos Hills, Baxter. University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections.

¹⁵⁴ “The owners and miners of record for the first several months in the Cerrillos Mining District were as follows: (On this list of 78 of the earliest CMD participants, the seven that appear also in the early GMD are marked with *) Frank Dimick, Robert Hart, P.F. Herlow, Henry M. Atkinson [the SurveyorGeneral of NM], William B. Guthrie, Nelson Hallach, James Willard, William C. Rogers [remembered today by Rogersville], Jordan B. Cottle, Samuel Bonner, W.E. Cousins, W.A. Forbes, E.O. Smith, Christian Eberhart, William Bolander, W.A. Givens, George H.

Throughout each settler mining boom in the Cerrillos hills, Kewa miners continued to access their mines. They contended with sometimes violent settler attacks, forcing them to sneak into their mines at night when settler mining operations had ceased. As I discuss in the first chapter, ongoing Kewa turquoise mining prompted the passage of An Act for the Protection of Mines and Mining Claims by New Mexico territorial legislators in 1891.¹⁵⁵ The General Mining Act that opened Kewa turquoise mines to settler intruders, and New Mexico's territorial politicians who sided with settler prospectors, produced conditions in which Kewa Pueblo people were considered thieves of the turquoise they had long held rights to according to inter-tribal agreements.¹⁵⁶

McCloskey, C.A. Bush, David J. Miller, William M. Tipton*, Ben M. Thomas, J.C. Davis, W.A. McKenzie*, J.C. McKenzie, A.G. Irvine*, Quincy Stitler, J.H. Belcher, A.M. Ghost, J.R. Wallingford, William B. Fenderson, Henry F. Swope*, Henry C. Griffin, J.L. Sanderson, Philip Mould, W. Streiby, Lowell O. Ives, A.M. Williams, H.N. Shaw, W.H. Lawrence, W.T. Thornton [future mayor of Santa Fe and future governor of NM], John W. Martin*, John Grady, George H. Vickroy, P.H. Warner, Simon H. Lucas, S.T. Armstrong, Joseph M. Gough, W.E. Dame [later the first chair of the Cerrillos town trustees], John S. Volger, Charles E. Caldwell, Charles L. Guirmond, W.S. Jenkins*, James H. Stewart*Robert H. Longwell, Ed Miller, John J. Bush, O. Bostrum, Samuel Hull [agent for the Marshalltown Mining Company, of Iowa], J.C. Hull, Warren W. O'Brien, J.C. Piersol, T.A. Maddux [the unofficial mayor of Carbonateville, and its Justice of the Peace], J.W. Windfield, Charles Carter, H.B. Sullivan, Ed Dalbow, John Doyle, James L. Morris, John Martin, Samuel Dean, Charles Krouse, W.R. Blount, A.D. Giles, Albert Grunsfeld, William B. Henderson, Lew Wallace [the current NM governor], John R. Friend, Peter E.D. Loye, and William McMullen." William Baxter, "Cerrillos Hills," Unpublished Manuscript, Document 3.pdf, MSS 1048, Box 1, Folder 7, University of New Mexico, Center for Southwest Research and Special Collections, KIC, p. 23.

¹⁵⁵ The events preceding the Act are discussed in Ellis and Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim*, 49-50.; 29th Legislative Assembly, Chapter 74: 133.

¹⁵⁶ Ellis and Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim*, 26.

Settler Colonial Progress Reports by Lew Wallace and Bradford Prince

The New Mexico territorial governor reports to the US Secretary of the Interior, outlined a clear map of each governor's priorities, and show the way they communicated these priorities to the Federal government. Each section of the reports correlates to different categories of land development, which together provide a snapshot of how American "progress" is measured during that time period. Territorial New Mexico governors each detailed their territorial administration's goals, achievements, and requests from the federal government. The reports are generally organized by the thematic sections of land grant distribution, population of white settlers, agricultural industry development, mining and other types of industrial development, the construction of public buildings, the management and supervision of "Pueblo Indians," and, during Wallace's governorship, the military subduing of "wild Indians" including Apache and Navajo. Later reports address Indian boarding school development, Pueblo Land grant claims and provide details on the policing of reservations for the Apache and Navajo. Taken together, the structure of the reports provides key insight into the settler logics that inform territorial government ideas about what constitutes progress towards "civilizing" the landscape. This civilizing project entailed augmenting the white American-settler population, increasing "proper" land use via capitalist industrial expansion, and controlling and disciplining the Native Americans deemed deviant due to their resistance to white settler surveying, mining, and settlement efforts.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷ Correspondence authored by Lew Wallace about raids on survey parties and Indian attacks on miners, Governor Lew Wallace Papers 1878-1907, Official Papers Ls, Box 1-F1-19, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.; Lew Wallace first fought in the Mexican American war, and then served as the territorial governor of New Mexico between 1878 and 1881. Thomas

Conceptual Power: Lew Wallace's Regeneration Through (Mine) Claims

A discourse analysis of Lew Wallace's 1879 "Report of the Governor of New Mexico made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879" demonstrates the conceptual power that a mining claim had for the settler colonial project in territorial New Mexico. In 1879, the same year that Wallace invested in his own Cerrillos Hills claims based upon the location of Kewa turquoise mines, he authored his *Report of the Governor of New Mexico* for Carl Schurz, the United States Secretary of the Interior. Prior to Wallace's official report, he penned a letter to Schurz enthusiastically sharing news about mineral discoveries in Cerrillos Hills. "You may have probably observed the newspaper references to recent mineral discoveries in a district called Los Cerillos about 20 miles from this city. I have been to that locality twice, and made careful inspection of the discoveries. It is hardly possible to exaggerate their extent and richness..."¹⁵⁸

Wallace's official governor report emphasizes New Mexico's territorial, productive potential and details the obstacles Wallace sees as most urgent. Wallace names "three

A. McMullin and David A. Walker, *Biographical Directory of American Territorial Governors* (Greenwood, 1984).

¹⁵⁸ Lew Wallace, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879," in *Reports of the Governors of Arizona, Dakota, Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Washington Territories, Made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1879*, Washington: Government Printing Office 1879. Folder 7, Lew Wallace, Official papers, Report to Sec. of Interior, 1879, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.; In his letter Wallace also wrote "I shall be greatly deceived if we have not here a greater than Leadville." Wallace refers to Leadville Colorado's mining rush. Due to labor disputes, Leadville miners were seeking work and were easily recruited by New Mexico Cerrillos mine claim owners to work the Cerrillos claims in 1879. Letter, 5 May 1879, Lew Wallace to C. Schurz, Indiana Historical Society, M0292_BOX4_FOLDER10_1879-05-05_WALLACE_TO_SCHURZ.pdf, Lew Wallace -- Papers, 1799-1972 (bulk 1846-1905), M0292, Lew Wallace Collection, <https://images.indianahistory.org/digital/collection/M0292/id/47413/rec/25>.

interests...worthy [of] consideration...”: agriculture, cattle and sheep grazing, and minerals.¹⁵⁹

Wallace reports that the development of New Mexico’s agriculture is inhibited due to the widespread use of Mexican farming technology, that New Mexico’s ranching is limited by inaccessible land held in Mexican land grants, and finally, that New Mexico’s mineral resource development is obstructed by Pueblo people’s refusal to share their knowledge about mine locations.

Wallace attributes his alleged development “obstacles” to non-white populations. Wallace’s descriptions of Mexican and Indigenous land uses reveal his racial thinking which aims to construct Indigenous and Mexican populations as barriers to progress. Wallace blames the popularity of “The wooden plow of the Mexican fathers...” for New Mexico agriculture’s “primitive condition.” Wallace’s report also includes Mexican land grants as another obstruction to his territory’s proper development because the land cannot be properly cultivated by Mexican land holders. “Not more than one-tenth of the soil is actually occupied. A considerable portion of it is unfortunately covered by grants claimed or confirmed.”¹⁶⁰ Wallace’s debasement of Mexican land development racializes Mexican farmers as causing the land’s “underdevelopment” which operates as Wallace’s justification for US occupation of the land because, for Wallace, white American settlers will rescue the land from its perpetual state of underdevelopment by non-white-American races.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 447.

¹⁶⁰ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 448.

¹⁶¹ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 447.

Wallace claims that it is not the settler's lack of knowledge about the land that prevents him from making mineral discoveries; rather, it is the Pueblo Indian's refusal to share their knowledge.

A variety of causes have heretofore contributed to prevent her thorough exploration for such wealth. Both Mexicans and Indians are indifferent to discoveries in this line; in fact, the latter yet make it a capital offense to show a prospector anything of the kind. A Pueblo might be induced to part with his eye-teeth; no inducement could prevail upon him to take a white man to a mine; and in the hands of these people the golden keys have been held in tight grips ever since the expulsion of the Spaniards. Hence the ignorance prevalent with respect to the mineral riches of the Territory and the heretofore utter failure of attempts at their development.¹⁶²

White supremacist notions of progress organize Wallace's racial hierarchy and Wallace contradicts himself when describing how Pueblo people prevent the growth of the white settler mining industry. Wallace's report portrays the settler colonial civilizing project as one that is always impeded by the populations he racializes. In an attempt to blame Pueblo people for New Mexico's "utter failure" to develop mining, Wallace's report reveals how the Kewa people asserted their sovereignty over their turquoise mines by guarding knowledge about mine locations. Wallace asserts that "[b]oth Mexicans and Indians are indifferent to discoveries in this line; in fact, the latter yet make it a capital offence to show a prospector anything of the kind."¹⁶³ Wallace attempts to correlate Kewa protection of knowledge with their indifference to discoveries. Indifference is a passive feeling, while withholding knowledge about mine locations from white men is proof of intentional Kewa resistance to white settler invasions of their sacred turquoise mine areas. Thus, according to Wallace, Pueblo people conceal their knowledge of

¹⁶² Lew Wallace, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," 449.

¹⁶³ Lew Wallace, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," 449.

mine locations from white prospectors, yet, at the same time, he also claims they are “indifferent” to mining development.

The slippage in Wallace’s narration of Pueblo indifference to mineral discoveries can be interpreted as Wallace’s belief that only mineral prospecting by white settlers is a legitimate discovery. Wallace’s racial descriptors of a “Pueblo” refusing to lead a “white man” to a mine clarify his administration’s position towards Indigenous turquoise mining rights as always subordinated to a white prospector’s right to claim a Kewa due to racial superiority. Staking mining claims over Kewa mines recirculates colonial discovery logics in which the “discovery” of new territory was considered legitimate only if the discoverer is a European Christian. Wallace maintains settler colonial racial logics to support mining industry expansion by framing those who already occupy the land as incapable of its possession due to their lack of civilization.

Wallace positions Pueblo people as a perpetual obstacle to mining development that began when the Spanish started mining operations in the Cerrillos Hills. Wallace also alludes to a false myth about how the Pueblo people evicted the Spanish from the Cerrillos Hills mines during the Pueblo revolt. The myth was constructed to narrate Pueblo mines as abandoned.¹⁶⁴ For Wallace, his white settler American territorial citizens are not to blame for New Mexico’s slow mining industry development because “...in the hands of these people the golden keys have been

¹⁶⁴ The mine cave-in is addressed in chapter three of this dissertation. The myth has been circulated during the American mining period in the Cerrillos Hills and persists today. It describes an alleged cave in which killed Pueblo miners, causing the Spanish-Pueblo conflict that sparked the Pueblo Revolt. In this myth, the Kewa turquoise mines are abandoned due to Pueblo fear of the mines after the cave-in. Homer E. Milford, “Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill,” in *Geology of the Santa Fe Region, New Mexico*, eds. P.W. Bauer, B.S. Kues, N.W. Dunbar, K.E. Karlstrom, and B. Harrison (New Mexico Geological Society, Guidebook, 46th Annual Field Conference, 1995), 175.

held in tight grips ever since the expulsion of the Spaniards.”¹⁶⁵ Wallace produces political discourse in which Kewa mine locations are the “golden keys” that Kewa people are keeping from American mineral prospectors. Wallace’s assertions follow a pattern of settler colonial narrations in which Native people are barriers to progress for settler-capitalist development, especially if they resist the settler capitalist exploitation of Native land and knowledge.

Settler capitalism is an extractive process, and attempts to eliminate Indigenous presence while also exploiting Indigenous land-based knowledge for settler profits. Both Wallace and Prince discuss Kewa turquoise mining to entice East coast investors. “Ancient” mine operations are consistently referred to in mining related political documents as evidence of untapped mineral resources. Wallace frames New Mexico mining as on the cusp of production, making it an ideal time for investors to stake their own claims during the era of prospecting: “All mining history is divisible into two parts – the era of prospecting and the era of production. In New Mexico we have just entered upon the former; five years will bring us to the latter.”¹⁶⁶ Thus, according to Wallace, the mineral resources of New Mexico lie in wait to be discovered by prospectors: “What can be had cheap to-day will then cost a fortune. Men seeking mining investments are welcome to the hint.”¹⁶⁷ Wallace uses what he describes as “traces and signs of

¹⁶⁵ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 449.

¹⁶⁶ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 449.; Wallace’s wording mirrors Julius Caesar’s opening line of his first book in the series *The Gallic Wars* in which he states: “All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, those who in their own language are called Celts, in our Gauls, the third.” Wallace may have been influenced by Caesar’s authored history of his conquest of the Gauls. Julius Caesar, *The Gallic Wars (Illustrated)*, (Immortal Books, 2017), 1.

¹⁶⁷ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 449.

ancient mining” to entice the flow of capital and prospectors. Wallace frames the mineral potential of the territory with optimistic language: “There are more traces and signs of ancient mining in New Mexico than either Colorado or Arizona.”¹⁶⁸ Wallace uses the presence of Indigenous mining as evidence that New Mexico is superior to other territories and states for its mineral potential.

Wallace depicts the white mineral prospector as an agent of progress and civilization. To Wallace the prospector is a heroic explorer who makes daily discoveries of the land’s hidden wealth. His optimistic language advertises New Mexico’s minerals as a promising new frontier of opportunity where prospectors courageously conquer the wilderness contending with the land’s dangers, including wild Indians connected to that land. These performative acts of discovery are described as follows:

The genuine “prospector” is here, and come to stay. He is in the mountains everywhere. Bugbear stories do not stop him, neither do land grants, rattle snakes, bears, nor painted Indians. He has discovered and adopted the “burns: as a friend, comrade, and servant. The consequence is new finds every day in out-of-the-way places.¹⁶⁹

Wallace’s prospector is a tough, intrepid individual who provides the critical labor New Mexico mining needs to locate and extract the territory’s mineral wealth. He exclaims that the prospector is also “here, and come to stay.” The permanency of the prospector in Wallace’s report signals his strategy of encouraging extractive capitalism as a method for populating the territory with white Americans. In Wallace’s racial hierarchy of land use, productive white

¹⁶⁸ Wallace, “Report of the Governor,” 449.

¹⁶⁹ Lew Wallace, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 449.

settlers “save” the land from the racialized populations who are incapable of or actively obstruct sufficient development.¹⁷⁰ Wallace’s character of the prospector bravely locates mineral wealth while taming the wilderness of New Mexico for an expanding white settler population. In Wallace’s words the prospector faces beasts and Indians in the wilderness so that he can “discover” new wealth for the nation. By stating how “[t]hey are in the mountains everywhere” Wallace evokes the mountain men of the prior century.¹⁷¹ Wallace’s prospector is the next iteration of the “mountain man” from settler national mythologies. Mountain men were a literary trope based on fur trappers that colonial corporations employed in the 1700s.¹⁷² Prospecting is a masculine demonstration of white male idealized abilities that confront and overcome the roadblocks of the wilderness: the prospector is a wilderness hero who conducts this exploration, eventually penetrating into the land to discover its hidden wealth.

The mountain man turned mineral prospector is masculine, affirming his gendered subjectivity through violating the feminine wilderness. Wallace uses gendered language to construct the prospector against a feminized wilderness, stating that a “variety of causes ... prevent her thorough exploration for such wealth.”¹⁷³ The wilderness is personified as female, and progress, the discovery of mineral wealth, is achieved through “her thorough exploration.”

Wallace’s prospector is a fearless individual who is able to bring his masculine energy to exploration for minerals, contending with bears, snakes, and Indians along the way. Every

¹⁷⁰ Brenna Bandhar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 38.

¹⁷¹ Wallace, “Report of the Governor,” 449.

¹⁷² Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence*, passim.

¹⁷³ Wallace, “Report of the Governor,” 449.

wilderness hero needs a foe to vanquish, allowing him to prove his abilities, so In Wallace's report, he lists Native people whom he calls "painted Indians" with bugbear stories, land grants, and rattlesnakes as the wilderness dangers that prospectors face. Wallace's prospector is narrated as unstoppable and capable of overcoming the wilderness dangers to take the land and minerals he explores.¹⁷⁴ Wallace's role as governor is to develop the required mechanisms to either control or vanquish these groups. For Wallace, the Indian remains the settler's primary obstacle who obstructs New Mexico's inevitable Mineral development.

Territorial New Mexico mining is a settler colonial strategy of conquest through development. Wallace's discourse frames miners as masculine heroes who compete with and overcome Indians as obstacles to "progress and civilization." When settlers claim a Kewa turquoise mine, they are eliminating Indigenous title to the mine, overriding Indigenous claims to the land and its "resource" wealth.

It is important to analyze the discourses of Wallace's territorial governmental documents for how they contribute to the establishment of the prospector as an important wilderness hero. Wallace himself is both the governor, a mine owner, and an "Indian fighter." Wallace's personal titles and roles in the territory are significant to understanding how the text frames New Mexico's potential mineral lands as a noteworthy frontier. Wallace occupies a dual role as both a

¹⁷⁴ In Wallace's report, National Progress is defined as extracting value from the land, progress which is limited by occupation of the land by racialized populations. Land grants are listed as one of the prospector's obstacles along with the "rattle snakes, bears, and painted indians" It is revealing that he includes another's claim to the land, an unfortunate condition of the wilderness of territorial new mexico where hispano family land grants impeded American settler's ability to prospect. Wallace, "Report of the Governor," 449.

mine investor and a territorial governor. Frontier narrations also feature a type of hero that Slotkin identifies as “Indian fighters” who battle for white civilization, narratives that aim to justify the settler state having been founded upon massacres.

Wallace is an “Indian fighter” himself. Because of the ongoing Apache resistance to land dispossession, Wallace led a militia in 1880 to wage genocidal violence against the Native people of southern territorial New Mexico.¹⁷⁵ Wallace himself is, therefore, a real-life participant in Indian wars that fed the American wilderness mythology and his descriptions of prospector dealings with Pueblo Indians serve as a supplement to the notion that mythos. Indigenous incomppliance with white demands is viewed by Wallace as a type of “savage war” against white progress. For Wallace, white progress is easy mineral prospecting via a subdued Pueblo guide and the non-compliant Indian is preventing white civilization through a refusal to actively aid white economic development.

Bradford Prince: Land Use, Race, and Citizenship

Bradford Prince’s 1891 Report of the Governor of New Mexico constructs a racial hierarchy related to “proper” land use.¹⁷⁶ Prince’s racial hierarchy is assembled through a discussion of public domain lands and land grant issues in territorial New Mexico. Like Wallace,

¹⁷⁵ Wallace was a veteran of both the Civil and Spanish-American wars. Due in part to his military credentials, President Rutherford Hayes appointed him as governor of New Mexico territory to resolve the Lincoln County Wars (rivaling dry goods monopolies hired men to fight for economic dominance) and Apache land disputes “Governor,” Lew Wallace, General Lew Wallace Study and Museum, Accessed March 28, 2026, <https://www.ben-hur.com/meet-lew-wallace/governor/>.

¹⁷⁶ Bradford Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 10-12-1891. H.R. Exec. Doc. No.1, 52nd Cong., 1st Sess. (1891). <https://digitalcommons.law.ou.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=6153&context=indianserialset>.

Prince's report suggests that the land of territorial New Mexico is a promising mineral frontier waiting for adequate investment. Prince is burdened with land grant headaches, which he addresses as the New Mexico's mining industry's primary obstacle. Prince reports that mining and agricultural development in New Mexico could prosper even more if only more land could be released into the public domain.

Unaffirmed Spanish and Mexican land grants contain "the best of the agricultural lands" which are currently languishing due to their uncertain status as land grant lands or public domain lands. For Prince, the issue of prior land titles held by Mexican and Spanish families is an impediment to "the settlement and improvement of our lands and the investment-of the capital necessary to develop our natural resources."¹⁷⁷

Session after session of Congress has passed with no apparent advance toward the establishment of the much-needed tribunal to settle these titles, although bills were regularly introduced for that purpose and urged by our Delegate. It is fitting, therefore, that this report of the progress of the 'territory during the past year should commence with the announcement of the final success of these efforts in the passing of the "land-court bill," which is formally entitled "An act to establish a court of private land claims, and to provide for the settlement of private land claims in certain States and Territories," and was approved by the President March 3, 1891. The people of New Mexico gratefully recognize their obligations to the President and yourself for this long-desired relief. We appreciate that to the emphatic recommendation contained in the President's message of December, 1889, the more extended argument for action in the report of the Secretary of the Interior, and the President's special message of July 1, 1890, urging immediate attention to the subject, are due the success of the measure in Congress after it had failed on so many previous occasions.¹⁷⁸

For Prince, expediently settling Mexican and Spanish land titles would enable the proper development of New Mexico's natural resources which were critical to establishing white-

¹⁷⁷ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," 321.

¹⁷⁸ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," 321.

American society and industry in a territorial New Mexico on the cusp of statehood. Prince's 1891 Report of the Governor of New Mexico to the Secretary of the Interior begins with a lengthy discussion and update on efforts to settle the Spanish and Mexican land claims:

In each annual report which I have had the honor to present the subject of land titles has been placed first, because of its transcendent importance in considering the condition and welfare of New Mexico. I have heretofore recited the unsatisfactory condition of the titles of the Spanish and Mexican grants, which include so large a part of our available land, the attempts at their settlement under the act of July 22, 1854, the lamentable failure of that plan and the final cessation even of endeavors to act under it, the efforts of the people of New Mexico through many years to obtain relief by the establishment of a tribunal for the adjudication of these questions, and the unfortunate results of the uncertainty regarding these titles in preventing the settlement and improvement of our lands and the investment-of the capital necessary to develop our natural resources.¹⁷⁹

According to Prince, New Mexico's future hinges upon resolving the land titles. Prince references past federal government failures at surveying New Mexico lands to determine tracts of public domain land. Under a July 22, 1854 act, the office of the surveyor general was created with the intent to assess US's new territorial acquisitions. Open land identified as unimpeded by prior land grants would then be distributed to settlers.¹⁸⁰ For Prince, lingering unaffirmed Mexican and Spanish titles are framed as barriers to progress. Prince explains that the proper development of New Mexico's natural resources requires settlers and capital and he views the United States' legal commitment to honoring the prior Mexican and Spanish land titles, as stipulated by the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, as an obstruction to the flow of immigrants and investor dollars into the territory. Prince is hopeful that the newly established court of private

¹⁷⁹ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico," 321.

¹⁸⁰ *An Act to establish the offices of Surveyor-General of New Mexico, Kansas, and Nebraska, to grant Donations to actual Settlers therein, and for other purposes.* 10 Stat. 308
<https://www.govinfo.gov/app/details/STATUTE-10/STATUTE-10-Pg308>.

land claims will remedy the slow progress of New Mexico's territorial government to either affirm or open up rejected Spanish and Mexican land claims.¹⁸¹

The court thus constituted was duly organized at Denver July 1, 1891, and will hold its first session for the transaction of business in November. No one but those familiar with the subject can appreciate the importance of these events to the future of New Mexico. The portion of the country first settled, and consequently covered by Spanish or Mexican titles, naturally includes the best of the agricultural lands.¹⁸²

Prince believes that the outstanding, unverified claims hold promise for New Mexico agriculture and is thus eager for the claims to be settled, ideally in American settler interests. Prince affirms the United States' obligation to settle matters of the Spanish and Mexican titles, yet contends that:

¹⁸¹ "Court of Private Land Claims, 1891-1904. After victory in the Mexican-American War (1846-1848), America acquired vast territory in what is now the southwestern United States. Prior to the war, the Mexican government had issued land grants to several individuals and communities in this area. The legal status of these grants and the rights of parties claiming property under them became a source of political conflict in the decades following the war. The original text of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, which ended the war and confirmed the cession of this territory, stipulated that the United States would continue to recognize the validity of the Mexican land grants. Although Congress struck out this provision of the treaty during the ratification process, the United States assured the Mexican government that it would uphold valid grants and adjudicate land rights accordingly. After setting up a series of controversial commissions to take surveys of the land in question and determine the validity of claims, Congress created a court in 1891 (26 Stat. 854) to dispose of remaining land claims related to the Mexican grants. The court was originally designed to terminate after five years, but the complexity of the cases led to a series of extensions, such that the court finally completed its work in 1904." Federal Judicial Center, "Court of Private Land Claims, 1891-1904," History of the Federal Judiciary, accessed May 22, 2026, <https://www.fjc.gov/history/courts/court-private-land-claims-1891-1904#:~:text=The%20court's%20five%20justices%20were,decades%20following%20the%20court's%20termination.>

¹⁸² Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1891," 322

[T]he course of our Government has had the practical effect of unsettling titles and then leaving them in that uncertain condition for forty years. This has naturally prevented the improvement of property, discouraged immigration, and stopped the investment of capital. The only wonder is that New Mexico has progressed as far as it has under such depressing circumstances. Now, with titles established, with what is really Government land clearly defined, every fertile acre will quickly be cultivated, the best class of population will be attracted, capital will flow into channels of secure investment, and all of our varied resources will be quickly developed. The incubus on our prosperity is removed and the future is bright indeed.¹⁸³

Resource development is attached to race. Once liberated from Spanish and Mexican land grants, the newly open public domain lands "...will quickly be cultivated, the best class of population will be attracted, capital will flow into channels of secure investment, and all of our varied resources will be quickly developed."¹⁸⁴ Therefore, efficient cultivation of land will attract his desired citizenry, which is white-American settlers.

New Mexico's mining industry competed for attention from East coast investors, so each governor report includes optimistic language about New Mexico's mineral prospects. Prince's "Mines and Mining" section reports on the rapid growth of New Mexico's mining industry which he claims has produced "almost exactly \$3,000,000" during the year of 1890. Quoting a letter received by Col. A. W. Harris, who Prince describes as a "successful manager of the Illinois Silver Mining Company and two other mining corporations," Prince explains "[t]hat New Mexico furnishes to-day greater encouragement for the outlay of mining capital than any of her sister States or Territories."¹⁸⁵ In Prince's view, recently removed obstacles to progress include racialized Mexican mine laborers:

¹⁸³ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1891," 348.

¹⁸⁴ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1891," 348.

¹⁸⁵ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1891," 348.

The mining industry throughout the whole Territory has increased in amount and profit during the past year. In every section there is an enlarged development. The beneficial effects of the tariff on lead are seen in all of the camps where an argentiferous galena is the staple ore. Relieved of a degrading competition with the ill-paid labor of Mexico, and protected in the receipt of a fair compensation for their arduous and perilous work, our miners are flourishing, and at the same time every such mine is running to its full capacity.¹⁸⁶

Notably, miners are placed in a hierarchy of value that aligns race with wage earning potential. Mexican miners are subordinated to “our miners” who are presumably white American settlers. When listing the causes of New Mexico mining growth, Prince includes an explanation that miners are now relieved from “a degrading competition with the ill-paid labor of Mexico.”¹⁸⁷ White American miners, who compete with Mexicans, are thus relieved from their degrading status as equals with Mexican laborers. Thus, the removal of Mexican miners enables white American miners and the whole of New Mexico’s mining economy to flourish. Prince’s attitude towards Mexican laborers in his report contradicts his own mining practice. Prince’s extensive archive of turquoise mine business papers contains a letter from his mine manager Michael O’Neil dated May 17, 1900. O’Neil writes to request payment so that he can pay the Mexican laborers he employs to continue mining:

I wish you could send me the money due me on the Persian claim to path the Mexicans for the work on the Albany they don me twice a day sometimes for the money I ow them. They are drifting on 99. At 130 feet deep and getting one. Terry of New York has been here with an expert and was down in the 99 shaft. I have herd they like property very much.¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 342.

¹⁸⁷ Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 342.

¹⁸⁸ Michael O’Neil to Prince, letter dated May 17, 1900. Folder 7, mining interests cerrillos 1879-1922-serial number 14049, Prince L Bradford Business Papers, New Mexico State Records

Prince is slow to send funds to his mine manager to pay the laborers he disparages, while the same laborers' mining progress is attracting a new New York investor. Prince provides an optimistic report of turquoise mining, detailing how the gemstone's output is expanding to other regions.

Much attention is being paid to the precious stones found in the different localities of the territory. Turquoise exists in the Burro Mountains south of Silver City, thus increasing the supply of this beautiful stone, that before was obtained only at Cerrillos and Hachita.
¹⁸⁹

Notably, Prince highlights the growth of Cerrillos mining, a region in which he holds personal investments. Since regional smelters cannot process all the output, Prince speculates that “[t]his will probably result in the establishment of a large smelting plant at Cerrillos, which has more natural advantages for that purpose than any other point in the Southwest, and probably than any in the country.”¹⁹⁰

Prince's administration, unsurprisingly, views Native American reservation boundaries as obstacles to high-value development, a view which he applies to other New Mexico regions. For example, Prince and his colleagues view the Mescalero Indian Reservation as obstructing mineral development. The “Mines and Mining” section of Prince's report includes a letter from Mr. Charles Metcalfe, addressed to Prince on August 14, 1891. Metcalfe complains that authorities are preventing him from developing mines on the mineral-rich reservation lands, and

Center and Archives.; For a synopsis of O'Neil and Prince's mine claim workings and ownership see Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 75-77.

¹⁸⁹ Bradford Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 345.

¹⁹⁰ Bradford Prince, “Report of the Governor of New Mexico,” 342.

suggests that a portion of the reservation should be put into the public domain to allow for it to be mined.

Some prospecting was done in the last year near Three Rivers, in the White Mountains in the northeastern portion of this county, and some very high-grade silver ore was mined and milled. I saw an assay certificate for \$10,060 per ton. But it has since developed that the mineral district is in the edge of the Mescalero Indian Reservation and the authorities have prevented further exploitation. The section of the reservation upon which the mines are situated is valueless for anything excepting mineral, and the Indians would not be losers if this portion was cut from their reservation and restored to the public domain.¹⁹¹

Metcalf supports his argument for the reduction of the reservation boundaries by positing how it would not be a loss to the Mescalero. The inclusion of Metcalfe's letter in Prince's report demonstrates that the men were aligned in their belief that Native American reservation lands should be available for American settler prospecting. The Mescalero Reservation's land base was established through a US federal executive order in 1873.¹⁹² Reservation lands held in US federal trust are not legally available for mineral prospecting, yet, as Metcalfe's attitude illustrates, reservation boundaries do not shield Native lands from the predations of territorial New Mexico's extractive settler capitalists. Prince's inclusion of the letter illustrates his view that Native tribal nations interfered with capitalist profit because they were physically in the way of mineral prospecting. For both Metcalfe and Prince, precious metal mining was a priority over Native sovereignty.

¹⁹¹ Prince, "Report of the Governor of New Mexico, 1891," 344.

¹⁹² "The Mescalero Apache Reservation – long recognized by Spanish, Mexican, and American Treaties – was formally established by Executive Order of President Ulysses S. Grant on May 29, 1873." "Tribal History," Our Culture, Mescalero Apache Tribe, accessed May 23, 2026, <https://mescaleroapachetribe.com/our-culture/>.

Turquoise Mines Are Contested Geographies

Both Wallace and Prince's mining industry discourses characterize Kewa mines as *terra nullius*. Each Governor report is an example of how settler political economies are constructed through legal, political, and corporate collusion. Each Governor presents Kewa mines as claimable settler property by constructing mythologies about Indigenous absence from the mines, or Indigenous people as roadblocks to progress. Each territorial governor's report narrates geographies of mine locations as racialized and gendered spaces. Each governor also chronicles territorial progress. "Progress" is defined in various ways as proper uses of land, especially as energetic and efficient mining expansion.

The reporting of these "facts" about mine discovery and Kewa absence from the mines is a bureaucratic form of settler knowledge making, a continuous process articulated by Joanne Barker:

The erasures of Indigenous territorial rights and historical experiences of corporate-government collusion and fraud are, rather, a politic of epistemology—an ideology and practice of knowledge making—that takes the imperial-colonial narrative for granted in its understanding of US imperialism and in its thinking through strategies of opposition against its injustices. That narrative believes in its own success story that Indigenous peoples are conquered, disappeared, lost, gone. Tragically but nonetheless as an objective truth: the Indigenous has been eliminated from the lands and resources of the empire and so from relevance to current political debate.¹⁹³

Bradford Prince occupied a unique position of power within the settler political economy of New Mexico, shaping territorial laws, political strategies, economic development, and local histories. He wrote and reshaped New Mexico's laws as a chief justice of the New Judge in the New Mexico Territorial Supreme Court (1878 – 1882). Prince's personal financial interests

¹⁹³ Barker, "The Corporation and the Tribe," 266.

garnered robust corporate support for his governorship campaign. US President Harrison's decision to appoint Prince to the New Mexico governorship in 1889 was contested by territorial New Mexico republican leaders, but supported by industrial interests including railroad companies.¹⁹⁴ As a mining investor himself, Prince owned at least 12 claims in Cerrillos and 6 were staked in 1879. He also had extensive holdings throughout New Mexico and Colorado.¹⁹⁵ Prince's extensive mining holdings earned him endorsements from regional mining industry organizations including "...the Miners Union Number Forty-Three of El Paso, Texas, which passed a resolution espousing Judge Prince's candidacy, maintaining that his appointment would benefit the mining industry in the entire Southwest."¹⁹⁶

Prince is a key actor of territorial New Mexico's political economy who shaped the historical narrative of New Mexico. As an investor, politician, judge, and author, Prince produces what Joanne Barker articulates as a politic of epistemology because his knowledge production is co-constitutive with settler capitalist interests.¹⁹⁷ Prince's personal financial interests are one and the same with his political and legal work. As an author with an interest in history and ethnography, he actively produced texts about New Mexico history and the cultures of non-white

¹⁹⁴ John Walter Donlon, "Lebaron Bradford Prince, Chief Justice and Governor of New Mexico Territory, 1879-1893" (PhD diss., University of New Mexico, 1967), 4-5, ProQuest (1967. 6803465).

¹⁹⁵ Mining Interests, Unknown, 5.3. L. Bradford Prince papers, 1959-174. New Mexico State Records Center and Archives, accessed April 08, 2026, https://nmarchives.unm.edu/repositories/32/archival_objects/735132.

¹⁹⁶ Luciano R. Baca, "L. Bradford Prince: Governor of the Territory of New Mexico, 1889-1892," (Masters thesis, University of New Mexico, 1962), 10-11, https://digitalrepository.unm.edu/hist_etds/93.

¹⁹⁷ Barker, "The Corporation and the Tribe," 266.

American groups on topics including New Mexico laws, histories, ethnography, Spanish mission architecture, and economic and political theory.¹⁹⁸ Prince's body of settler colonial knowledge was also generated from his social connections and memberships, generating a social world of territorial politicians and capitalist actors. Prince was a member of New Mexico's many societies, including the Historical Society, Horticultural Society, Society for the Preservation of Spanish Antiquities, and the Archaeological Society.¹⁹⁹ Prince and his associates exchanged ideas about New Mexico's Spanish descendants and Indigenous peoples, generating historical and anthropological writings through a white settler-capitalist lens. Prince's status as an appointed territorial governor lent his expansive body of publications about New Mexico history credibility during his lifetime, but his extensive personal mining investments belie his position as

¹⁹⁸ Prince's publications include: *E Pluribus Unum: The Articles of Confederation vs. the Constitution* (1867), *The General Laws of New Mexico* (1880), *A Nation or a League* (1880), *Historical Sketches of New Mexico* (1883), *The American Church and Its Name* (1887), *The Money Problem* (1896), *The Stone Lions of Cochiti* (1903), *Old Fort Marcy* (1911), *A Concise History of New Mexico* (1912), *The Student's History of New Mexico* (1913), *Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico* (1915), and *Abraham Lincoln, the Man* (1917). Baca, "L. Bradford Prince," 4.

¹⁹⁹ Prince was a member of societies that reflect his upbringing and professional interests. The memberships reflect a social sphere influenced by US settler colonial values. He was a member of The Society of the Cincinnati, Sons of the Revolution, the Society of the Colonial Wars, and the Protestant Episcopal Church. Luciano R. Baca, "L. Bradford Prince" 1-4.; President Benjamin Harrison appointed Prince to be Governor of New Mexico Territory from *April 2, 1889 to April 7, 1893*. Born in New York, Prince's family lineage dates back to the Mayflower, a lineage that symbolizes the settler state's National origin story. Prince was raised by horticulturalist parents, and attended Columbia Law School, serving as a New York state legislator after graduation. He was a Columbia Law School graduate of 186 orator, jurist, collector of archaeological objects from New Mexico pueblos, and an author of New Mexico history. "While presiding in...office, Prince transformed the Palace of the Governors into 'a treasure house of archaeological and historical material'" Patricia Fogelman Lange, "Cultural Collecting Fever in New Mexico: Figurines and Governor L. Bradford Prince," *Journal of the Southwest* 40, no. 2 (Summer, 1998): 222. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/40170018>.

an agent of the US settler capitalist project. He is motivated through his own desire to accumulate wealth through the theft of Native land, which his publications serve to reinforce.

Conclusion

Turquoise mining claims staked between 1879-1910 by settlers during the Cerrillos Hills mining rushes provide a case study for how mining claims can be viewed as a specific type of property that is doubly generative for the US settler colonial project. The act of staking a claim on Native homelands produces individual, and national, material wealth and reiterates and expands settler property regimes' power and control over Native land and culturally essential materials, like turquoise, through frontier mythologies. Frontier myths animate settler market discourse used to advertise to investors and prospectors, as well as laborers. Those myths, which were so integral to the fledgling white mining industry in 1800s New Mexico, continue today. In an effort to exclude Native mines from the category of already claimed minerals, in their reports and other promotional documents, Wallace and Prince described Kewa mines, mining practices, and tools with specific settler colonial logics. Mining became racialized as an industry that could only legitimately enrich white settlers.

Wallace and Prince each frame Kewa turquoise mines, both known and waiting to be discovered, as geographies that portray Indigenous people, and others like Mexicans, as inferior races based upon their inability to properly cultivate the land. The mine is also a gendered geography where white masculinity is born through performances of discovery, claiming, and maintenance of the claims as their property. Federal public lands available for mineral prospecting in New Mexico are the "wilderness" spaces of each author's imagination, where white masculine accomplishment involves searching the wilderness, discovering wealth from the bounty of the wilderness, and then claiming wealth as his property. Descriptions of Kewa mines

as “ancient turquoise workings” attempt to eliminate Kewa presence from the land, opening the minerals to legitimate settler discovery and claims. The mineral-rich lands are a wild wilderness waiting to be transformed into wealth by heroic prospectors.

The transformation of Indigenous lands into forms of settler private property functions as the conceptual scaffolding for settler colonial power and control. During the late 1800s, mining claims were a new type of “private property” made accessible to individual citizens through Federal government policies. Mineral prospecting in the West operates as a settlement strategy. Legal scholar Michael Lopez argues that mining laws are a settlement strategy and “... Congress eagerly used the Mining Law to stoke national fervor for western settlement and to validate decades of wanton trespassing and unlawful prospecting on tribal and federal lands.”²⁰⁰

The turquoise mine claims owned by Wallace and Prince are doubly productive forms of private property within the settler imagination because, not only were they a form of accumulating extractive wealth, they were physically staked upon Kewa turquoise mines. That is, they produce tangible wealth for the settler state, but they also serve as a reminder that white settler possessive priorities are superior to non-white land uses. To the Kewa, the mines are more than sources of valuable minerals, they are sacred sites, spaces that hold Kewa relational practices and tribal history. As activated sacred spaces, Kewa mines are integral to Kewa futurity, Kewa mining knowledge is intergenerational, and did not stop when settlers staked their mining claims in 1879.

New Mexico’s territorial extractive settler political economy was continuously generated through the figure of the primitive pueblo miner as a counter to the American prospector. The

²⁰⁰ Lopez, “Tribal Rights,” 54.

American prospector is an under-theorized settler subject who is critical to attracting settlers and investors to the Southwest. Racial hierarchies are constructed by each governor to justify the Cerrillos Kewa mines as settler property. This property is then claimed by masculine settler subjects who prospect the wilderness to discover new sources of national wealth.

As we can see in Wallace and Prince's language in official government reporting, capitalism is colonialism's economic system, and also its driving motivation. It is essential to interrogate local settler histories not only for the falsehoods they repeat and popularize, but also the weight these falsehoods carry within settler law-making, as these laws enabled dispossession and continue to do so presently. What this examination of the territorial New Mexico period in the Cerrillos Hills mine region shows is that settler colonialism, capitalism, and the law are co-constitutive.

Chapter 2 COLLECTING “DEAD AND GONE” NATIVE “SISTERS,” SUSAN WALLACE’S
CURIO CABINET

I selected these trifles because they were feminine belongings, and brought me nearer than the pipes and hatchets could bring me to my dead and gone sisters.²⁰¹

-Susan Elston Wallace

A Native-made turquoise pendant is amongst the “trifles” selected by author Susan Elston Wallace for her curio collection of “feminine belongings” which she uses as tangible links to her imagined spectral Native sisters and the New Mexico lands they leave behind. In January of 1879, author Susan Elston Wallace traveled by train and carriage from her home in Crawfordsville, Indiana, to Santa Fe to visit her husband Lew Wallace, who was then serving as New Mexico’s territorial governor.²⁰² During her eight-month stay in Santa Fe, Wallace toured local Pueblos, mines, and collected curios - turquoise specimens and Native-made objects, inspiring her book *The Land of the Pueblos* (later published in 1888).²⁰³ The chapter, “To the

²⁰¹ Susan Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, (New York, J. B. Alden, 1888), 105.

²⁰² Lew Wallace arrived in Santa Fe on September 30, 1878. In early February of 1879, Susan and their 25-year-old son Henry, arrived in New Mexico. “Land of the Pueblos,” New Mexico Territory, General Lew Wallace Study and Museum, Published April 12, 2019, <https://www.ben-hur.com/land-of-the-pueblos/#:~:text=She%20visited%20the%20Los%20Cerillos,Chelly%2C%20Casa%20Grande%2C%20and%20Acoma.>

²⁰³ Susan Wallace published her articles about her Santa Fe travel accounts in popular East Coast periodicals, which she later compiled into her book *The Land of the Pueblos*. Wallace’s Santa Fe travel articles appeared in the *New York Tribune*, the *Independent*, and the *Atlantic Monthly*. Brigitte Georgi-Findlay, *The Frontiers of Women’s Writing: Women’s Narratives and the Rhetoric of Westward Expansion* (University of Arizona Press, 2022), 217.; Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 71-72.

Turquoise Mines,” chronicles Wallace’s day trip to Mt. Chalchihuitl, part of the Kewa (Santo Domingo) Pueblo’s sacred turquoise mining region, located in the Cerrillos Hills, twenty eight miles south of Santa Fe.²⁰⁴ In May of 1879, one month before her mine tour trip, her husband and son invested in mining claims in the Cerrillos Hills during the first settler mining rush in 1879.²⁰⁵ As I examined in chapter one, Lew Wallace’s governor report, also authored in 1879, describes a masculine settler prospector who stakes mining claims to further the settler colonial civilizing project. In parallel with Lew Wallace’s masculinized act of prospecting, Susan Wallace tours Kewa mines and collects her curios in an attempt to narrate Native societies in New Mexico as ancient history, and herself as the land’s rightful heir.

In this chapter, I examine Wallace’s text as an example of how collecting turquoise from Native mines along with objects made by Native people extends the colonial project into the female domestic realm. As a female settler subject, Wallace authors her own version of a US settler colonial narrative in which Native people are eliminated to nullify their contemporary presence in the land, rendering it available for settlers to take. Wallace’s curios are a material from which she constructs her own indigeneity and rightful place within the land, passed to her by her invented dead Native sisters. The collecting of curiosities for curated displays in domestic spaces is a strategy deployed by white, female settlers to establish settler colonial racial regimes of property from dispossessed Native land. Native-made objects are imagined by Wallace as left behind by Native people whose primitive societies ceased to exist long ago. Wallace narrates her

²⁰⁴ “Cerrillos,” New Mexico Tourism Department, New Mexico True, accessed May 22, 2026, <https://www.newmexico.org/places-to-visit/ghost-towns/cerrillos/>.

²⁰⁵ “Land of the Pueblos,” General Lew Wallace Study and Museum.

motivation to undertake such an excursion to the mines as led by her curiosity about the land and its associated primitive peoples, and her desire to discover pieces of genuine turquoise. "...it was with extreme pleasure I prepared for an excursion to Los Cerillos, where these blue-eyed gems are found, the only mines as yet discovered this side the Russian seas... Among them are three turquoise mines, which anciently supplied the Indian market of North America."²⁰⁶ Guided by hired Mexican tour guides, she searches for turquoise and gives her Mexican guide a dollar for a stone hammer, pulled from an "ancient Spanish mine" that was once used by Pueblo miners. Despite ongoing Kewa mining in 1879, Wallace narrates the mines as empty of Pueblo miners, who are mere ghostly traces, embodied by the "ancient" and "primitive" tools they left behind.²⁰⁷

Wallace's narrative occurs within the first Cerrillos Hills mining rush of 1879 which drew not only mineral prospectors to Kewa turquoise mines, but also settler tourists hoping to collect mineral specimens and Native-made objects from the famed "ancient" Indian turquoise mines. I build on prior scholarship about the rise of the American curio collecting and the consumption of Native-made objects for cultural tourism and ethnographic collection in Santa Fe during the 1880s by contrasting Wallace's female curio collecting with male ethnographic compilations at Mt. Chalchihuitl during the same year in 1879. A wealth of anthropology scholarship examines historical contexts surrounding the circulation of Native-made objects sold by dealers and tourism companies. I contribute with an analysis of gender and race to show how turquoise is used as a material of settler-produced racial hierarchies by gendered settler subjects

²⁰⁶ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 75.

²⁰⁷ Milford, *Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill*, 175.

who narrate collecting expeditions during a nascent turquoise-mine related tourism economy in 1879.

As part of this approach, I cross-analyze Wallace's text with two male-authored US government reports. One of the government reports is authored by James Stevenson, head ethnographer for the Bureau of Ethnology, who discusses his research trip to the Southwest to collect objects for the Smithsonian's ethnographic collection of Native American material culture. In 1879, Stevenson and his team traveled to the Cerrillos Hills mines and the Santo Domingo Pueblo. While there, they collected numerous stone hammers that remain in the Smithsonian Museum collection today. Like Wallace's curios, the hammers were selected for the Bureau of Ethnography's scientific mission to produce an evolutionary timeline of material culture in which European Americans are the most advanced, and will dominate the future, while Native people are fixed in the past, incapable of "modern" technical advances. The second text is authored by Deputy US mineral surveyor Lyman J. Hayward. Hayward was tasked with surveying and reporting on the Cerrillos Hills mineral prospects. Hayward's resulting report, *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources. A description of the mines in the Los Cerrillos and Galisteo mining districts*, shares similarities to Wallace's ghostly language that serves as an attempt to erase the active and ongoing Kewa turquoise mining in the region.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ The texts analyzed are a report published by the Bureau of Ethnology in 1880 about an ethnographic research trip taken in 1879-1880 by Bureau of Ethnology employees James Stevenson, Messrs. F. H. Cushing, and photographer J. K. Hillers. In 1879 Stevenson, his wife and unpaid ethnographer Mathilda Cox Stevenson, Cushing, and Hillers traveled to the Cerrillos hills mines and the Santo Domingo Pueblo. While there, they collected stone hammers that remain in the Smithsonian Museum collection today. James Stevenson, "Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Indians of New Mexico in 1879," in *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81*, H.R. Misc. Doc. No. 61, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (1882).; The second text is: Lyman J. Hayward, *Los Cerrillos*

By examining Wallace's narrative within the context of masculine ethnographic collecting, and mining industry accounts of Mt. Chalchihuitl, I unveil the central role of settler gendered space in constructing settler regimes of property. I also draw from Mary Louise Pratt's analysis of colonial travel writing in which the protagonist narrators are European bourgeois, who travel through non-European lands and with "...imperial eyes passively look out and possess."²⁰⁹ Pratt describes them as "anti-conquest" men because they "seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony." Travel narratives authored by Europeans project innocence by describing their interactions and contact with the cultures of the colonized to mask asymmetrical power relations and the violence of colonial conquest.²¹⁰ I analyze ethnographic and curio collecting travel narratives as "anti-conquest" modes to secure Kewa turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills as a white, American settler regime of property. Curio collecting is not merely a passive collecting of objects to decorate domestic spaces. Rather, it is a white, settler female method of constructing settler colonial geographies of property ownership. The role of settler females is to civilize the wilderness and Curio collecting enables white women to claim and possess Native land and objects through the symbolic elimination and racialization of contemporary Native people, self-Indigenizing, and framing Native people as ghosts. Just as male ethnographic collectors journey into the wilderness to amass objects of the

Mines and their Mineral Resources. A Description of the Mines in the Los Cerrillos and Galisteo Mining Districts, accompanied by a map of the same, drawn from the actual surveys (J. C. Clark printing co., 1880).

²⁰⁹ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge, 2008), 23.

²¹⁰ Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 23.

marginalized Native “other” to construct white racial supremacy, Wallace’s curio collecting is a feminine civilizing act, in which she travels from her domestic space into the wilderness to claim objects of the other.

Racializing Spaces Through Gender and Racial Logics

As discussed in prior chapters, settler capitalist projects of land dispossession require spatially-oriented fabrications that racialize geographies. Settler political and economic actors author cultural, legal, and political discourses to circulate stories that conceptually eliminate Native societies from the land. and do so through the division of space along gender and racial binaries. The gender binary and gendered division of space are integral to the “civilizing” project that seeks to portray itself as an expansion of “civilized” white settlement into “wilderness” domains of the “savage,” Native other. Gender and sexuality are integral to the settler colonial project of racializing geographies as a wilderness that needs to be claimed and developed by settlers. Settler society maintains that gender is strictly a male/female binary, and heterosexuality is normative. Scott Morgensen argues that in addition to property ownership, the modern settler subject is defined by their sexuality termed *settler sexuality*. Settler sexuality enforces binary gender ideologies and heteronormativity through colonial violence waged against Indigenous populations who were, and remain, gender diverse. For the colonizers, Indigenous practices of gender diversity constructs “...Native peoples as queer populations marked for death.” The queering of Indigenous populations not only justified genocide committed by colonizers against

Indigenous peoples, but it also served to cement the settler as a modern subject in contrast with the long dead Indigenous subject.²¹¹

To analyze Wallace's text, I draw from fields of gender studies and settler colonial theory that show how the settler gender binary is a spatial project. Feminist geographers argue that spaces are socially constructed along a public and private spatial divide. Western gender logics of a male and female binary are applied to physical spaces to construct public space as masculine, and the private space of domestic homes as a female domain.²¹² In the settler colonial project of Native land theft, settler society attempts to install a divide between urban spaces and wilderness spaces. Urban space is the white settler domain, symbolic of advanced civilization because it is the site of the town and city, or white developed farmland. Urban space is constructed as the opposite of the spaces where Native societies are located, which are framed as "wilderness." Sherene Razack shows how settler colonial societies must racialize spaces.

²¹¹ Morgensen's term "settler sexuality" is defined as white national heteronormativity which operates as a regulating force designed to discipline Indigenous populations and other peoples of color so that white supremacist hierarchies can be maintained. If queer sexualities are marked as primitive, and heteronormativity is a marker of modernity, then groups that the settler desires to control are marked as sexually deviant, in need of discipline, incarceration, and surveillance. Scott Lauria Morgensen, "Settler Homonationalism: Theorizing Settler Colonialism within Queer Modernities," *J. Lesbian & Gay Studies* 16, no.1-2 (2010):106, <https://doi.org/10.1215/10642684-2009-015>.

²¹² Aabha Sharma, Purnima and Satyam Kumar, "Genderspaces: Gender Division of Spaces in Literature and Culture with Special Reference to Manju Kapur's Works," *Literature & Aesthetics* 34, no. 1 (2024): 1-11.; For a discussion of labor and gendered spaces see Daphne Spain, "Gendered Spaces and Women's Status," *Sociological Theory* 11, no. 2 (1993): 137-151, <https://doi.org/10.2307/202139>.; For an extended discussion of wilderness as the geographic other of settler cities, see: Laura Cameron, Andrew Baldwin, and Audrey Kobayashi, 2024, *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nature, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada* (University of British Columbia Press, 2024).

“Colonizers at first claim the land of the colonized as their own through a process of violent eviction, justified by notions that the land was empty or populated by peoples who had to be civilized. In the colonial era, such overt racist ideologies and their accompanying spatial practices (confinement to reserves, for example) facilitate the nearly absolute geographical separation of the colonizer and the colonized.”²¹³

Social constructions of racialized geographies facilitate the dispossession of Native land. Settler cultural narratives divide geographic areas and then racialize them as either white urban spaces occupied by modern, racially superior settler subjects, or wilderness spaces occupied by Native peoples. Wilderness spaces are framed as “underdeveloped” to construct Native societies as incapable of properly developing the land. The white settler is constructed as capable of owning land even if Native people are already there. As articulated by Patrick Wolfe, European settler colonialism deploys an “organizing grammar of race.”²¹⁴ European colonization of the Americas utilized the Christian Enlightenment understanding of the *human* as distinct from nature. Christian Enlightenment thinkers believed that progress depended on overcoming nature and, since certain peoples were closer to nature, they too needed to be overcome. In contrast to the peoples who were close to nature, Christian Europeans who conquered nature through agriculture had achieved modernity, the highest level of humanity. Kay Anderson explains that by drawing from this ideology, colonizers placed Indigenous peoples of the Americas into the

²¹³ Sherene Razack, *Race, Space, and the Law: Unmapping a White Settler Society*, (Between the Lines, 2004), 129.

²¹⁴ Patrick Wolfe, “Settler Colonialism and the Elimination of the Native,” *Journal of Genocide Research* 8, no 4 (2006): 387–409, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14623520601056240>.

category of the “savage,” which was viewed as a “condition that could be surpassed,” through conversion to Christianity, European farming, and settlement practices. Anderson points out that the figure of the savage within this discourse, albeit infantile, is still located within the temporal trajectory of the human.²¹⁵ Creating a clear distinction between the “savage” Indigenous person and the “modern” settler citizen was key to framing the settler as the rightful owner of Indigenous lands because they would bring “civilization” to the wilderness.

Gendered Settler Collecting Practices

Curio collecting originated in European cultures and developed as an elite pastime of both men and women. Margaret Carlyle’s analysis of 18th century curio collections in Paris reveals that curio collecting was a method for women to enter the scientific domain. Both upper class men and women collected “curiosities” from the natural world that included mineral, plant, and animal specimens. Curio objects were gendered in printed descriptions about Parisian collectors. Certain objects were feminized while others were socially unacceptable for women to collect, such as preserved human body parts. The inclusion of human body parts within collections of flora and fauna specimens is itself a racializing practice of 18th century European knowledge production.²¹⁶

In America, industrialization and Imperial expansion gave rise to a robust curio collecting industry. The expansion of railroad into Western territories enabled mining industry

²¹⁵ Kay Anderson, *Race and the Crisis of Humanism*, (Routledge, 2007), 27.

²¹⁶ Margaret Carlyle, “Collecting the World in Her Boudoir: Women and Scientific Amateurism in Eighteenth-Century Paris,” *Early Modern Women: An Interdisciplinary Journal* vol. 11, No. 1 (Fall, 2016): 149, <https://doi.org/10.1353/emw.2016.0049>.

development, which in turn enabled efficient transportation of commodities. Anthropologist Jonathan Batkin traces the curio trade's early commodity sources to the mining industry. Mineral specimens were easy for the curio dealers to obtain because they were a byproduct of the mining industry in Colorado. Curio dealers then established shops in Denver and Santa Fe during the 1870s.²¹⁷ Mineral specimens and Native-made objects, primarily pottery at first, supplied the curio cabinets of a white middle class who placed orders through catalogs published by curio dealers. The first mail-order curio catalog was published in 1874 by George B. Boswell in Denver. Boswell was a "self-described assayer and mineralogist" who sold minerals and plains Indian artifacts.²¹⁸ The curio trade soon enabled middle class households the means to amass collections of minerals and Indian artifacts, which were arranged in glass cabinets to furnish sitting areas in the home. Specimens from nature were displayed *with* Native artifacts to prove popular theories regarding the evolution of human cultures, framing white culture as the most advanced, and by extension, the most entitled to the land and its resources.

The arrival of the railroad to Santa Fe in 1880 initiated territorial New Mexico's curio trade. Pueblo-made pottery composed the majority of curio trade commodities because it was easily transported by railroad.²¹⁹ Buckets of pottery were shipped via railroad to fill orders

²¹⁷ Jonathan Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico* (Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2008), 7-21.

²¹⁸ Jonathan Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, (Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian, 2008), 7-8, 9.

²¹⁹ Pottery had already become a robust market for Pueblo artists. As early as 1694, Pueblo pottery artists sold and traded pottery for utilitarian household use, traveling to Santa Fe to conduct pottery sales. "Records are insufficient to identify Santa Fe's first curio dealer, but Aaron was the first to advertise store space devoted to the purpose. An ad for Gold's Provision House began running in the Daily New Mexican on February 27, 1880, less than three weeks after the first train steamed into town.[8] The shop, at the corner of San Francisco Street and

placed through curio catalogues. To market Native-made objects as rare and collectable, early 1900s era Curio dealers evoked ethnographic theories of the time that Native cultures were purportedly on the brink of extinction.²²⁰ In Santa Fe, curio dealer Aaron Gould advertised that his Provision House was “...the only place in town where Rare Specimens of Indian Pottery, ancient and modern...” could be had.²²¹ Curio dealers like Gould used stories about the alleged ancient qualities of their wares to market their objects.

By the early 1910s, catalogues published by curio dealers enabled white American female settlers to purchase “Indian corners” for display in their homes. “Indian corners” were pre-curated collections of Native-made objects. For example, the Benham Indian Trading Company marketed a collection of Native-made objects for \$3.75:

*A Starter for an Indian Corner [which included] a Tesuque clay pipe, a Zuni fruit basket, an Apache bow and arrows, a small Navajo loom with an incomplete textile, three pieces of Pueblo pottery, a small hand drum from Isleta, a Ute war club, and a tinted photograph of an Indian in a leather frame with burned designs, all for \$3.75.*²²²

Burro Alley, offered "groceries and provisions" and was "the only place in town where Rare Specimens of Indian Pottery, ancient and modern," could be purchased." Jonathan Batkin, "Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, edited by Phillips, Ruth B., and Christopher Burghard Steiner (University of California Press, 2000), 283, 286.

²²⁰ “The imagined imminent loss of Indian cultures guaranteed the ultimate rarity of objects. This illusion was used by many dealers, playing off the public's ignorance about the ready supply of objects for the trade.” Batkin, “Tourism Is Overrated,” 294.

²²¹ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade*, 15.

²²² Batkin also details that a Santa Fe-based curio dealer “...offered the buyer a choice of nine different "corners," each including the contents of the preceding corner plus a few more objects, and ranging in price from \$6 to \$50 (Candelario 1905).” Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade*, 213.

Curio collecting consumers were influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement which emphasized hand-crafting as an antithesis to the social conditions of the Industrial revolution. The cultural and design emphasis on hand made crafts intersected with settler cultural productions of romanticized Native others, who represented the pre-modern past.

The popularity of “Indian corners” collected by white settler women for their homes correlates with a practice of white women learning Native crafts during the same period. An article published in *Handicraft*, the journal of the Society of Arts and Crafts, Boston, encouraged its audience, white settler women, to take up Indian basket making to “...be literally transported by the experience of weaving Indian-style baskets. “It will show us the worth of real work, and reveal the value of the efforts of these simple aborigines. We shall learn that they ‘felt,’—were sentient, poetic, religious” (James 1903a: 271).”²²³ The journal’s implication, that settler women ought to learn the labor of Native crafts, is indicative of how American aesthetic culture of the 1910s encouraged practices of Indigenous “becoming” for female settler subjects. By taking up Native basketry, white women could get closer to their Native female counterpart by performing Indigeneity.²²⁴ Curio collecting later fed the Santa Fe based Native-made turquoise and silver jewelry market, which has been employed to symbolize the exotic Indigenous other by the Southwest cultural tourism industry since 1900.²²⁵

²²³ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, 295.

²²⁴ For an in depth discussion of settler impulses to mimic Native people as a settler colonial strategy, see: Philip Joseph Deloria, *Playing Indian* (Yale University Press, 1999).

²²⁵ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, 111.



INTERIOR OF A SANTA FE HOME.



PREHISTORIC STONE HAMMERS FOUND IN TURQUOISE MINE NEAR SANTA FE.

Figure 5 (above) Figure 6 (below): Photographs captioned “Interior of a Santa Fe Home,” (page 82) and “Prehistoric Stone Hammers,” (page 80) published in a 1906 Bureau of Immigration New Mexico book titled “Santa Fe County: The Heart of New Mexico Rich in History and Resources,” authored by Max Frost and Paul A.F. Walter.²²⁶

²²⁶ Max Frost and Paul A.F. Walter, *Santa Fe County: The Heart of New Mexico: Rich in History and Resources* (Bureau of Immigration of New Mexico, 1906), <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015027936684>.

Native-made art objects are included in a 1906 territorial government publication designed to draw white settlers to New Mexico. A Bureau of Immigration of New Mexico publication titled “Santa Fe County: The Heart of New Mexico Rich in History and Resources,” authored by Max Frost and Paul A.F. Walter, includes two photographs: one of a Santa Fe home interior decorated with curio-style collections of Native-made art objects, and the other features two Pueblo stone “prehistoric hammers.”²²⁷ The Bureau of Immigration operated between 1880-1912 as a territorial New Mexico government entity to publish brochures, reports in periodicals, and books designed to promote New Mexico as a desirable location for white settlers from the east coast to immigrate. Frost and Walter’s publication positions the photographs between essays about New Mexico’s “ancient” Native turquoise workings, and exciting un-developed mineral lands where waiting prospectors can stake their claim.²²⁸ The addition of the domestic space furnished with curio-style decor is an example of how the territorial political economy mobilizes the act of curio possession. Native people are literally out of the picture, leaving behind only their material culture which now belongs to the Santa Fe settler’s home, an aesthetic of possession used by Frost and Walter to illustrate the territory as sufficiently civilized. In the following, I examine how the stone tool implements are sought by both curio collectors and ethnographic collectors and were taken from Kewa turquoise mines in Mt. Mt. Chalchihuitl.

²²⁷ Frost and Walter, *Santa Fe County: The Heart of New Mexico*, 80, 82.

²²⁸ Frost and Walter, *Santa Fe County: The Heart of New Mexico*, 81-83.; The Bureau distributed 124 titles and 500,000 items. See: Jennifer Ramirez, Johnson Octavio Pimentel, and Charise Pimentel, “Writing New Mexico White: A Critical Analysis of Early Representations of New Mexico,” *Journal of Business and Technical Communication* 22, no. 2 (2008): 212-215, <https://doi.org/10.1177/105065190731192>.

The Santa Fe curio trade was criticized by the US Bureau of Ethnography as unscientific. Bureau ethnographer “W. H. Holmes...said New Mexico ‘is flooded with cheap and, scientifically speaking, worthless earthenware made by the Pueblo Indians to supply the tourist trade.’”²²⁹ In 1879, the US government’s Bureau of Ethnology was founded to collect Native American material culture, which was believed by Smithsonian ethnographers to be dying out due to “cultural contamination” from white civilization. “The geographical area chosen was the Southwest, because, Powell (1891) argued, fieldwork there was badly needed and no other cultural region of the United States was likely to yield more valuable results.”²³⁰ In the view of early American ethnographers from the US Bureau of Ethnography, curio collections did not follow proper scientific procedures. Before the 1870s, American museums acquired Native-made objects from individual donors, and the provenance of the objects was not documented. According to Smithsonian institutional leaders, museum exhibits lacked order and science because objects were collected and donated by private collectors, and then displayed as curiosities.²³¹ Anthropologist Nancy Parezo details the Bureau of Ethnology’s ethnographic

²²⁹ Jonathan Batkin, “Tourism Is Overrated: Pueblo Pottery and the Early Curio Trade, 1880-1910,” 286.

²³⁰ “In 1875, Baird and his associate, John Wesley Powell, organized and encouraged collecting by explorers, scientists, and Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) personnel” Nancy J. Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections: The Smithsonian Institution in the American Southwest,” in *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 10 (Tucson, Arizona, 1987), 10.

²³¹ In 1850, Joseph Henry, the first secretary of the Smithsonian sought to implement a new collections approach in which “...only objects that would add to scientific knowledge and serve as the basis for natural history research in North America be collected.”(Joseph Henry 1850:194) paraphrased in Nancy J. Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections: The Smithsonian Institution in the American Southwest,” *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 10 (1987): 8, <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-12-003110-8.50004-9>.

collecting trips to the Southwest which were conducted by Bureau of Ethnography employees between 1879 and 1920. The aim of the collecting trips was to obtain “pure” specimens of Native-made objects for the Smithsonian’s research collections.²³² The Smithsonian ethnographers believed that only objects free from any white influence could be considered true Native material culture because white settler knowledge production about scientific evolutionary theories and human development was constructed to frame Native culture as incapable of change and adaptation.

Ethnographic collecting in 1879 was considered a masculine domain that produced knowledge about America’s primitive races. Nancy Parezo’s study on early white female anthropologists explains how Western concepts of knowledge production were gendered as masculine, creating barriers to access for females in the sciences. “In the Western world of knowledge, men are held to be the natural scholars, because the occupations associated with the generation of new knowledge are prestigious and carry access to scarce resources.”²³³ Ethnology was one of the first fields in which white women were permitted to enter because male anthropologists working in the Southwest were prevented from entering Native women’s spaces. The field then maintained a sexual division of labor. “Women when they enter this world, are categorized in terms of the prevailing sexual division of labor in which women are subordinate

²³² Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections,” 4.

²³³ Parezo, “Anthropology: The Welcoming Science; Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneer Ethnologist” in *Hidden Scholars: Women Anthropologists and the Native American Southwest*, edited by Nancy J. Parezo (University of New Mexico Press, 1993), 8.

helpers. They are quickly assigned to the invisible proletariat.”²³⁴ Women’s fieldwork was considered soft, supportive research labor in juxtaposition to masculine data analysis and publications.

Susan Wallace’s Wilderness Encounters with the Other

In “To the Turquoise Mines,” Wallace’s interactions with Native people drive the narrative and Wallace unpacks each encounter through her racial perspective. Wallace investigates living people, mythical stories, or the others’ supposedly long forgotten objects as traces left behind. As she meets the Native people of New Mexico, she narrates her observations in connection with the popular human evolutionary theories of the time, which claim white superiority and Native inferiority.

Wallace Encounters Pueblo People

Early in the narrative, Wallace describes the “stirring” event of passing a Pueblo man and his son on the road to Mt. Chalchihuitl. Like Wallace and her mine tour group, the man and his son are simply traveling along the road, yet in Wallace’s racially charged language, their simple act of sharing the road, and walking past Wallace’s group, is threatening. “In such emptiness, it was a stirring event to be overtaken by a Pueblo Indian, who passed us with a swinging stride, rarely seen off the boards of a country theatre.”²³⁵ Wallace explains to her reader that the Pueblo man, a racialized figure, has gradually progressed from a wild warrior to a tamer farmer. “This

²³⁴ Parezo, “Anthropology: The Welcoming Science; Matilda Coxe Stevenson: Pioneer Ethnologist,” 8.

²³⁵ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 84.

‘Wild warrior of the Turquoise Hills’ is tame enough now, always a tiller of the soil, he is the original, in fact, the aboriginal granger.”²³⁶ She assures her readers that the savage and violent Native is tamed through the colonial ideology of improvement.

Brenna Bhandar’s analysis of settler colonial property law traces how colonial economic theory dispossessed Native lands by defining them as wasted resources and serves to provide clarity to Wallace’s description of this event, and others. Property rights are restricted to subjects who engage in economized agriculture instead of communal and non-capitalist land uses. “The imperative to quantify and measure value created an ideological juggernaut that defined people and land as unproductive in relation to agricultural production and deemed them to be waste and in need of improvement.”²³⁷ Wallace places Pueblo land use along a Native and white racial hierarchy where racial progress is achieved through land use that is legible to the colonizer. Wallace suggests that Pueblo men can become more civilized and racially improved through assimilation into a white-American settler homesteading system that “improves” the land and produces Pueblo men as productive laboring subjects of the settler colonial state. In actuality, Pueblo societies already possessed and maintained expert land cultivation practices.

Wallace also studies the man’s child as he chases jack rabbits with a curved stick, which she views as a globally primitive technology. “We were fortunate, too, in seeing a half-grown

²³⁶ Wallace, *the Land of the Pueblos*, 84.

²³⁷ “In settler colonies, early modern property logics that posit cultivation as the basis of an ownership right shape the criteria for establishing indigenous rights to land, which, in the context of a land market where contemporary ownership is governed by a system of registration, produce anachronistic legal tests and legal subjectivities in the domain of aboriginal title.” Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property: Law, Land, and Racial Regimes of Ownership* (Duke University Press, 2019), 35.

boy chase jack-rabbits with a curved stick, hurling it with whirring sound, in the style of the boomerang, till lately thought exclusively Australian.”²³⁸ She informs her reader that witnessing such a hunting tool in active use proves to her how “aborigines in every continent” share the same technological characteristics.²³⁹ “Weapon and attitudes of the Egyptian are precisely the same as those of the boyish red hunter of North America....Guided by the same instinct, the tools of various nations unknown to each other, are the same and the measure of their advancement; showing how little depends on accident...”²⁴⁰ Her specific discussion of Egyptians is typical of Victorian era orientalism that influenced settler cultural productions. Ethnographic research in America sought to establish the Southwest as America’s orient, similar to ancient Egypt, where primitive and romanticized races live in a natural state.²⁴¹

²³⁸ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 84.

²³⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 85.

²⁴⁰ Histories and contemporary practices of Indigenous agricultural scientific and technological knowledge in the Southwest is a wide ranging and extensive topic. For several examples, see: ABQ Stew, “The Benefits and Age-Old Success of Waffle Gardens: A History on One of the Oldest Sustainable Farming Methods of the Southwest,” UNM Sustainability Studies Program, posted on April 20, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160421182323/http://abqstew.com/2016/04/20/the-benefits-and-age-old-success-of-waffle-gardens-a-history-on-one-of-the-oldest-sustainable-farming-methods-of-the-southwest/>; Testimony of the Zuni tribe governor Arden Kucate in support of S. 4643 before the senate committee on Indian affairs on September 25, 2024. <https://indianz.com/News/2024/09/26/video-legislative-hearing-to-receive-testimony-on-s-4444-s-4633-s-4643-s-4705-s-4998/> <https://web.archive.org/web/20241013043641/https://www.indian.senate.gov/wp-content/uploads/09-25-2024-Kucate-Testimony.pdf>.

²⁴¹ Egyptomania is a term used to describe Victorian-era aesthetics. Archaeological finds in Egypt inspired European and American fashion, literature, and other cultural productions. Orientalist desires for objects replicating Egyptian artifacts “discovered” by European

Wallace Encounters Traces of Pueblo People

Wallace transforms Native people into specters who haunt an empty landscape, which parallels the descriptions of “waste land” or “empty land” in colonial writing discussed in Vinay Lal’s work. The myth of “empty land” enabled colonizers to take possession through the doctrine of *terra nullius*, evicting Indigenous peoples as trespassers and “whose very existence posed a threat to civilization.”²⁴²

Manu Vimalassery points to a revealing contradiction in colonial writing about “waste lands.” In the *Wealth of Nations* (1776), Adam Smith writes: “ ‘Waste lands of the greatest natural fertility, are to be had for a trifle.’ ” Vimalassery clarifies that generations of Indigenous land cultivation and ecological knowledge created the “natural fertility,” and the low cost of the land is due to its violent theft.²⁴³ Despite settler claims of “wasted land,” Indigenous peoples had been engaged in agricultural practices supporting vast metropolises in certain regions such as the

archaeologists. During the late 1800s and early 1900s, the American Southwest was viewed as America’s “orient” by white settler authors. Scott Trafton, *Egypt Land: Race and Nineteenth-Century American Egyptomania* (Duke University Press, 2004).

²⁴² Vinay Lal, “Imperialism and its Limits” in *Race and Capitalism: Global Territories, Transnational Histories*, eds. A. Roy, M. Dawson, N. Connolly *et al.* (Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin, 2018), 35.

²⁴³ The “improvement” that Smith proposes hopes settlers apply to the land is actually the capitalist overconsumption: “the rapid leaching of mineral, plant, and animal abundance of a place to produce market crops, resulting in the production of actual waste lands, in both exchange and use terms.” Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776); Manu Vimalassery, “The Wealth of the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy,” *Settler Colonial Studies* 3-4 (2013): 303.

Southeast, as well as actively managing the land through methods referred to today as Indigenous ecological knowledge.²⁴⁴

As I detail in chapter one, Kewa Pueblo turquoise miners extracted turquoise from the Cerrillos Hills area for centuries, yet lengthy descriptions of empty wilderness saturate Wallace's narration of the turquoise mine at Mt. Chalchihuitl.

The influence was benumbing to the senses, and as I stood in infinite solitude, a stone among stones, there came over me the feeling that this melancholy waste is the skeleton of our Mother Earth; that the dust of which all flesh is made has been blown away, scattered to the four winds of heaven, leaving these gray old bones forlorn and unburied through the long, slow centuries, till the coming of the Great Day for which all other days were made.²⁴⁵

The land is described as empty of Indigenous presence, allowing it to be claimed by Wallace and her group. Wallace attributes her right to discover the land because the land had been untouched for countless years. She claims that her group is the first to explore the land "since the morning stars sang at creation's dawn."²⁴⁶

We lingered under the solemn pines, groping with shadows, visible and unseen, loath to leave. The hoary hills, so lone and untrodden, began to be possessed of strange enchantment. The place was ours by right of discovery. We were a band of explorers, the first to break a silence lasting since the morning stars sang at creation's dawn. Perhaps the witchery was a variation of the prevalent miner's fever, for the day was waning when we reluctantly gave over our search for precious mineral.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁴ Dunbar-Ortiz, *Not "A Nation of Immigrants,"* 15-31.

²⁴⁵ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 89.

²⁴⁶ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁴⁷ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

Wallace's text is part of a canon of women's Western travel narratives in which white settler women, as well as men, occupy the role of a frontier hero. Brigitte Georgie-Findlay analyzes Wallace's and other white female author's travel narrative. Georgie-Findlay argues that Pueblo stories and presence in *The Land of the Pueblos* "serve as illustrations of a quaint, primitive past that inevitably has to give way to white American civilization."²⁴⁸ During the 1830s and 1840s, an era defined by genocidal eliminatory US legislation like the Indian Removal Act which forcedly removed Southeastern tribal nations from their homelands, masculine frontier heroes appeared within settler visual and literary culture to discover new wealth for the US settler nation state. As I analyzed in the prior chapter, Lew Wallace's governor report placed the mineral prospector in a hero narrative in which the prospector's role is to discover new mines. Like her husband's imagined prospector, Susan Wallace's declaration that "[t]he place was ours by right of discovery" constructs herself as a wilderness hero who also discovers a mine.²⁴⁹ Wallace's right to discover and claim the site of the mine as hers produces her right of possession against an absent, spectral Native other.

As a self-proclaimed explorer, Wallace arrives at the mine to search for turquoise. During her search, she encounters "moccasined footprints" and rock walls tinged with smoke from recent campfires. Wallace's description of footprints and smoke-tinged walls certainly suggests that Kewa miners were recently at the mine prior to Wallace's arrival. However, Wallace also describes the mine as long abandoned and desolate. In presenting this contradiction, Wallace

²⁴⁸ Brigitte Georgie-Findlay, *The Frontiers of Women's Writing: women's narratives and the rhetoric of Western expansion*, (University of Arizona Press, 1996), 218.

²⁴⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

robs the miners of a corporeal presence by replacing them with smoke and footprints in an empty landscape. Wallace's strategy of replacing Indigenous physical presence with ghostly traces in literature is an American settler colonial aesthetic defined by Renée Bergland as *spectralization*. The political and cultural discourses of the US settler state, beginning with European colonization of North America, describe Native people as ghosts, who disappear because they are doomed to be vanquished by superior settler society. Bergland argues that Native ghosts haunt the American national identity and represent its guilt over genocidal violence, yet also personify a triumphant narration of settlers as the rightful possessors of Indigenous lands.²⁵⁰

As a settler subject driven by an imperative to possess, Wallace deploys a spectralizing mythology to transform the Mt. Chalchihuitl turquoise mine into a monument of Indigenous death.²⁵¹ She conveys a myth about a Spanish era mine cave-in that was popularized and circulated by the settler mining industry. The myth alleges that the Pueblos had stopped mining in the area after the cave-in killed enslaved Pueblo miners. Throughout her narrative, to illustrate how the mine is abandoned, Wallace reiterates:

The tradition is that the chalchuite mines, through immemorial ages known to the primitive race, were possessed by the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Indian slaves then worked them, under the lash of the conqueror, until 1680, when, by accident, a portion of the rock from which we had our first view fell, and killed thirty Pueblos.

²⁵⁰ Renée L. Bergland, *The National Uncanny: Indian Ghosts and American Subjects* (University Press of New England, 2000), 24.

²⁵¹ As confirmed by Ellis and Schroeder in legal documents submitted in connection with the Santa Domingo Pueblo's legal battles, the cave-in never occurred: Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder, *The Basis for Santa Domingo Pueblo's Claim to the Turquoise Mine Area* (US Justice Department, 1976), 22.; That the cave-in was a fabrication by American prospectors, is also confirmed in: Milford, *Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill*, 175.; and was relayed to me as a pervasive falsehood which the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo tribal historic preservation office continues to dispel during my meeting with them on September 30, 2025.

Wallace's inclusion of the mine cave-in myth further spectralizes Kewa miners. She describes the turquoise mine as empty and desolate land because, "[a]fter 1692 mining in the province was abandoned, and to this day it is the rarest thing for a Spaniard or an Indian to engage in mining. They seem to have forsaken it forever."²⁵² The myth constructs Native people as afraid of the Mt. Chalchihuitl turquoise mine and was intentionally circulated in settler-authored histories of Kewa turquoise mines at Mt. Chalchihuitl.

The mine cave-in myth originated with a publication by geologist and mining engineer William P. Blake who was contracted as a mineralogist-geologist and mineralogist by the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers for the Pacific Railroad Survey.²⁵³ Blake had become interested in turquoise through an emerging ethnographic interest in Diné jewelry and was directed to the turquoise mines by Pueblo people themselves. At Mt. Chalchihuitl, Blake witnessed Pueblo miners extracting turquoise.²⁵⁴ Blake observed that Pueblo people merely sourced their turquoise from rubble around the former mines, and concluded in a published report that Pueblo miners stopped mining turquoise and only searched for it amongst discarded rocks from older mines.²⁵⁵ Blake's source for the myth was a local white miner who attributed

²⁵² Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 71-72.

²⁵³ "From 1853-1856, he joined the Williamson Party with the U. S. Army Corps of Topographical Engineers as a mineralogist-geologist to examine a route for the railroad from the Mississippi to the Pacific." MS 78, William Phipps Blake, 1826-1910, Papers, 1847-1910, Arizona Historical Society, 2, https://arizonahistoricalociety.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/library_Blake-William.pdf.

²⁵⁴ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 33.

²⁵⁵ Milford, "Brief History of Turquoise Mining," 175.; Another concept was that the mines at turquoise hill had been filled in by Pueblo people to hide them from the Spanish.; Douglas Magnus, "The Turquoise Mines of the Cerrillos Hills Mining District, Gemstone Materials, and

the alleged lack of active Pueblo mining to rumors that Pueblo miners feared Mt. Chalchihuitl turquoise mines ever since the Spanish mine collapse.

In 1880, deputy US Mineral Surveyor Jacob Lyman Hayward published the same cave-in myth in his report *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources*. Hayward's report is intended for an investor audience and outlines the mineral prospects of the Cerrillos Hills for prospective investors, and details mine claim locations, owners, and regional mining laws. Like Lew and Susan Wallace, Hayward also owned Cerrillos Hills mine claims, staking eleven claims in 1879-1880.²⁵⁶ His report details the false history of Mt. Chalchihuitl in which a 1680 Spanish mine collapse killed 25 Pueblo miners enslaved by the Spanish.²⁵⁷ Hayward's use of the myth is an attempt to narrate Kewa turquoise mines as abandoned to generate interest from settler prospectors.

It is said that the Indians have a tradition that eight or nine of their tribe were once suddenly buried by a fall of rocks from the side of the great pit. Since that time they have been afraid to work in it. ... The place is occasionally visited by Indians from a distance, but their operations appear to be confined to the surrounding openings (other turquoise pits), or to breaking up masses of rock which were formerly removed.²⁵⁸

their Usage: Ancient and Modern," in *Turquoise in Mexico and North America: Science, Conservation, Culture and Collections*, eds. J.C.H King, Caroline Cartwright, and Colin McEwan, (Archetype Books, 2012), 222 .

²⁵⁶ Paul R. Secord, "Introduction," in *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources*, eds. J. Lyman Hayward, Paul R. Secord, and Homer E. Milford, 1.

²⁵⁷ Hayward's report provided the government and potential mine investors with detailed descriptions of Cerrillos Hills available lands for mineral prospecting, lists of current claim owners. Secord, "Introduction" in *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources*, 1.; Milford, "Brief History of Turquoise Mining," 175.

²⁵⁸ Newberry (1859, 1861), Bandelier (1892) and Blake (1858) are cited in Milford: "Brief History of Turquoise Mining," 175.

Hayward's description of the myth provides a settler-constructed historical context for the "...old Turquoise mine now being worked by New York capitalists..." Hayward explains that after the collapse, the Spanish tried to replenish their slave population from the San Marcos Pueblo. The people there refused, "perhaps from a superstitious fear." The Spanish then attempted to use force, resulting in "a severe struggle."²⁵⁹ The revolt that Hayward alludes to is today called the Pueblo Revolt, a time when all but two of the Pueblos united to drive the Spanish colonists out of the region for 12 years. Historians have argued that forced mining labor was one factor that led to the Pueblo Revolt; however, in addition to enslavement, other motivations for the revolt included the Spanish missionary suppression of Indigenous religions and violent regulation of Indigenous cultures through various means.²⁶⁰

Like Wallace, Hayward could not dispute Pueblo presence in the land entirely. He contradicts himself by acknowledging that Indians are around, but pose no threat, and can be used as a cheap labor population:

The natives of New Mexico are of a kind and generous disposition. They never molest or interfere with a person or his business. Naturally they are inclined to be indolent, yet they are ready and willing to work when employed. The Indian question is practically settled. As the country becomes more civilized, they will not dare to roam openly over the property of others.²⁶¹

²⁵⁹ Hayward, *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources*, 8.

²⁶⁰ Matthew Liebmann, T. J. Ferguson, and Robert W Preucel, "Pueblo Settlement, Architecture, and Social Change in the Pueblo Revolt Era, A.D. 1680 to 1696," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 30, no. 1 (2005): 45–60, <https://doi.org/10.1179/009346905791072459>.

²⁶¹ Hayward, *Los Cerrillos Mines and their Mineral Resources*, 8.

The circulation of the cave-in myth by Wallace and Hayward is an example of how the political economy of settler mining in the Cerrillos Hills relied on settler subjects who narrate the very present Kewa miners as long dead ghosts.²⁶² Wallace and Hayward both construct Pueblo people as eliminated or diminished presence in the land by describing the Kewa turquoise mines described as ancient, or repeating the mine cave in myth. Wallace demonstrates that like their male counterparts, female settler subjects also affirm their own discovery rights at Native mines on behalf of forming settler colonial racial regimes of property.

Wallace Encounters Objects Made by Pueblo People

Wallace symbolically encounters Native Americans through her encounters with Native-made objects. Each of Wallace's encounters with the other's objects builds Wallace's argument that New Mexico Natives are premodern and have disappeared from the land. When describing Indigenous objects, Wallace's phrasing choices enforce the concept that Native people produce inferior material culture. By comparing and ranking Native material culture with the material culture of ancient European cultures, Wallace attempts to fix Native societies in the past, while also positioning them as inferior to European cultures.

The ground was strewn with fragments of broken pottery, the unfailing sign of the ancient Pueblo, the rightful owner of this soil. They were colored maroon red, light clay, and dark brown, with markings of black. At sight of them the antiquarian fell to wandering among tombs, discoursing on fallen kingdoms, extinct races, wrecks of empire, and columns voiceless as the gray stones of Pæstum. He was learned and eloquent; but none of these things move me. Our little scraps were but the elder and better counterparts of the poor potteries the Pueblos make at this day; and merely prove, what I believe has never been disputed, that North America has been inhabited from a remote period. I know there are enthusiasts who insist there was a prehistoric race, displaced by what we call aborigines, which had a civilization comparing favorably with those of the Old World. What that civilization was, let the stone hatchet, and the dingy

²⁶² Milford, "Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill," 175.

pottery with its graceless tracings testify, when laid beside relics from Etruria the Beautiful. The Western fragments are in beggarly contrast with the exquisite vases and jewel-work which are the model and despair of the modern artist.²⁶³

Wallace's descriptions of Pueblo pottery are an effort to define Pueblo cultures in decline. Wallace narrates to her readership that Pueblo pottery has declined through time with her assessment that the "fragments" of Pueblo pottery are the "elder and better counterparts of the poor potteries the Pueblos make at this day." Wallace's aesthetic hierarchy subordinates both "ancient" and contemporary Pueblo pottery as inferior to the arts of ancient Etruscan and Greek cultures of Italy. Wallace refers to the pillars of temples at the ancient Greek city of Paestum located on the Western coast of Italy, and to the "exquisite vases and jewel-work" of Etruria, a region where the Etruscans populated central Italy during the Iron Age.²⁶⁴ Wallace's descriptors of the Pueblo pottery as "strewn," "fragments," "little scraps," "graceless," "dingy," and "beggarly," imply that Native Material culture exists as haphazard discarded debris. Even though

²⁶³ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁶⁴ James Higginbotham, "Paestum (Poseidonia)," in *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, eds. R.S. Bagnall, K. Brodersen, C.B. Champion, A. Erskine and S.R. Huebner (Wiley, 2013), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781444338386.wbeah16104>.; Etruria (Ἐτρούρια) is the modern name used to refer to the Etruscan civilization's geographic region. "ETRURIA (Etruria, Ἐτρούρια): The seventh Augustan region of Italy, corresponding to the ancient land of the Etruscans, was limited to the N.-NE. by the Magra and the Tuscan-Emilian Apennines, to the E.S. by the Tiber, excluding the Tifernate territory, to the W. by the sea, up to the mouth of the Tiber," "Etruria," Treccani Encyclopedia Italiana, accessed March 30, 2026, [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/etruria_\(Enciclopedia-Italiana\)/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/etruria_(Enciclopedia-Italiana)/).; "The Etruscan civilization occupied a large area of central Italy during the Iron Age, including the modern-day regions of Tuscany, Lazio, and Umbria, with local expansions into neighboring Italian regions throughout its existence... This culture is renowned for its outstanding skills in metallurgy, its sophisticated cultural representations, and its extinct language, a non-Indo-European language not yet fully understood..." Posth, Cosimo et al., "The Origin and Legacy of the Etruscans Through a 2000-year Archeogenomic Time Transect," *Science Advances* 7 no. 39 (2021), <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abi7673>.

Wallace contends that the broken Pueblo pottery is an “unfailing sign of the ancient Pueblo, the rightful owner of this soil,” Wallace asserts that the “stone hatchet, and the dingy pottery with its graceless tracings” are “begardly” compared to Etruscan art.

Wallace’s racialization and subordination of Pueblo cultures operates as a settler method of eliminating Pueblo rights to the turquoise mines. Even though Wallace states that the pottery shows “...the unfailing sign of the ancient Pueblo, the rightful owner of this soil...”²⁶⁵ Wallace’s diminishment of Pueblo pottery as inferior and of an ancient past attempts to delegitimize the contemporary Pueblo people of Wallace’s time period. Wallace further constructs a settler racial regime of property by using the possessive phrase “[o]ur little scraps.”²⁶⁶ Racial regimes of property mobilize whiteness as a right to own property while Indigenous people are precluded from the ownership because they are not modern. Wallace excludes Pueblo people from her ownership class by framing them as outside of modern civilization because their material culture proves that they are un-evolved, or have died out. Wallace’s ability to own the Pueblo pottery shards symbolically positions her as an owner of Pueblo objects even though they disappoint her.

Wallace also collects small bits of turquoise described as “[s]everal inferior bits of Chalchuite were dug out of the ancient wastage,” two arrowheads, and “the largest Indian hatchet I have ever seen...” The hatchet is described as ancient: “It was roughened and time-worn, and had lain there how long---ah! Quien Sabe?” The stone hatchet, a Pueblo mining tool, was “...brought up by the enterprising Juan Fresco from an abandoned silver mine...”²⁶⁷ The rough

²⁶⁵ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁶⁶ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁶⁷ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 91-92.

and ancient qualities of the stone hatchet prove to Wallace that “the Stone Age is not ended in New Mexico.”²⁶⁸ In Wallace’s temporal framing, Native people who use stone hatchets are stuck in a past phase of evolution, in contrast with European cultures who use “advanced” mining equipment.²⁶⁹

Juan Fresco is Wallace’s Mexican driver, who sells Wallace the hatchet for one dollar. No non-white person escapes Wallace’s racial descriptors. When Juan Fresco first appears in the story, Wallace explains, “[t]hey say that there is Indian blood in him; that he is cold as death and treacherous as a tiger-cat; but I do not believe it.”²⁷⁰ His body and face are described as having an “Arab leanness” a “soft Syrian face” “comely features, unchanging, melancholy eyes, and a gentle, passive voice, very winsome.”²⁷¹ Wallace also highlights the fact that “[h]e can live and does live on a dollar a week.”²⁷² The souvenirs are paid for through her disposable income, allowing her to spare a dollar for the axe’s purchase, which for Juan Francisco is a week’s

²⁶⁸ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁶⁹ Wallace’s complete passage is: “It may interest some believer in the perishing theory of “Ages” to know the Stone Age is not ended in New Mexico. Within the present generation, it is said, remote tribes have used as a weapon, offensive and defensive, the stone hatchet, tied by a thong of deerskin to a wooden handle. As Sir John Herschel said of something else, this is one of those things which, according to received theories, ought not to happen.” Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁷⁰ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 76.

²⁷¹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 76.

²⁷² Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 76.

salary.²⁷³ Wallace's ability to purchase the axe represents her racial and economic dominance over the racialized Juan Fresco and the Pueblo makers of the objects he sells.

For Wallace, turquoise is the primary specimen she seeks to acquire as she searches the land. In a passage which relays the various cultural valuations of American turquoise, Wallace positions the quality of American turquoise within a global hierarchy: "This rich-tinted mineral is finer than the dark colored stone of Russia, and though by no means costly as Shylock's turquoise, the chalchuite still holds its high repute among the various tribes of the red race."²⁷⁴

Wallace describes the use of turquoise by each group of Native people in territorial New Mexico:

It is valued by the Navajo beyond the garnets and beryls of his own country, and is used as currency among the half-civilized Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona. The Indian girls along the Colorado wear it as a love-token in their necklaces; the roving and tameless Apache covets a blue bead as an amulet; the degraded Ute loves its soft glimmer; and when a Mohave chief would assume regal splendor, he sticks a three-cornered piece of chalchuite in his royal nose.²⁷⁵

The Native people in New Mexico are ranked by categories based on each group's perceived cultural proximity to white culture in which settlement and migratory lifestyles are racial signifiers, i.e. "half-civilized Pueblos" and "roving and tameless Apache[s]."²⁷⁶

While at the mine, Wallace's Mexican guide dupes her into purchasing a piece of fake turquoise "found" during their visit.

At first I was appalled at the magnitude of the sum; but the stone of inimitable hue, lying in the lean, brown hand, had a sort of magnetism. The familiar tint was charming,

²⁷³ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 92.

²⁷⁴ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 75.

²⁷⁵ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 75.

²⁷⁶ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 75.

matching as it did a tiny ring long worn for remembrance, and with much cracked Spanish and broken English, a bargain was made, and we parted, with many a cordial adios. No, not even in the close confidence of print will I tell you, beloved, the price of the princely jewel. The secret will go with me to the grave. Enough that it was exhaustive. I am blushing over it yet.²⁷⁷

After paying an exorbitant cost that she refuses to disclose to her reader despite expounding how embarrassingly high the sum was, she sends the stone to New York to be cut and made into a jewelry piece. To her dismay it is soon returned to her as worthless because it is not real turquoise.

When her Mexican guide “discovers” the piece of turquoise, she describes the value of the stone by constructing a narrative about how it would have been a prized possession of the Princess Nenetzin, daughter of Montezuma, the Aztec leader who contended with the Spanish conquistadors in Mexico. “Such a stone the gentle and gracious Montezuma might have worn in his signet-ring or set in the clasp of his green mantle of feather-work. Such a gift would have made still brighter the bright eyes of his daughter, the laughing Princess Nenetzin, the spoiled darling, whose death was the crowning horror of the *Noche Triste*.”²⁷⁸ The turquoise is associated with Princess Nenetzin’s execution by Wallace who repeatedly embeds turquoise with colonial meaning through lore about each stone’s history as an imagined possession of a dead Indigenous woman or girl. Turquoise, a gemstone “discovered” by Wallace and her group of explorers, is a symbol of Indigenous absence from the land. As a racialized object of the other,

²⁷⁷ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 103.

²⁷⁸ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 90.

Wallace associates it with stories featuring the tragic, yet inevitable, elimination of Indigenous women.

Wallace's blunder of purchasing a fake fuels her pursuit to possess a genuine turquoise stone, an achievement she finally realizes when she purchases a turquoise necklace looted by miners from an archaeological site, possibly a grave.²⁷⁹ Discovered by miners in 1878, "The amulet and twenty beads of chalchuite were hidden in a black glazed jar, of the shape made by natives to-day, buried in a cave many feet below the surface of the ground. It was accidentally opened, in 1878, by a party of miners digging for silver. Probably a treasure-house, abandoned at the last moment, when the besieged inhabitants fled before a victorious army."²⁸⁰ The necklace is allegedly discovered with objects representing Indigenous warfare, death, and primitivism.

Wallace claims that her necklace was found near stone hammers, arrowheads and hatchets, and Aztec-like serrated swords, and a half of a human skull "...evidently broken by a blow of the hatchet or tomahawk."²⁸¹ The necklace is so ancient that the string it was on, like the person who carved it, has long since "gone to dust...the race" of the carver has "vanished into the voiceless past."²⁸²

They were mainly broken potteries, a few sacred whispering-stones from old estiifas, rude arms of iztlit and the familiar flint arrows, such as have been discovered in every portion of the globe where there are graves of men. Among many trinkets offered, I chose a little looking-glass of iztli, and an amulet of chalchuite from the ruins of a prehistoric city near El Paso....I selected these trifles because they were feminine belongings, and

²⁷⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 69-101.

²⁸⁰ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 105.

²⁸¹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 105.

²⁸² Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 105.

brought me nearer than the pipes and hatchets could bring me to my dead and gone sisters.²⁸³

The necklace is a vehicle for Wallace to become the Native she seeks to replace.

Necklaces are wearable objects and wearing the necklace is an intimate form of connecting an imagined Native woman's body to her own in an effort to construct her own indigeneity. Each object is used by Wallace to invent characters of Native ghosts to take the Native person's place in the land. The mirror and the pendant are selected for her collection specifically for their gender associations. Wallace imagines that they belong to her dead Native sisters, a narrative that renders Indigenous societies as eliminated from the land, while also self-Indigenizing. In both of these ways, Wallace installs herself as the rightful possessor and heir to Native land and possessions.

By self indigenizing, Wallace deploys a persistent tactic of settler cultural production to claim innocence from complicity in genocide. Self-indigenizing is a settler strategy to produce settler society as naturally of land, not a foreign, immigrant nation that occupies another's land. Eve Tuck and K.W. Yang show that settlers try to manufacture their own innocence to resist the tangible return of Native land through "...a set of evasions, or "settler moves to innocence", that problematically attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity."²⁸⁴

Jennifer Komorowski's analysis of self-indigenizing narratives by colonial authors demonstrates how settlers construct stories about, and identify with stories about, Indigenous

²⁸³ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 104.

²⁸⁴ Eve Tuck and K.Wayne Yang, "Decolonization is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, No. 1 (2012): 3-7, <https://doi.org/10.25058/20112742.n38.04>.

victims who suffer and will inevitably vanish. Komorowski argues that “[t]hrough literature, the settler is able to identify with narratives of Indigenous suffering on numerous levels...” because the settler can safely idealize Native people who are on the cusp of death because they are easily replaced by the settler.²⁸⁵ Komorowski’s literary and historical research demonstrates that settler authors consistently produce the Indian suffering narrative, to “...allow[s] the reader to live out the masochistic fantasy of becoming Indian...”²⁸⁶ Self-indigenization is an extreme form of settler pleasure in Native suffering and impending vanishment.

Wallace can be included in the Indian suffering literary canon because she imagines a doomed love story in which her necklace is gifted by a young Native man to his lover: “Young were the lovers, I know (for love is ever young), and to eyes beloved each was beautiful and true. Perhaps she stood like Ruth among the corn, as the warm blood flushed his face, when he bound it with his love as a crown unto her, fastening it with vows, and promises, and never-ending kisses.²⁸⁷ The couple’s youth and preoccupation with one another frame them as childlike, motivated by a love that renders them naive to their civilization’s inevitable fate: “My amulet is a sorry love-token; yet, for the sake of the soft meaning it once bore, I touch the trinket lightly. Rude in outline, utterly lacking in grace and luster, it represents a Western idyl.”²⁸⁸ The necklace

²⁸⁵ Jennifer Komorowski, “Sadomasochistic Readings of Indigenous Pain and the Phenomenon of Pretendianism,” *English Studies in Canada* 47, no. 3 (2021): 67, <https://doi.org/10.1353/esc.2021.a919367>.

²⁸⁶ Komorowski, “Sadomasochistic Readings,” 67.

²⁸⁷ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 106.

²⁸⁸ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 106.

is valued by Wallace for its symbolic representation of an Indigenous and idyllic primitive past, not for its “rude” form. Wallace’s description of the necklace’s “rude” aesthetic qualities is an example of a persistent theme in her narrative: representing Indigenous cultures as premodern due to inferior material culture. Through the possession of the necklace which itself fixes Native people in anachronistic time, Native people of the past are Wallace’s to control and manipulate into forlorn vignettes that foreshadow their impending demise.

All, all gone now. My young mound-builders— if mound-builders they were — sleep with the primeval giants. And, while a thousand wonderments hover about the poor keepsake, this only we do know: that they walked blindly along the path we call life ; slowly, and with many a failure, worked out their destiny. They loved, sinned and suffered, died, and were forgotten. The surface of the country is altered since that old lovemaking. Strong cities are leveled with the plains, tribes are scattered, languages lost, whole races are extinct ; but humanity remains the same — the one thing that will outlast the world...²⁸⁹

Wallace’s tragic love story follows what Sherene Razack identifies as a persistent “sorry but happy” narrative deployed to construct settler state national identities. “If the Indian is always on the brink of extinction, death is only the end point of a natural process. It is never untimely...”²⁹⁰ Razack’s case study examines settler colonial political and legal discourses that produce spectacles of Indigenous death where “...both settler state and settlers have an opportunity to return to the grave and to leave both sorry that a life has been lost and happy that they have worked hard to prevent similar arrangements.”²⁹¹ The settler state and the settler

²⁸⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 107.

²⁹⁰ Sherene H. Razack, “Both Sorry and Happy: Inquests into Indigenous Deaths in Custody,” In *The Routledge International Handbook on Decolonizing Justice, 1st ed.*, edited by Chris Cunneen, Amanda Porter, Robert Webb, Antje Deckert, and Juan Tauri, Vol. 1. (Routledge, 2023), 249.

²⁹¹ Razack, “Both Sorry and Happy,” 249.

individual can then blame Indigenous pathologies that allegedly produce the conditions for their inevitable dying out, and slip free from complicity in eliminatory settler colonial systems. The settler subject's feeling of sadness and horror at Indigenous death spectacles produce settler feelings of innocence.²⁹² Wallace's Native ghosts are bound with her feelings of sorrow tempered with her exuberance of owning their possessions through which she self-Indigenizes to de-link herself from ongoing American settler genocide of Native people.

The spectral Native couple of Wallace's fantasy are forgotten because their cities are leveled, their tribes scattered, their languages lost, whole races extinct, and the rest of humanity moves on without them. Wallace frames these events as tragic but natural and inevitable. In actuality, Wallace's chain of events narrates the US settler colonial project's road map for achieving Native elimination. Each sorrowful extinction event in Wallace's narrative connects to actual settler colonial attempts to kill, remove, and assimilate Indigenous tribal nations. Since colonization, settler massacres of Native people were carried out by colonists, and then by the US military and individual settlers. The US government era of deadly forced removals during the 1830s and onwards also physically eliminated Native people from lands desired by settlers. Beginning in the 1880s, Native language loss was one aim of the US government and the Catholic church's boarding school system took Native children from their families to forcibly assimilate them into white settler culture and Christian indoctrination. In New Mexico, the Catholic boarding school system maintained the ongoing project of Christianization initiated by

²⁹² Razack, "Both Sorry and Happy," 249.

Spanish colonizers. Assimilatory education programs also operated to produce Native populations as laborers in the US settler capitalist economy.²⁹³

Stone Hammers and Gendered Collecting Patterns of (Dis)Possession

Wallace's 1879 curio collecting trip to the Cerrillos Hills occurred during the same year as the Bureau of Ethnology's Southwest collecting expedition led by James Stevenson, an anthropologist at the US Bureau of Ethnography, who sought to collect stone hammers for the Smithsonian Institution. Stevenson's collecting expedition report is published in the *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81*.²⁹⁴

Wallace and Stevenson each sought Kewa stone mining hammers for their collection and both describe Pueblo mining tools as "ancient" to signify Indigenous absence from the turquoise mines.²⁹⁵ In Stevenson's description of the objects his collecting expedition obtained from the Kewa turquoise mines, he emphasizes the imperfect forms of the stone mining hammers:

²⁹³ Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "Settler Colonialism as Structure: A Framework for Comparative Studies of U.S. Race and Gender Formation," *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity* 1, no. 1 (2015): 54, 56, <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332649214560440>.

²⁹⁴ My research has not yet established a connection between Wallace and Stevenson. According to Stevenson and other records, Cerrillos had many tourists looking for objects to collect in 1879 and after some turquoise mine owners advertised ancient Indian turquoise mines as tourist sites of interest. In his report, Stevenson lists Messrs. F. H. Cushing, ethnologist of the Smithsonian Institution, and J. K. Hillers, photographic artist of the Bureau of Ethnology as members of the collecting expedition. James Stevenson, "Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Indians of New Mexico and Arizona, in 1879 and 1880," in *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81*, updated September 4, 2020, <https://www.rla.unc.edu/archives/BAE-Pubs.html#AR-48>.

²⁹⁵ Stevenson's expedition rapidly collected 2000 items from Pueblo tribal nations in New Mexico, 1,874 were accessioned into the Smithsonian. The majority of Stevenson's collected objects are pottery and stone tools. Parezo, "The Formation of Ethnographic Collections," 18.

Collections From Turquoise Mine: This collection, which is a small one, consists, with the exception of some bows, arrows and quivers, of stone hammers only, which were used for mining purposes. 590-594. 593, (470GG); 5UJ, (47082). Mining stone-hammers; are large and rough-hewn, usually with an imperfect groove around the middle. 595, (47083).²⁹⁶

Stevenson specifically collected “Stone hatchets with broad annular groove near the blunt end.”²⁹⁷ For Stevenson, Pueblo stone tools could be used in his department’s research as evidence of Indigenous technological inferiority. Nancy Parezo’s analysis of publications by Stevenson, and other Bureau of Ethnology employees, finds that the aim of the collecting expeditions was to understand and contrast the “... the habits, customs, art, and domestic life of nonindustrial or ‘primitive’ peoples in contrast to ‘civilized’ groups.”²⁹⁸ To this end, Stevenson collected the stone hatchets in alignment with prevailing Western theories of human evolution. Material objects were believed to be the “end product of culture,” to evidence how different groups of people evolved at different rates. Tools like stone hammers could be used to support cultural evolution theories in which the Smithsonian researchers sought to rank different cultures in a hierarchy ranging from primitive to advanced. Parezo shows that in 1875, Smithsonian ethnographers were instructed “...to concentrate on the contemporary daily life of the Native Americans, but older items that illustrated the extent of ‘progress’ of assimilated Indians and

²⁹⁶ In addition to the turquoise mine collection, Stevenson provides a brief description for a grouping of stone objects: “ARTICLES OF STONE. 598-599. 598, (47182); 599, (47185). Stevenson, “Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81,” 436.

²⁹⁷ “Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81,” 827.

²⁹⁸ J. Stevenson, 1883, paraphrased in Parezo. Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections,” 18.

civilized peoples were welcomed...”²⁹⁹ In reality, Stevenson and other bureau collectors often complained about their difficult efforts to acquire desired items for the collection because many items were actually being used and still valued.³⁰⁰

Stevenson’s mission for the Bureau of Ethnology was to collect and preserve as much “pure” Native material culture as possible to preserve and study. Stevenson and his colleagues sought objects that looked extremely old and roughly crafted because they were “untainted” by white civilization. “Rough” craftsmanship signified the purity of the Native-made object as untainted by white culture. Stevenson’s expedition sought tools that appeared to be “ancient” yet were also actively used. He expresses an anxiety that his window for collecting Native objects that are uncontaminated by white culture is narrowing due to the expanding railroad:

The chief object in view was to secure as soon as possible all the ethnological and archaeological data obtainable before it should be lost to science by the influx of civilized population which is being rapidly thrown into this region by the extension of railroads into and through it. Not only are the architectural remains being rapidly destroyed and archaeological specimens collected and carried away by travelers, excursionists, and curiosity bunters, but the ancient habits and customs of these tribes are rapidly giving way and falling into disuse before the influence of eastern civilization.³⁰¹

Stevenson removes the stone hammers from their cultural context, and their actual context of use, and replaces it with his own presuppositions. Kewa miners actually used the hammers *with* chisels to separate turquoise veins from the host rock in the mines.³⁰² However,

²⁹⁹ Mason, 1875, cited in Parezo. Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections,” 9.

³⁰⁰ Parezo, “The Formation of Ethnographic Collections,” 14.

³⁰¹ James Stevenson, “Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Indians of New Mexico in 1879,” in *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-’81*, H.R. Misc. Doc. No. 61, 47th Cong., 1st Sess. (1882), 429.

³⁰² Ellis and Schroeder, 25.

chisels are not collected by Stevenson or Wallace, and both describe the stone hammer as a crudely formed example of a Native-made mining tool that is inferior to settler tools. The hammers are included in both Wallace's curio collection and Stevenson's ethnographic collection, while the steel chisels are absent from the collection narratives because they are presumably too advanced. Amelia Scholtz's analysis of curio collecting argues that the curio collector divorces Native objects from their ability to perform their original function. "[T]he collector's act is defined by what might be termed a cauterizing violence, a refusal to observe the "proprieties of native history and topography""³⁰³ Through the possession of the object, the collector enacts the power to determine the object's new use and groups objects together as an act of colonial power, making the possessor of the object the actor who can see and narrate, and the producer of the object as silent, passive, and absent. "[T]he act of collecting is a self-serving one that, in literary terms, shores up the role of the narrator/collector by necessitating an explanatory narrative vis-à-vis the objects."³⁰⁴ Scholtz's rationale demonstrates that Wallace and Stevenson's acts of collecting, including collecting the hammers, fix them in the role of narrator, giving them the sole power to explain the Kewa mining tools, delegitimizing any explanation from the Kewa.

Like Stevenson, Wallace also viewed the stone axe she collected as proof that the land and its treasures are now available for claiming because its owner belongs to an inferior

³⁰³ Amelia Scholtz, "The Giant in the Curio Shop: Unpacking the Cabinet in Kipling's Letters from Japan" *Pacific Coast Philology* 42, no. 2, *Transoceanic Dialogues* (2007), 202-203.

³⁰⁴ Scholtz, "The Giant in the Curio Shop," 210.

vanishing race. Wallace prioritizes objects that align with ethnographic collector's prioritization of temporal meanings. Wallace's selection of turquoise also follows the aesthetic choices of ethnographic collectors. When Wallace selected her genuine turquoise necklace from the silver miners, she is pleased with the collection's age. "Yesterday I examined a collection of relics — not exquisitely beautiful, but exquisitely old — from various points along the valleys of the San Pedro, the Gila, and the Rio Grande."³⁰⁵ Wallace is impressed by the collection because it is exquisitely old, not well crafted, a collecting philosophy shared by the Bureau of Ethnography.

Like Wallace, Stevenson discusses Native cultural valuations of turquoise, including its aesthetic use as ornaments by "Indians of New Mexico," as well as its use as a trade object. "The turquoises from this mine have always been valued as ornaments by the Indians of New Mexico, and carried far and wide for sale by them." Stevenson then emphasizes how the turquoise was extracted "...in a most primitive manner with these rude stone hammers, a number of which were secured."³⁰⁶ Parezo explains that ethnographic collecting enabled the study of "primitive" cultures' technology by "... scholars [who] believed they were investigating the antecedents of their own technological and artistic skills and accomplishments..."³⁰⁷ Notably, Stevenson emphasizes his efforts to collect Pueblo mining tools when describing his expedition to the Santo Domingo Pueblo, yet the Cerrillos turquoise mine is not directly connected to the Pueblo miners who were from the Santo Domingo Pueblo.

³⁰⁵ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 104.

³⁰⁶ Stevenson, "Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Indians of New Mexico in 1879," 810.

³⁰⁷ Parezo, "The Formation of Ethnographic Collections," 18-19.

The next villages visited were Santo Domingo and Sandia, on the Rio Grande. Some characteristic specimens were obtained at each of these pueblos. The method of their manufacture and the manner of using them are generally the same as in most of the other pueblos. A small collection of rude stone hammers was obtained from the turquoise mine in the Cerrillo Mountains, about 25 miles from Santa Fe. The products of this celebrated mine, which were objects of traffic all over New Mexico, as well as contiguous countries, probably formed one inducement which led to the Spanish conquest of this region.³⁰⁸



Figure 7: An example of a stone mining hammer, Los Cerrillos, Santa Fe County, NM. Collected by Stevenson, J.; Cushing, F. H.; Galbraith, F. G.. Donated by Col. James Stevenson, accessioned January 6, 1881, 009899. Archaeology department, Smithsonian Museum.

Wallace and Stevenson both emphasize the primitive forms of the stone hammers they collected. Primitive tools are desired by both Wallace as a curio collector, and Stevenson as an ethnographic collector. Stevenson's description of the "primitive" stone hatchets and their use in "inferior" Native mining technology follows his department's aim to prove theories about human evolution. For Bureau of Ethnology anthropologists collecting Native-made objects in the Southwest during the 1800s, primitive stone tools were sought out for collections because, at

³⁰⁸ Stevenson, "Illustrated Catalogue of the Collections Obtained from the Indians of New Mexico in 1879," 433.

least according to the anthropologists, they were evidence of sociocultural evolution. It was believed that tools from Indigenous cultures evidenced a lack of cultural advancement and also demonstrated a racial lack of physical dexterity.

Wallace and Stevenson both use their collected stone hammers to relegate Native turquoise miners to a position behind white settlers along an evolutionary trajectory in which Native tools demonstrate their inability to evolve. Quotes by settler anthropologists during this time period demonstrate their feelings of urgency to collect Native material culture as quickly as possible because they believed that both Native society and Native-made objects would disappear with white encroachment. In a similar sentiment, Wallace describes Native people's inferior material culture as evidence of racial inferiority: "All their remains and three hundred years of continuous history show they have steadily declined in power and numbers; but they are and have always been miserably poor. Their fabrics, arms, and architecture are of the coarsest, most primitive description."³⁰⁹ Parezo points out that in the late 1870s through 1900s, both anthropologists and the educated public believed "that native peoples and 'primitive' cultures everywhere would inevitably disappear, for this was the natural progression when any culture came in contact with a more highly evolved one."³¹⁰ As a Bureau of ethnology employee, Stevenson's expedition sought to amass collections of untainted Native material culture quickly before the incoming masses of white settlers can travel by train to his collecting sites. Stevenson is likely referencing the 1880 railroad infrastructure expansion to Cerrillos, which he believed

³⁰⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 106.

³¹⁰ Parezo, "The Formation of Ethnographic Collections," 21.

would usher in the inevitable disappearance of Native people and their material culture in New Mexico. Parezo explains the prevalent belief held by Stevenson and his colleagues that "... Native Americans were doomed by their own nature and the inability of "primitive" groups to compete with "civilized" societies."³¹¹

Ethnographic and curio collections which curate specific types of Native-made objects function as colonial knowledge production. Settler colonial collectors endow themselves with the power to produce scientific knowledge, to affirm their racial superiority. The curio collecting endeavors of settler subjects like Wallace and Stevenson are actions narrated as innocent knowledge production rather than colonial conquest. White settler society constructed racial difference by using objects to prove a hierarchy in which white cultures descended from Europeans as both biologically and culturally advanced in evolutionary processes.

Wallace and Stevenson's collecting strategies are also tied to eighteenth and nineteenth-century Western notions and representations of "race." Racial differences were constructed through settler perceptions of different groups' "inner or innate difference," which was argued to be biological difference. The "difference" of each group is always constructed against white culture as the normative human race. Wallace and Stevenson's descriptions of the objects they collected normalize whiteness as the standard by which they compare Pueblo made objects. Within nineteenth century racial hierarchies, beliefs about biological inferiority were new but not mutually exclusive with beliefs about cultural inferiority.³¹² European notions of racial difference

³¹¹ Parezo, "The Formation of Ethnographic Collections," 21.

³¹² Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 9.

tie to the development of early stage capitalist economies (enabled through projects of violent dispossession). The definition of “fully evolved” human society emerged from early stage European capitalism where nature is to be overcome and developed for profit.³¹³ Kay Anderson shows that beliefs about the racial inadequacies of Indigenous people fueled a trajectory of racial thinking in which race is an inherent biological difference, and some races would naturally die out due to their inability to “progress.”³¹⁴

Curio Collecting as a Spatial Civilizing Project

Native-made objects collected by settlers during the 1800s through early 1900s were valued differently according to their placement in either museum collections or in domestic curio cabinets. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner argue that “[i]f the public space of the museum is the site of art and artifact, then the private space of the home is the site of the commodity.”³¹⁵ The spatial destination of the collected object transforms its perceived value to settler society as either a consumable commodity, or an object of study that remains pure and outside the realm of

³¹³ Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 9.

³¹⁴ Through an analysis of texts produced by British colonizers in Australia (1780s onwards), Kay Anderson shows “...the fragility of a power-base that staked its logic in the idea of human separateness from nature.” Following this, Darwinism articulated innatism less overtly, which gave way to an attempt to rescue humanism from its own instability. “That is, some races were destined in the name of species evolution to die out...All human life had a common origin. But cultural evolutionism and physical anthropology post-Darwin also prefigured the end of those human groupings who departed too far from the humanist norm of civilised development. Kay Anderson, *Race and the Crisis of Humanism* (Routledge, 2006), 27-30.

³¹⁵ Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, “Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner (University of California Press, 1999), 14.

the curio market.³¹⁶ Even though the same objects are represented in each collection, the hammers Wallace collected were a commoditized object collected for the private space of her home, while the hammers had a scientific purpose for ethnographers, like Stevenson, who offered them to a museum.

Ethnographic and curio collecting practices are thus organized along a gendered division of space, yet each practice is a settler subject's attempt to achieve a similar (dis)possession through collecting. Gendered logics divide the spaces of settler society into public and private, where the curio purchase is a socially accepted women's realm of knowledge production and private ownership, and ethnographic collecting is a masculine site of knowledge production for publicly accessible museum rooms. In the masculine practice of ethnographic collecting, ethnographers bring the objects they collect to the public space of the Smithsonian, an arena of research, science, and masculine logic. As a government-funded ethnographer, Stevenson reports that the objects he collected in 1879 "...are all now in the National Museum for study and inspection."³¹⁷ When listing the expedition members, Stevenson further entrenches his collecting practice as a masculine, scientific endeavor by omitting his wife, Matilda Coxe Stevenson, who also traveled and worked for the expedition.³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Phillips and Steiner, "Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter," 14.

³¹⁷ "Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81," 811.

³¹⁸ Stevenson lists the party members in his report: "Our party, consisting, besides myself, of Mr. Galbraith, archeologist, Mr. Morancy, assistant, and Mr. J. K. Hillers, photographer, proceeded to Santa Fe, N.Mex., where an outfit was secured for the season's work." *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution 1880-'81.*, 806.; Parezo clarifies that "On August 1, 1879, James Stevenson (formerly of Ferdinand Hayden's survey), his wife Matilda Coxe Stevenson, photographer John Hillers (who had served as

The curio-style collecting is, for Wallace, an effort to further her own subjective personal idealizations, no doubt informed by a settler colonial perspective, within the domestic space of her home. Curio collecting and exhibitionism inside the home are performances of white, female domesticity that secure settler gender binaries, while also reifying racial hierarchies that temporally eliminate Native presence from the land resulting in a perceived justification for the contemporary revocation of Native claims to the land and resources desired by settler society. If possession is a performance, then Wallace's turquoise and axe collection is a female method for securing white possession of an unstable territory on behalf of her settler colonial nation.

Wallace chooses to build a specifically feminized collection as a method of self-Indigenizing and curates objects that reinforce her own feminine identity. When selecting curios from the collection discovered by the miners, Wallace intentionally chose objects she believed once belonged to Native women, whom she calls her "dead and gone sisters."³¹⁹ Wallace specially selected the looking glass and amulet because she believed they were representative of Native women. In her description of these purchases, Wallace uses language evoking the elimination of Indigenous people as inevitable. By purchasing the turquoise necklace, Wallace attempts to replace the Native woman's dead body with her own and follows a logic that diluted indigeneity can be absorbed by settler subjects through a traced ancestry. This symbolically eliminates Indigeneity as a political presence, transferring land rights to settler subjects, while

photographer on Powell's Grand Canyon survey), and Frank Hamilton Cushing (the 22-year-old assistant curator of anthropology at the U.S. National Museum) traveled to the Southwest on the first collecting expedition sponsored by the Bureau of Ethnology. Parezo, "The Formation of Ethnographic Collections," 12.

³¹⁹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 104.

also "... elides from public and political discussion the settler part of white identity and white supremacist policies, practices, and discourse."³²⁰ Wallace's self-Indigenization reinforces her own white settler race, a race with a future, a future in which Native people are long dead, leaving behind the land and the objects in Wallace's curio collection. She describes her collection with musings that "her dead and gone sisters" are her ancestors:

These dead-and-gone tribes were not foreign to us. They were of our own blood, our elder brethren; and as their names and deeds are blotted out, leaving not a memory, so we are moving forward in the resistless march, holding in our hands messages appealing to futurity — messages addressed to darkness, dropped into oblivion.³²¹

The settler's joy at purportedly connecting with the Indigenous person overrides their simultaneous regret about eliminating that person. Wallace's possession of the Native-made objects seeks to manufacture an intimacy with the Kewa turquoise mines which, as Scholtz articulates, is an example of a process of coming to grips with an object to form an intimate knowing of it through physical possession. Possessing the object enables the curio collector to understand and gain "...a familiarity with its visual intricacies."³²²

Curio consumption is, therefore, a female settler activity that reinforces logics of racial regimes of property. Wallace's accumulation of objects for her personal, domestic use is in alignment with territorial New Mexico's need to possess and control Pueblo lands and mines. Curio collecting and purchase by white settler women is an example of how the relationship between an individual settler and their government augments settler colonial occupation. Brenna

³²⁰ Bruyneel, *Settler Memory*, 28-29.

³²¹ Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 107.

³²² Scholtz, "The Giant in the Curio Shop," 205.

Bhandar articulates how structural settler state power and violence operate through individual settler actions. Using the example of the British colonial government in North America, Bhandar shows that Britain colonized new territory by encouraging individual settlers to accumulate personal wealth. Settlers took possession of Native lands through violence, sometimes even violating their own colonial laws regarding “appropriate” levels of violence against Indigenous people. The role of British colonial law was to adapt to, and facilitate, the individual settler’s violent, extractive path through the land.³²³

Accordingly, state projects of dispossession operate through individual settler efforts to accumulate and possess Native land and resources. Wallace is a female settler subject who collects and then authors publications about her collections. Her publications animate and control her concept of Native ghosts and dead Native sisters, deploying feminine domestic space as a site for the production and expression of the settler colonial nation state’s power. Indigenous studies scholar Aileen Moreton-Robinson builds from Harris’s theory of whiteness as property to show how “white possession and power in its discursive and material forms operate in tandem through identity, institutions, and practices in everyday life.”³²⁴ Settler subjects perform acts of possession as the embodiment of their nation.³²⁵ Moreton-Robinson argues that in a colonial context, “[t]he very act of possession is already presupposed as racialized.” The “right” to illegally possess Native land is derived from the settler’s whiteness. The invisible nature of

³²³ Brenna Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 9.

³²⁴ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive: Property, Power, and Indigenous Sovereignty* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015), xix.

³²⁵ Moreton-Robinson, *The White Possessive*, 34-35.

European sovereignty is a white and patriarchal structure that the colonizing state entity reinforces through “regulatory mechanisms such as the law” from which “rights” are constructed and then operationalized as a system of domination and strategies of subjugation.³²⁶

Female Turquoise and Turquoise Mine Ownership

Not only did female settlers seek turquoise specimens from Kewa mines in the Cerrillos Hills, they were also financially invested in mine claims. In my archival research, I located a reference to two female mine owners amongst the Cerrillos Hills mine claimants from 1879 identified by Mining historian William Baxter in his unpublished manuscript.³²⁷ In this analysis, I include Wallace in the category of mine owners because of her family's financial investments in turquoise mine claims. Wallace's husband and son invested in at least three mine claims in May of 1879, just prior to Wallace's June trip to the Cerrillos Hills area.³²⁸ I argue that “To the Turquoise Mines” serves not just as a travel narrative, but also as a mine industry text.

Wallace is not the only woman who desired to acquire turquoise specimens from the location of her family's mine investment. In 1908, Mary L. Hess, a widow of a Cerrillos Hills

³²⁶ Aileen Moreton-Robinson, “Aboriginal Sovereignty, Foucault, and the Limits of Power,” Keynote Address for Indigenous Foucault: A Symposium presented by the Faculty of Native Studies, October, 2015, posted on Jan 13, 2021, 1:34:10, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nN5zwy2Y8AY>.

³²⁷ William Baxter, “Cerrillos Hills,” Unpublished Manuscript, UNM KIC Document 3, Box 1, Folder 7, Homer E. Milford Collection of Late 19th Century Cerrillos, New Mexico Mining History (MSS 1048), UNM Center for Southwest Research.

³²⁸ The Lew Wallace claims filed prior to Susan Wallace's June 1879 Cerrillos Hills tour are: 1. Aztec, 24Q: Claim filed on May 16, 1879, 2. Sleeping Beauty, 26I: Claim filed on May 28, 1879, and 3. Bannock, 25K. These claims are referenced in the archive: <https://www.CerrillosNewMexico.com>, “Cerrillos Families, Resident A-Z Database,” (searched for W under families who were Cerrillos residents), https://drive.google.com/file/d/1Vo1BKg98hiLy_evpr1lzlmX9lJeWRMvm/view.

turquoise mine investor who partnered with LeBarron Bradford Prince, (the New Mexico territorial governor discussed in Chapter One), wrote to Prince to request a souvenir of turquoise from the mine that she and her late husband invested in. Hess also acknowledged Prince's prior letter to her which relayed that the mine she inherited had not been worked further because Prince and his mine manager determined that it underperformed in yielding turquoise material warranting further investment. Hess's letter insists on further exploration of the mine, and offers to invest another \$100.00. Hess maintains that she does not think the mine has been sufficiently worked to conclude that it is worthless and relays her instruction to see the mine worked more.³²⁹ Hess's letter is an example of a female mine investor's agency. She disagrees with her male partners' judgement and insists on her rights as a property owner to be involved with mining decisions.

Hess's letter asking for a few stones to be sent to her as souvenirs is also significant. Turquoise from the mine may symbolize property and land to Hess. Hess's request for turquoise specimens from her mine operates similarly to Susan Wallace's quest to discover authentic turquoise specimens in her journey to the Cerrillos Hills. Both Hess and Wallace are female Cerrillos turquoise mine owners who do not normally appear in literature detailing historical Cerrillos mine ownership.³³⁰ Hess and Wallace did not set out to obtain a piece of Native-made

³²⁹ Mary L Hess to Bradford Prince (1908), Prince L Bradford Business Papers, Mining interests cerrillos 1879-1922, Document 1, Folder 7 turquoise, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives.

³³⁰ Significantly, there were two other female mine owners who claimed mines in 1879 in the Cerrillos hills. They are mentioned in Mine historian William Baxter's unpublished manuscript.; William Baxter, William Baxter, "Cerrillos Hills," Unpublished Manuscript, UNM KIC Document 3, Box 1, Folder 7, Homer E. Milford Collection of Late 19th Century Cerrillos, New Mexico Mining History (MSS 1048), UNM Center for Southwest Research.

turquoise jewelry, but rather the stone itself, pulled directly from the earth. Turquoise specimens collected at the site of Cerrillos mine serve as signifiers of place and race.

Both Hess and Wallace seek turquoise specimens from the mines they own, indicating how female property owners also maintained white settler property regimes in the Cerrillos Hills. For the female settler subject, a turquoise specimen from the mine she owns, could signify her possession of the land upon which her mine is located. Mineral specimens were popular curios to be displayed with Native-made objects during Wallace and Hess's time. Turquoise for Hess and Wallace function as souvenirs of the mines they possess. Communication scholars Kristen Swanson and Dallen Timothy define the object-place relationship held by the souvenir and argue that "[p]ossessing souvenirs is one way to capture the unique qualities of the destination and transport these qualities home."³³¹ A souvenir establishes a link between its owner and its place of origin. Wallace and Hess's desire to possess the gemstones from their mine claims is a tangible representation of property which can be transported to their domestic space. Revealingly for Wallace, authentic turquoise is inseparable from "the various tribes of the red race," and its role in what she frames as the pre-history of the land, making her possession of it a mode of exerting control over Native people *and* the turquoise mine.³³²

³³¹ Kristen K. Swanson and Dallen J. Timothy, "Souvenirs: Icons of Meaning, Commercialization and Commoditization," *Tourism Management* 33, no. 3 (2012), 489–99, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tourman.2011.10.007>.

³³² Wallace, *The Land of the Pueblos*, 75.

Conclusion

Gender, race, property, and power operate together through gendered collecting practices. Collecting is a gendered production of knowledge pursued by settler subjects to expand settler capitalist geographies upon stolen Native lands. My close readings of collecting narratives authored by Wallace, Hayward, and Stevenson, demonstrates how Native-made objects produce imagined settler geographies of Indigenous death and absence. Collecting minerals and artifacts forms Wallace's heroic story arc. Wallace's desire to collect turquoise and stone hammers together is an act that symbolically consumes and claims Indigenous land (and mines). Wallace claims (by way of purchasing) turquoise and relics from the land's Native "past" as souvenirs that construct her own status as a property owner, and her own feelings of racial superiority as an explorer of primitive wilderness, endowed with the power to discover and claim. Wallace uses her collected objects as artifacts to narrate Indigenous contemporary turquoise mining as spectral, Native ghosts whose trace remains she can replace with her own contemporary corporeality.

Wallace stakes her own claim in Cerrillos' Native mineral resources through a wilderness hero narrative. To the masculine prospector, I add Wallace as a female wilderness hero who explores a vacant wilderness haunted by Native ghosts to claim her turquoise specimens and "ancient" artifacts. Wallace's "To the Turquoise Mines" is an example of how not only white men but women as well can take wilderness hero journeys to prospect for turquoise. A racialized "wilderness" outside the boundaries of white society in Santa Fe, is her story's backdrop. She becomes a wilderness hero by curio collecting – thus producing gendered and racial geographies by discovering and claiming ownership over objects of the mine and the other. Wallace's collecting practices construct Mt. Chalchihuitl as a long-abandoned space awaiting her

discovery. White ownership of Native land relies not only upon racial constructions of land as available wilderness, but also upon settler race and gender binary logics.

Wallace's language evidences her "sorry but happy" feelings about the spectral, long dead Native people who she imagines made and used the objects of her curio collection. Through curio collecting, Wallace claims to *become* the descendant of her imagined dead, Native sisters. Wallace's claim of *becoming* Indigenous provides an example of how collecting is a mode of securing one's innocence from the violence of colonization.

Wallace's racial discourses also align with ethnographic collectors' beliefs held by Stevenson who use stone Wallace and Stevenson exemplify how settler knowledge production via the collection of Native material culture is a settler move to innocence. For settlers like Wallace and Stevenson, collecting Native mining tools as examples of failed technological evolution, signifies the inevitable extinction of Native peoples. By narrating Native material culture as evidence of a perpetual pre-modern society which is doomed to give way to settler society, settlers attempt to absolve themselves from the violent settler colonial project of Native elimination and land theft.

Collecting the material of turquoise from the location of mines claimed by settlers symbolically constructs the Native person within anachronistic time to produce a racial regime of property from Kewa turquoise mines. The possessing of mining related material culture from Native mines reifies the settler colonial project of Native dispossession, elimination, and replacement by settler society in the Southwest. Fixing the Native miner in the space of the settler's past, symbolically produces the propertied white settler constructed against the Native ghost incapable of contemporary land and mine claims.

Wallace's narrative demonstrates that white settler women are active participants in securing white economic power. Wallace is an active participant in producing and circulating discourses of dispossession as an agent of a white female political and economic power. Through her career as an author, she published her turquoise mine adventure for settler colonial society, providing her readership with knowledge about Native land from Wallace's racial framings. She also asserts her economic power, which enables her to purchase the objects she desires, even though she mistakenly paid a fortune for fake turquoise, a blunder that drives her narrative arc. Her publication of "The Land of the Pueblos" in Eastern periodicals actively enables the dissemination of her own myths.

The settler political economy of New Mexico during 1879-1880s, required the Kewa miner and their tools as the racialized other against which settler subjects constructed their image. *To the Turquoise Mines* and the ethnographic and political publications it converses with, point to the inferiority of mining tools as evidence of their rightful claims to the turquoise mines. Unmasking settler myths of Indigenous absence is critical to creating and maintaining Indigenous access to homelands and important art materials like turquoise. I highlight the way Wallace contradicts her own logics about primitive races as predisposed to die out. Contemporary Pueblo people appear in her narration that frames the Native owners of her collected objects as long dead: the father and son passing her on the road or recent campfire remains and footprints of Pueblo miners. Wallace's inconsistencies demonstrate how settlers cannot escape Indigenous presence, even in their own narrations. Kewa turquoise mining is an ongoing Indigenous knowledge and practice that even settler narrations about Indigenous absence from the mines cannot eliminate.

As the following chapters investigate, today's circulation and consumption of Native-made aesthetic objects like turquoise in the retail marketplace continues from Wallace's time as a covert tool of settler colonial dispossession. Turquoise commodification by settler miners and the commodification of Native jewelry set with turquoise for the Santa Fe-based Native art market operate to maintain a white settler racial regime of property. An analysis of the racial and gender logics of early turquoise consumption by settler mine owner-mine-tourists like Wallace contributes insights into how turquoise as a material symbolizes justified ownership of Native lands and resources to settlers.

Chapter 3 SOURCING TURQUOISE IN A GENDERED CAPITALIST MARKET

Turquoise is a material that is claimed, collected, and possessed, by gendered settler subjects who act as settler capitalist operatives. As the prior two chapters show, the process of becoming a propertied settler subject, innocent of settler colonial violence, is simultaneously a process of replacing Indigenous people and *becoming* Indigenous to the lands the settler aims to possess. The goals of the settler subjects I analyze hinge upon their ability to acquire turquoise within the territorial New Mexico political economy of mining which emerged in the late 1800s. Native jewelry artists working today unwittingly inherit this history and an ongoing settler capitalist economy in which many owners of turquoise mines are still white settlers, and a marketplace where the consumption of turquoise is promoted by market discourses that would make sense to Susan Wallace if she were alive today. Since Wallace toured the Cerrillos Hills and her turquoise mine in 1879, the settler impulse to collect, own, and wear turquoise jewelry burgeoned into an expansive Santa Fe-based economy fed by trading posts, the curio trade, cultural tourism, and turquoise mining.

This chapter serves as an examination of the gendered labor experiences of Native jewelers as they make and sell jewelry set with turquoise and reveals how the settler colonial economies still operate today in the context of “traditional” and “pre-modern” labels.. Interview research I conducted with my Native American jewelry colleagues reveals that the material, social, and cultural impacts of the settler turquoise monopoly on Native American jewelry artists remain gendered. When Native turquoise mines are claimed as settler property, turquoise sourcing becomes a major problem for Indigenous jewelers, and access to resources can put Native female artists in precarious and harmful situations. Today, Native artists must pay settler-owned companies for turquoise, which is extracted from the artists’ own tribal homelands. and

The companies that supply materials for Native jewelry, and profit from its circulation and sale, remain dominated by white settler men. The material sourcing challenges that Native jewelers face began when Native homelands were stolen, creating a scarcity and bottleneck of source materials. The results of male settler control over resources create a precarious situation for Native jewelers who navigate the complex social world of Native arts commerce in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

The devastating consequences of extractive industries for Native American tribal nations is a critical area of Indigenous and American Indian studies research.³³³ Indigenous feminists argue that the recovery of Native American homelands is an urgent feminist issue. Within the topic of extraction, those scholars identify clear causation between compounding crises of gender violence against Native women and the expansions of extractive industries installed on dispossessed Native lands.³³⁴ Scholarly examinations of settler-owned mining industries show

³³³ For example, tribal nations fight in courts to prevent the destruction of sacred sites by mining companies. See: “Support for Apache Stronghold’s Petition to Protect Religious Freedoms,” Native American Rights Fund, October 15, 2024, <https://narf.org/apache-oak-flat/> and <https://www.narf.org/nill/documents/20241015scotus-apache-stronghold-amicus.pdf>.; Impacts on individual tribal citizens include severe health impacts. Melody E. Morton Ninomiya *et al.*, “Indigenous Communities and the Mental Health Impacts of Land Dispossession Related to Industrial Resource Development: A Systematic Review,” *Lancet Planetary Health* 7, no. 6 (2023).; J. Ansloos and Rebecca Beaulne-Stuebing, “Wounds on This Turtle’s Back: On Feeling Extractivism and Felt Theories of Change,” *Environmental Justice* 18, no. 4 (2025): 237-245.

³³⁴ “Why Indigenous Land Back is a Feminist Issue,” Clayman Institute for Gender Research, Clayman Conversations Featuring Cutcha Risling Baldy, Corrina Gould, Laura Harjo, and moderator Caitlin “Katie” Keliiaa. Organized by Clayman Institute Postdoctoral Fellow Claire Urbanski. Illustration by Inés Ixierda, virtual panel posted on Nov. 14, 2023, 1:28:05, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6kCml_ILcX0&t=123s.; and Brianna Nicole Hernandez, “Extractivism and Resistance: Gendered Perspectives on the Global Resource Economy,” Economy Featured, originally published by E-International, resilience, March 6, 2025, <https://www.resilience.org/stories/2025-03-06/extractivism-and-resistance-gendered-perspectives-on-the-global-resource-economy/>.: “Studies have drawn the link between sexual

how the mining of minerals, such as coal and uranium, threatens Southwestern tribal ways of being and knowing.³³⁵ In previous chapters, I identify the role of gender within the formation of settler mining laws and mining claims, especially how mine claims are a specific type of settler property that co-exist with and reinforce patriarchal white supremacist logics, endowing the prospector to “discover” and claim a mine. In the following, I connect those logics, that initially transformed Native turquoise mines into settler regimes of property, to contemporary turquoise mining and distribution, as well as the Native art market systems, that perpetuate gendered and racial settler logics.

As a former Native jewelry artist, my own lived experience informs the research for this chapter. My art practice and my experience selling my work in Santa Fe equipped me with a personal experience that underpins my examination and resulting critique of the Santa Fe-based Native arts and turquoise mining and distribution market systems. Every August, the Southwestern Association for Indian Arts (SWAIA), an organization based in Santa Fe, organizes the Santa Fe Indian Market (Indian Market). Indian Market is a highly public arena of commerce with intensified economic stakes. The make-or-break nature of the market is

violence and the mining industry...Sex trafficking, which disproportionately affects indigenous women in North America, is higher near points of extraction where there are large camps of temporary, highly paid male labour...Canadians highlight that in their country over 4,000 murdered and missing indigenous women have been largely uninvestigated (Ibid).” V’cenza Cirefice and Lynda Sullivan, “Women on the Frontlines of Resistance to Extractivism,” *Policy and Practice, Development Education Review* 29, Development Education and Gender (2019), 87, <https://www.developmenteducationreview.com/issue/issue-29/women-frontlines-resistance-extractivism>.

³³⁵ Traci Brynn Voyles, *Wastelanding* (University of Minnesota Press, 2015).; Andrew Curley, *Coal Sovereignty: Coal, Development, and Energy Transition in the Navajo Nation* (University of Arizona Press, 2023).

especially apparent because many artists rely on Indian Market as their primary sales event each year. The market also offers artists opportunities to network with curators and buyers representing major national and international museums and galleries. As a jeweler, Indian Market was always my most important show. I would look forward to each August where I would travel from Los Angeles to Santa Fe to sell my jewelry and reconnect with a widespread network of Native artists and arts professionals who, over the years, had become friends.

In this chapter, I analyze the gendered impacts of patriarchal racial regimes of property and extractivist logics reported by female Native jewelers as they experienced them in Santa Fe. In 2025, I conducted interview research with ten Native jewelers who work with turquoise and whose livelihoods rely on Santa Fe based markets to sell their work. Similar to my own experience, Indian Market is consistently identified as the most profitable market for each interviewee. Each interview followed a semi structured interview format which allowed our conversations to explore the topics of how much experience a jeweler has in making and selling jewelry, their perceptions of the turquoise mining and distribution market and its actors, and the challenges they each experience when sourcing turquoise, and making and selling jewelry.³³⁶

The interviewees' experiences reveal that this artistic landscape of power, combined with turquoise scarcity, increases health, safety, and economic risks for Native women. The female

³³⁶ I used a semi-structured interview format, and my Interviewees were recruited via snowball sampling. See appendix for a full description of this chapter's methods. Demographic data provided by each interviewee included their age, gender identity, tribal affiliation, place of birth, place of residence, and any other positionalities they wished to share, such as kinships and belongings. Each interview was recorded on Zoom, and was one to one and a half hours. Out of ten interviews I selected six for this analysis to have an even number of male and female identifying interviewees across three experience levels: five to ten years as a professional jewelry artist, ten to twenty-five years as a professional jewelry artist, and twenty-five plus years.

jewelers I interviewed reported patterns of gendered economic penalties, extra labor burdens, and hazards to health and safety. A comparative analysis of interviews using gender and market experience as key variables revealed that: 1) Native women often lacked mentorship from experienced jewelers, and as a result, were often taken advantage of in terms of their labor or physical safety; 2) contemporary patterns of extractive, gendered arts practice exists in the manufacturing and retailing of Native jewelry today due to historical cultural tourism markets and trading post systems as capitalistic enterprises; and 3) Native female jewelers are burdened with disproportionate amounts of cognitive, emotional, and physical labor in settler capitalist art market systems due to gendered barriers. Violent, patriarchal, settler colonial logics result in Native women being seen and treated as disposable objects, from whom profit can be extracted, causing them to be vulnerable to exploitation.

My Lived Experience Engaging Jewelry Markets

My market days began before daybreak because Indian Market organizers required every booth to be installed and set up no later than 7 a.m. Early shoppers, looking to beat out other contenders, often selected their purchases before I had even unwrapped all my pieces. The energy was usually fast paced with throngs of returning clients and potential new ones eager to see new pieces and learn about the meanings of the designs. The interactions I had with shoppers demonstrates how widespread public perceptions of Native people remain informed by settler colonial logics of elimination such as concepts of “authenticity” and eugenic notions of blood quantum. As a female Native artist, and one who does not align with public ideas about Native phenotypes, I experienced several instances of racially charged sexual harassment. I learned from many colleagues that I was not alone in my experiences of settler gendered and racial logics in the broader network of Native arts markets and sales channels.

In 2018, my friend Adrienne Keene, who is an Indigenous education scholar, and now textile artist, joined me in my booth at the Heard art market, which like Indian Market, is another important market for the interviewees who contributed to this chapter. Keene wrote about the way some market audiences treat Native female artists:

There are so many tensions in this place, in this art world and in Kristen's lived experiences. This market and all those like it were created to cater to a non-Native audience at its heart, it's a transactional space where Native artists are selling their art to consumers. This is the part of the market that brings out much of my discomfort. I can't stop thinking about the interaction at a booth next to Kristen's, the booth of a female Pueblo potter, a middle aged white man and his elderly father purchased a gorgeous pot, one I had been gazing at all day, I couldn't hear the beginnings of their interaction. But after he handed her the check and she put out her hand for a handshake, he scoffed. He gestured toward his father with a smirk for six thousand dollars, he said, I want my old man to get a hug. Many of these patrons are buying Native art as a way of owning a piece of, quote, authentic Native America. With that comes the uncomfortable knowledge that they feel they are owning a piece of the artist themselves in that transaction.³³⁷

Keene's interpretation of my market experience encapsulates the lived reality for many Native female and non-binary artists who are confronted by settler gender and racial imaginaries as they engage public audiences. The settler imagination marks both our bodies and our art as transacted objects of difference. Native artists, Native curators, and Native scholars work within settler colonial systems to carve out opportunities and better treatment for their intergenerational and inter-tribal communities. My Native artist colleagues are a community I care deeply about, and I recognize how, as artists living in occupied homelands, we are subsumed by capitalism and work in Native art markets to survive. I also argue for ongoing critical analysis of capitalist relations maintained by market systems that profit from Native lands and creativity. Native

³³⁷ Adrienne Keene, "This Native Jewelry Designer Combats Stereotypes Through Art," *Catapult Magazine*, Mar 21, 2019, <https://magazine.catapult.co/people/stories/kristen-dorsey-native-jewelry-designer-fighting-stereotypes-art-adrienne-keene>.

artists hold critical knowledge about covert issues in the market systems they engage in, as well as strategies they use to navigate and mitigate challenges.

The Native jewelry market emerged from Santa Fe's historic curio and cultural tourism markets. Today, Santa Fe is a tourist-saturated city and the largest hub for sales of Native-made jewelry and other art forms supported by a network of arts organizations, galleries, and museums. Many wealthy, white Santa Fe residents only reside seasonally in second homes in the city, or move to the city for retirement. Santa Fe is a tourism destination for museums, galleries, and Native art collecting. Roxanne Beason characterizes the racial and class geography of Santa Fe as populated by affluent white retirees who maintain second homes in Santa Fe and the downtown commercial center is increasingly gentrified as a result. Art markets cater to white, affluent tourists and the economy is supported by Hispanic/Chicano and Indigenous laborers. Santa Fe's tourism industry relies upon arts markets and festivals like the Indian Market, International Folk Art Market, and the Spanish Market, as tourist attractions for affluent, white patrons.³³⁸

Since 1922, the downtown plaza of Santa Fe has functioned as an annual market site for the sale of art by Native artists. Carol Rosenstein argues that the Indian Market emerged from a market historically controlled by "Anglos dedicated to Indian "betterment." In 1922 the New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs was founded to oppose the Bursam Bill, proposed federal legislation designed to gut the rights of Pueblo Nations over their lands and waters. In an effort to remedy economic conditions faced by Pueblo tribal nations during the great depression, the

³³⁸ Roxanne Beason, "Finding Boundaries for the Commodification of Native Culture: The Annual Santa Fe Indian Market" (Masters thesis, Oklahoma State University, 2020): 44, ProQuest (28030493).

New Mexico Association on Indian Affairs revived “the Indian Arts and Crafts Exhibition, a then-defunct program of the Museum of New Mexico/ School of American Research, as an economic development tool to aid impoverished Pueblos.” The event eventually evolved into what is now Indian Market, the signature annual Native American art market produced by the South Western Association of Indian Art.³³⁹

As Native jewelry became a widely collected souvenir by tourists engaged in the Santa Fe cultural tourism industry, marketing initiatives furthered the symbolic status of Native-made turquoise jewelry as something racially significant to be owned and possessed. With the advent of the car, cultural tourism companies facilitated colonial encounters for customers. Tourists could book “Indian Detours” taking them from their hotels in Santa Fe into the “wilderness” to visit Pueblos and view Native people.³⁴⁰ Marta Weigle’s archival research shows how the cultural tourism industry marketed a romanticized Southwest “wilderness” to East Coast tourists which was also facilitated through gendered, white, settler subjects. During the 1940s-50s, the Fred Harvey company’s Indian detours paired male detour drivers dressed as cowboys, with a young white woman who narrated the tour. The young female tour guides accessorized with turquoise and silver jewelry, objects that represented the exoticized people of the landscape, were also, conveniently, available for sale at the Harvey retail locations.³⁴¹ As Henrietta Lichdi illuminates in her analysis of how Native-made jewelry is circulated and valued through time,

³³⁹ Carole Rosenstein, “Indian Market: A Tournament of Values,” *Signs and Society* 2, no. 2 (2014): 231, <https://doi.org/10.1086/677560>.

³⁴⁰ Brown, *Tourists as Colonizers*, 193, 200.

³⁴¹ Weigle, “From Desert to Disney World,” 115-138.

“the cult of authenticity” reflects and substantiates consumer desire for Native-made turquoise and silver jewelry. Authenticity was, and still is, often linked to objects that were handmade, and Native jewelry began to register as desirable hand-crafted objects for settler consumers. When late nineteenth century ethnographic and archaeological research intensified in the Southwest, Native jewelers were positioned by both researchers, curio traders, and cultural tourism companies as unchanging, “primitive,” Native craftspeople, just as much of a spectacle of interest as the artworks they make.³⁴²

The Museum of New Mexico’s annual Indian market event catered to cultural tourism crowds and remained largely under non-Native leadership until the 1990s. In 1994 the first Native director was hired, and the organization’s staff and board of directors then started to include Native staff.³⁴³

Over the decades, Indian Market grew into an intensified space of spectacle and commerce. The contemporary Indian market now boasts over 1,000 Native American artists. According to SWAIA’s website, “Indian Market is the largest and most prestigious Indigenous art event in the world—welcoming tens of thousands of visitors for a weekend of fine art, fashion, film, and cultural exchange.”³⁴⁴ It brings the city of Santa Fe a valuable revenue boost. The market’s pre-pandemic economic impact grossed 165.0 million per year for the City of Santa

³⁴² Henrietta Lichdi, *Surviving Desires*, 18.

³⁴³ Rosenstein, “Indian Market,” 231.

³⁴⁴ “Santa Fe Indian Market,” Southwestern Association for Indian Arts, Accessed March 15, 2026, <https://www.swaia.org/santa-fe-indian-market>.

Fe.³⁴⁵ Entry into the Indian Market is highly competitive, especially in the jewelry category which consistently draws a large applicant pool.³⁴⁶ In a 2014 analysis of Indian Market as a complex site of Native American made artwork commoditization, Carole Rosenstein illustrates the economic stakes of admission into SWAIA, reporting that some artists can make over \$144,000 in sales, equal to nearly \$200,000 in 2026 US dollars.³⁴⁷ To participate in Indian Market, artists must be enrolled in a federally recognized tribal nation, and must submit an

³⁴⁵ Joseph Ditzler, “Report Pegs Indian Market’s Economic Impact at \$165.3M,” Santa Fe New Mexican, Updated Sep 26, 2018, https://www.santafenewmexican.com/news/local_news/report-pegs-indian-market-s-economic-impact-at-165-3m/article_849ded19-7285-589a-9817-8aeceb5bb2c0.html.

³⁴⁶ The application jurors rate each application based on a grading rubric of one hundred points. The applications that are scored in the top 20% receive booth offers. If an artist does not score in the top 20% of their category, they are either waitlisted or rejected. Waitlisted artists wait for phone calls from SWAIA staff who will assign them booths as artists sell out and relinquish their booth spaces. The Juror selection criteria is listed as: “Jurors for the application process are selected from individuals who have long time expertise or knowledge in each classification. These individuals traditionally include accomplished and long-time artists, museum curators, experienced collectors, and art educators. Jurors with potential conflicts of interest are avoided; for example, a gallery owner that deals in Native Sculpture would not be selected as a juror for sculpture.” “Artist Policies,” Southwestern Association for Indian Arts, Accessed March, 17, 2026, <https://www.swaia.org/official-swaia-artist-policies>.

³⁴⁷ According to the US Bureau of Labor statistics CPI Inflation Calculator, Rosenstein’s estimate of \$144,000 is equivalent to \$199,917.06, CPI Inflation Calculator, Charts and Applications, Data Tools, U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, accessed May 23, 2026, https://www.bls.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm.; Rosenstein demonstrates that “Sales at Indian Market involve high stakes. Prizewinning work is in short supply and only available once a year. Work by prizewinning artists, even work that has not itself won an award, also can be difficult to purchase. Some artists only make themselves available to collectors at this time of year. Because there are curators, major collectors, and influential dealers concentrated at the market, artists have an opportunity to see their work added to an important museum or private collection. And there are significant amounts of money in play: the work of prizewinning artists regularly brings between \$10,000 and \$20,000, and I witnessed artists collect \$80,000 to \$100,000 or about \$116,000 to \$144,000 in 2014 dollars just in public sales at Indian Market.” Rosenstein, “Indian Market,” 242.

application for judging. Artists who are accepted into the show, pay a booth fee to sell their work for the weekend.³⁴⁸ Local museums and galleries host art openings, fashion shows, cocktail parties, artist talks, concerts, and other events throughout the week leading up to Indian Market. On the Thursday before each market, artists can enter their work into a judged competition, and during the evening, SWAIA patrons can view the artwork entered for competition at the Santa Fe convention center.

As Indian Market grew into the behemoth that it is today, it also continued to amplify turquoise as one of the materials most desired by collectors because of its settler colonial associations with anachronistic notions of authenticity and racial differences. Turquoise jewelry is a key commodity, used by the city of Santa Fe to market itself as a destination for Native arts and cultural tourism.³⁴⁹

The Native jewelry artists I interviewed are each committed to creative practices that expand Indigenous relational networks and maintain cultural knowledge systems. They also

³⁴⁸ The SWAIA artist policies regarding eligibility criteria are: “Applicants to Indian Market must be enrolled members of a United States or Canadian federally-recognized tribe or Alaskan Corporation, and must submit proof of enrollment in the form of a legible copy of the applicant’s enrollment card, a Certificate of Indian Blood (CIB), Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CDIB), or a Secured Certificate of Indian Status Card (CIS/SCIS) (Canada). The enrollment number must also be included on the application form. Artists who do not have a CIB/CDIB/CIS/SCIS or official tribal enrollment card can provide a tribal certification from a federally recognized tribe. However, SWAIA will review documents used as proof of Native standing and have sole discretion of accepting documents for Market eligibility.” “Artist Policies,” <https://www.swaia.org/official-swaia-artist-policies>.

³⁴⁹ Madison Staples, “An Aesthetic of Authenticity: The Use of Turquoise in American (Counter)Culture,” (Thesis for the Commonwealth Honors in English, Bridgewater State University In BSU Honors Program Theses and Projects. Item 494, 2021), 11, https://vc.bridgew.edu/honors_proj/494.

navigate gendered extractive market systems that endanger female artists. The market experiences I analyze in this chapter show how the Native arts market produces economic relations of power in which settler property owners gatekeep resources to control both Native people and the objects they make. Female native artists in these settler capitalist market conditions are disproportionately imperiled. Native artists who work within sites of commerce bound with racial and gendered tensions navigate them by maintaining their tribal nations' value systems and ways of being. The interview conversations I had with Native jeweler interviewees unravel these tensions through a focus on the variables of labor and gender within Native jewelers' lived experiences to illustrate my broader project's critique of dispossessive political economies.

Sourcing

Extractive settler capitalism profoundly impacts a Native jewelers' ability to make jewelry, especially when homeland materials are monopolized by settlers in a racial regime of property ownership. Sourcing is a critical but often invisible type of labor that impacts one's arts practice in many ways. *Sourcing* is the process of researching and locating a supplier to purchase the raw materials needed to make jewelry. One can also source raw materials for arts and cultural practices directly from the land through methods such as harvesting and mining. From a market perspective, the ability to source materials dictates what kinds of designs can be made, how many pieces can be made, and the price point of those pieces. Therefore, when jewelry artists are unable to source essential materials, they cannot fill orders. When the pricing of the materials increases, a jeweler must charge more for the finished piece, risking less sales from customers who are unwilling or unable to purchase the work at higher prices.

Beyond the settler colonial economics of material pricing, materials can also hold symbolic value for Native jewelry artists. In this discussion, I use the term “homeland art materials” to refer to the raw materials sourced from their homelands or ancestral trade networks. Homeland art materials can be signifiers of cosmological, philosophical, and social meaning. Because access to materials shapes an artist’s ability to communicate cultural values and knowledge systems, access to materials located on an Indigenous artist’s homeland is essential. Jewelers develop deep knowledge of their materials because the physical characteristics of each material, including how it can be formed, set, and combined, dictates the possibilities and limitations of the final jewelry piece. A Native jeweler’s ability to make jewelry with homeland-sourced materials, for commercial or personal and cultural use, is greatly hindered when settler-capitalist markets claim, over-extract, and commodify homeland materials for settler markets.

Material sourcing is a crucial labor that Native jewelers must do to maintain their practices, and the difficulties associated with that labor are exacerbated by gendered settler colonial extractive markets. Most, if not all, commercial Native jewelers must purchase their raw source materials from specialized gem and mineral wholesalers or dealers. These wholesalers range from small businesses to large, multinational corporations. The stones they sell are mined by the mineral wholesalers, or are purchased directly from mines, and are then resold through various retail gem and mineral shows, retail stores, or online. These businesses form a network of powerbrokers who use turquoise and other resources as a method of controlling Native artists, especially female ones.

While working as a jeweler, I was forced to use the “middleman” wholesale market to produce my works. I did not personally experience the difficulties of sourcing turquoise, but I did use my in depth understanding of this critical labor and its attendant challenges to interpret

the conditions experienced by my interviewees. My tribal nation, the Chickasaw Nation, was removed to south-central Oklahoma after the US Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, but we remain deeply connected to our Homeland in the Southeast. Like other Chickasaw artists, I avidly researched and drew inspiration from our Homeland-based ancestral arts.³⁵⁰ I sought materials that were the same as, or referenced those used by Chickasaw ancestors, such as river pearls harvested from the Mississippi. The once abundant freshwater mussels that provided these pearls are endangered and almost impossible to source due to over-extraction by the 1900s era button factories, pollution from agricultural runoff, and the introduction of the zebra mussel, a non-native species, which led to the extinction of numerous freshwater mussel species.³⁵¹ Remaining collections of antique Mississippi river pearls are extremely rare and expensive, forcing me to source pearls from other countries. Chickasaw adornment arts were also disrupted when colonial nations instigated regional violence and unrest, disrupting Native trade networks that supplied materials like Great Lakes region copper, and Gulf of Mexico whelk shells.³⁵²

The settler capitalist structure consumes and occupies the materials of Native jewelry as it consumes and occupies Native lands. Like my own experience with freshwater Mississippi

³⁵⁰ “Homeland” is capitalized and singular when referring to the Chickasaw Nation's Homeland, in accordance with the Chickasaw Nation's Institutional Review Board's publication style guidelines.

³⁵¹ Kristen Dorsey, “All That Glitters Isn't Just Turquoise: A Look at Southeastern Shell Carving,” in *Santa Fe Indian Market 2022 Artist Directory and Booth Guide*, ed. Cheryl Fallstead (Hutton Broadcasting, 2022), 60-62.

³⁵² In addition to land dispossession, materials like pearls were also pillaged from North and Central America by imperial empires like Spain. Mónica Domínguez Torres, *Pearls for the Crown: Art, Nature, and Race in the Age of Spanish Expansion* (Penn State University Press, 2024).

river pearls, turquoise scarcity is an ongoing topic of concern for Southwestern Native jewelers because turquoise jewelry is an important income source for many Native jewelry artists.³⁵³ Throughout my career, I spoke with Native colleagues about the challenge of sourcing materials that are both culturally meaningful and will also meet market demands and client expectations. A majority of Native jewelers who participate in Santa Fe-based Native art markets are citizens of Southwestern tribal nations. For jewelry artists from Diné, Apache, and Pueblo tribal nations, turquoise, shell, jet, and coral are generally used as culturally significant materials. According to the jewelers I interviewed for this chapter, turquoise is the most desired material for Native jewelry clients and, because turquoise is said to be scarce, it is increasingly expensive. The estimated output of American gem-grade turquoise mine production is only about ten percent of all mined material.³⁵⁴ Precious gemstones range in hardness, and turquoise is one of the softest,

³⁵³ My lifelong visual arts practice included extracurricular classes in drawing, painting, and fashion design during my elementary and high school years. I also received business and sales experience and training through an internship and seasonal retail employment with a Los Angeles-based high-end lifestyle retail brand. While members of my family practiced various fine arts, none are jewelers. My interest in fashion design led me to enroll in a beginning jewelry course while pursuing a B.A. in American Studies at Tufts University, and a B.F.A. at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (SMFA). At SMFA, I received formal training in small and large-scale metalwork. I am also an at-large citizen of the Chickasaw Nation. I am the second-generation to be born and raised in Southern California, away from the Chickasaw Nation reservation in southcentral Oklahoma. The Chickasaw Nation’s summer internship program equipped me with firsthand experiences in Chickasaw art forms and cultural practices that I only knew of through tribal media and secondary sources. My internship was housed within the Chickasaw Nation’s Arts and Humanities departments, and my supervisors were planning and developing exhibits for the Chickasaw Cultural Center, which was under construction in Sulphur, Oklahoma.

³⁵⁴ According to a 2005 New Mexico magazine publication “Therefore, a full nine-tenths of the turquoise going into jewelry and pottery has been altered in one way or another. And when outright fake turquoise, which is nothing but colored plastic, is factored into the equation, only the tiniest fraction of what is presented as “turquoise” in the marketplace is the genuine, natural, untreated real thing.” “Highest-quality natural gems, already cut and polished, might sell for

most fragile stones. Turquoise that is too soft or “chalky” will crumble under a jeweler’s lapidary wheel during the cutting process. Only the hardest turquoise, often referred to as “gem grade,” can withstand cutting and polishing. Because of this, various treatments were developed to infuse softer turquoise with hardening agents through a treatment process called stabilization. Turquoise can also be dyed to enhance and deepen its color. Stabilized turquoise and color-treated turquoise is more abundant and less expensive in the market, while unstabilized, or natural turquoise with no treatments, is priced higher.

Indigenous Relational Resources

The senior jewelers I interviewed shared how they provide inexperienced jewelers with hands-on pedagogy that equips jewelers with both technical skills to make well-crafted jewelry but also establishes connections (what I term in this discussion, *relational resources*) to key actors in the market that equip them with the business relationships they need for success. Relational resources allow Native jewelers to achieve economic security while maintaining personal and communal Indigenous values and protocols in their jewelry practice. Teaching and learning specific technical and business skills, crucial for success in the Native jewelry market, emerged as an important topic in my conversations with interviewees about their material sourcing and sales experiences. Interviewees were asked how they learned their technical jewelry-making skills, when they first began selling their work, and if jewelry making is their

more than \$1,500 per pound in a jeweler’s supply store, [usually sold per carat]. Even in the rough, encased in impure rock that must be chipped and ground away, gem-grade natural turquoise can cost \$350 a pound or more. By contrast, lower-grade stones that have been “stabilized” might bring from \$40 to \$250 per pound. And a pound of manufactured plastic, sold in chunks called “block turquoise,” can go for as little as \$10.” Richard McCord, “Buyer Beware: Hidden Facets of Turquoise,” in *The Allure of Turquoise*, ed. Arnold Virgil (New Mexico Magazine, 2005), 51.

primary profession.³⁵⁵ Interviewees also answered questions about how long they have incorporated turquoise in their work. Two interviewees shared their experiences of mentoring their children in jewelry-making and business activities. One interviewee is a mentee of a senior jeweler and he was able to provide information about the knowledge and resources his mentor contributes.

The two most senior jewelers I interviewed discussed their commitment to mentorship and teaching. One is a 57-year-old male, a citizen of the Navajo Nation, and a full time jeweler specializing in contemporary sculptural jewelry. He has over 30 years of experience making and selling his jewelry, as well as 30 years of experience as a jewelry instructor. He is now mentoring his own child in making and selling jewelry. The other senior jeweler is a 67-year-old female who is a citizen of the Navajo Nation and who was raised on the Navajo Reservation in a family of jewelry and weaving artists. She does weaving and jewelry work and was trained by her father, mother, and older siblings in jewelry and weaving. As a child she practiced her skills by assisting her family with simple jewelry making tasks then, as she gained more skills, she graduated to increasingly more technical work. She began her jewelry business at 12 years old, and has 55 years of experience making and selling jewelry. She emphasizes her dedication to her

³⁵⁵ Interviewees discussed how they each learned about stone sourcing, jewelry making, and business operations knowledge such as cash flow, inventory management and sales strategies. Each interviewee's extent of their market experience was provided by answers to questions about how they began their career as a jeweler and for how long they have held that occupation, when and how they learned jewelry making, what their top art markets and other sales channels are, how many years they have participated in each market and sales channel. From these conversations, the topic of mentorship emerged as an important variable.

culture, participates in tribal cultural events, and is dedicated to teaching cultural practices to younger generations including her two daughters.

Mentorship equips Jewelers with relationships for turquoise sourcing, sales channel relationships with retailers and clients, and relationships that enable a jeweler's participation and contributions to their tribal community. Mentors also train jewelry artists in specialized Native arts market knowledge that enables a jeweler to negotiate for fair compensation when working with dealers and galleries to sell their work. Specialized business knowledge includes strategic choices about managing inventories of raw materials, like turquoise, which can require significant cash investments from a small jewelry business. Without a close mentor, it can take jewelers years to understand the complexities of the Native jewelry market and turquoise distribution market.

One of the interviewees, a 47-year-old Kwitsan and Hopi jeweler with 16 years of experience as a full-time silversmith, learned jewelry making at the Institute for American Indian Arts. He considers himself "fairly new at the craft," and describes how it took roughly four years to learn about the Native jewelry market and to fully comprehend how to best navigate stone sourcing and jewelry sales. Building a business network also took him some time.

It takes a little while to get started, it took me about maybe 4 years to fully get into it, and learn all the ropes of the business, you know, start learning about stones and everything, and just figuring out what clientele and what kind of style I wanted to get into, and just kind of building up a network for business and whatnot.

Selecting turquoise entails extensive knowledge and experience to identify different types of turquoise, and how to identify if stones are treated or untreated. Mentors can provide the specific gemological knowledge and guided hands on learning required to source quality turquoise at fair price points. When I asked one of the senior female jewelers about challenges

she sees in the market today, she discussed her concerns about dishonest dealers who are ripping off younger jewelers by taking advantage of their lack of gemological knowledge. She emphasized: “We have to teach our younger generation always.” She stresses the importance of teaching younger jewelers about turquoise types and to get to know the people from whom they purchase stones.

It is a big challenge with turquoise. They would sell you turquoise saying that it’s one of the real high quality [stones] that’s sought after, like Lone Mountain turquoise, and they would sell it to Native jewelers that are not too familiar with stones. And they will sell it to them and they are treated stones. Things like that happen. All these younger generations are being ripped off.

She advises younger jewelers “...to know your stone, [and] know people that work with stones.”

To source high quality and fairly priced stones, it is important to thoughtfully make selections after extensive research and fact gathering about the dealers and the types of materials they sell.

She learned about stones through hands-on experience helping in her family’s jewelry business.

Her and her husband, who is also a jeweler, are now teaching their daughters through hands-on jewelry manufacturing and sales experience:

I have two girls, they’re weavers. They help us at art shows, they help us when we’re preparing our jewelry, cleaning and oxidizing, and helping [with] the tail end of the jewelry making. Then they price it, and at art shows, they are also a salesperson. They’re really learning the whole thing. Pretty soon they wanna learn how to make jewelry.

Her children’s participation in helping parents with their jewelry business follows the same hands-on learning model that equipped her with extensive knowledge about manufacturing jewelry and selecting quality materials. She received a formal fine arts degree at a state university which expanded her art practice, but she attributes her extensive technical knowledge about metalsmithing and jewelry material sourcing to her training in the family jewelry business.

My late father, he’s the one that taught all his children how to work with metal. So that’s how we came about in making jewelry...So, I helped... the older ones and the younger ones, I had to learn how to buff jewelry so that the dirty work. And polishing, and

mastered that first. Slowly progressing to, making bezels, and soldering, and so on...I started with that, and making small pieces first, like rings, pendants, and small earrings. And then we progressed to making Squash blossoms, sets, and put stones in there.

One of her older brothers collected and used high-grade turquoise in his work. He taught her about different mines and turquoise quality. Both her father and her brother stressed the importance of always using natural turquoise that is not treated in her work.

Mentors also introduce mentees to trusted turquoise dealers and miners. Having connections to honest stone dealers and miners enables jewelers to source high-quality turquoise at fair price points. Mentors and their gemstone dealer connections can also train jewelers in technical knowledge about how to successfully select and work with different types of turquoise. The senior male jeweler I interviewed brought turquoise dealers to meet with his students. The dealers educated students about how to identify different levels of turquoise, including their quality and treatments. They brought in samples of turquoise to help students learn the differences between natural turquoise that has a workable hardness level and turquoise that is too soft. They also showed students what different synthetic and treated turquoise looks like by bringing in samples of stabilized stones treated with epoxies and dyes, and block turquoise, which is ground up turquoise that is mixed with resins and then cured into a hardened block. The hands-on experience taught students “what to look for, what to buy, how to buy it.” In addition to facilitating gemological training, the mentees now had a relationship with an honest dealer they could consult for future stone sourcing.

Mentors also help jewelers build and navigate sales relationships. Mentors introduce new jewelers to collectors for their jewelry and can supervise negotiations with galleries. When the senior male jeweler supervised his son’s first sale to a gallery, he stepped into the negotiation when the gallery owner did not, at first, offer a fair price for the pieces his son was selling. In

this way, not only was he able to prevent a disadvantageous sale, he also demonstrated what a disadvantageous sale might look like and also modeled how to assert fair compensation for one's work. Mentors also train their mentees to navigate deciding how to select a gallery or other retail avenue.

Mentors can also provide mentees with relational resources for community and cultural participation. These relational resources provide jewelers with teachings of communal cultural knowledge and protocols related to materials (relationships with the materials themselves), design (how to be a responsible artist in compliance with community standards for protocols related to jewelry design), and philosophies about making, wearing, and gifting jewelry. For example, one male interviewee with entry level jewelry manufacturing and sales experience described the importance of his mentor's philosophical and cultural-related teachings to understanding the value of his jewelry practice:

His mentor taught him that jewelry making is healing because it can ground you in your lineage. His mentor models values of community building and active participation in developing support systems and sales opportunities for Native jewelers:

[O]ne of the things that I really appreciate, from my mentor is that he developed an arts market in Gallup, first of its kind, and gave back to local artists that way. I think that's something powerful to see. So, not only did he kinda raise his status as an artist over time, but he kind of gave back in that way for community and other artists. So I think that's a good way to showcase who you are as a person...that's where I want to kind of give back is find ways that we could develop a market space, or find funding to support more artists that are doing it full-time.

He sees his mentor as a role model for enacting the type of relational practices that he hopes to emulate as he navigates capitalist markets while also maintaining connections to culture and community arts production.

Gendered Access to Mentorship

Mentorship equips jewelers with relational networks and necessary knowledge and supervision to avoid market risks and harms and maintain cultural values and artistic integrity, yet securing a mentor can be challenging, especially for Native women. The senior male jeweler shared that he is passionate about teaching and sharing his knowledge with others, but he knows that many senior jewelers are unwilling to take on mentees or teach jewelry classes. “A lot of them are so enclosed, like, ‘I don't want to show anybody how I make my stuff,’ or ‘this is mine, don't copy me, don't steal my designs’ or whatever, but it's like, it's all been done!” In a highly competitive market, many Native jewelers feel pressure to exclude potential competitors and guard their work from being copied. The senior male jeweler criticizes competitive practices because he feels that when he teaches his students, he also learns new skills. In his classes, everyone is always learning and teaching each other because knowledge flows both ways.

Gender also determines how easily a jeweler is able to find a mentor and access the knowledge they need to learn about material sourcing, jewelry making, and selling their work, which are all crucial to a jeweler's success. In my interviews, I found that female jewelers had more difficulty securing a mentor than the male jewelers. Two out of three female interviewees described themselves as primarily self-taught when explaining how they gained skills for jewelry making, stone sourcing, and market sales. One female jeweler, with ten years of jewelry making and sales experience, reported that she unsuccessfully sought a mentor when she first started. “I was thinking, oh, there's so many artists that you know that hopefully, you know, someone could help me. And just, you know, show me the basics.” She suggested that she was repeatedly turned down because she asked male jewelers who seemed reluctant to support a female jeweler. She has observed “a lot of division between the males and the females” regarding beliefs about

gender roles in her Navajo community. “Some people ... are hesitant to talk with you about silversmithing or sharing knowledge as well. ... most of the people that I asked were male jewelers. And so I got a lot of non-responses and yeah, [I felt] kind of discouraged. But I made my own path.” Because she could not secure a mentor, she enrolled in a one week course to learn jewelry skills, including how to set up a studio for metalwork. Learning how to use torches to solder, how to set up an acid solution for cleaning pieces after soldering, and how to use saws and drills, among many other complexities, are all critical skills that are difficult to learn on one's own without paying for jewelry classes. To continue working on jewelry at home, on their own and without a mentor, jewelers must make significant investments in tools, equipment, and studio safety. The female interviewee's experience contrasts with the male entry level jeweler interviewee who has a mentor and is able to access his mentor's specialized jewelry equipment, such as his recent acquisition of lapidary machines, something most jewelers do not have.

Thus, when female jewelers, facing gendered barriers to mentorship, are unable to find a mentor, they experience increased economic risks and harms because they have to learn how to navigate materials sourcing and manufacturing on their own. They are also burdened with more cognitive labor to conduct the same jewelry business activities, such as finding sales partners, as their male colleagues.

Gendered Market Harms, Market Risks, and Market Hazards

Interviewees' ordeals when participating in Indian markets, and the Native jewelry industry broadly, suggest that their gender determines if, and how, they experience market harms and/or risks while pursuing their jewelry business activities. I use the term *market harms* to refer to situations in which the interviewee experienced harm to their mental, physical, and/or emotional health while conducting jewelry business labor. The term *market risks* includes

economic risks, as well as risks of health, both physical and mental, associated with labor or market conditions.

The market harms and market risks that female interviewees faced are often more problematic as a result of their inability to develop relationships with supportive mentors. The interviewees who lacked initial mentorship still often realized significant sales success, however they encountered market harms and market risks not otherwise reported by male interviewees who had easier access to mentorship. Both male and female interviewees indicated that they had to endure anti-Indigenous sentiments from gemstone dealers, but female interviewees reported market risks and market harms not otherwise reported by men, including sexist treatment by market actors, unhealthy labor conditions, sexual harassment, assault, and abuse by a white male art dealer.

Interviewee answers to questions about challenges experienced when sourcing turquoise evidence pervasive gendered economic market risks and mentorship is needed, but often unavailable, for entry level jewelers to avoid marketplace economic harms. Economic market risks are encountered more often by female interviewees when navigating stone sourcing or sales due to a lack of expedient access to relational resources, as well as patriarchal logics in the turquoise distribution market. Interviewees reported numerous experiences with dishonest turquoise dealers. Turquoise sourcing is challenging in a market saturated by pervasive false advertising about the quality and provenance of turquoise for sale by gemstone retailers. Jewelers without extensive gemological knowledge and experience can easily be fooled into purchasing materials at inflated costs, or purchasing materials that are intentionally mislabeled as natural.

All three female interviewees reported having to deal with dismissive or dishonest stone dealers who overlook and underestimate them as serious and knowledgeable clients. The most

senior interviewee has never seen women selling turquoise, so she has always worked with male miners and dealers to source turquoise. When she is shopping for turquoise with her husband, who is also a jeweler, they both select their own stones for their individual pieces. When they are purchasing from someone who is not familiar with them, she reports dismissive treatment until the dealer realizes the extent of her knowledge and experience.

If you get to know them better, then it's a little bit different, they have more respect for you. Because [when] they don't realize where you're coming from, they don't really know you. If they know only my husband, then they would kind of deal with him directly. They look at [me] like, I don't know a whole lot about turquoise. But once you get involved, they realize that this lady knows her stone. That's when it stops...and they treat you equally.

The interviewee with mid-level market experience but with a high-level gemological knowledge reported experiences with dishonest dealers who try to inflate prices or attempting to sell her treated stones as untreated, natural stones. The interviewee with least amount of turquoise knowledge described feelings of being kept out of the "stone club" by white dealers and miners who have superior attitudes. Her lack of knowing what dealers to trust may be attributed to her inability to find a mentor. Even though she now has ten years of jewelry making and sales experience, she remains hesitant when purchasing turquoise and feels that she does not possess enough knowledge about turquoise. She also does not feel that she has established adequate connections to trustworthy stone dealers. She reported low confidence levels regarding turquoise transactions, and feelings of being kept outside of the male-dominated turquoise distribution market which she terms "stone clubs." She describes experiencing gendered barriers to turquoise gemological knowledge during her interactions with men who deal in turquoise, or even male Native jewelers. She feels that "...there's a lot of men that like to take roles on and and [try to] be the keeper of the knowledge of what these stones are [and how to] use them." She has

never seen women flaunt turquoise knowledge in this way, and never sees any female stone dealers. For these reasons, she feels like she is consistently excluded from the turquoise “clubs” based on her gender.

The additional market challenges experienced by female jewelers are so extreme that they are termed “gendered market hazards.” To avoid gendered market hazards, females must perform extra cognitive labor (research and decision making) that male jewelers do not undertake themselves. White men use the Native art market to control Native female artists by hoarding economic resources to abuse them sexually and exploit their creative labor. In what follows, I share the powerful words of one interviewee who bravely shared her story of surviving a sexual predator. Her testimony sheds light on horrific abuses which is part of a culture of sexual violence and exploitation that endangers Native female artists.

In a discussion of how she sees power operating through the material of turquoise, the interviewee shared that a white art dealer first targeted her when she began her career. She was 19, he was 49, and the sexual assaults and abuse continued for years. Both of her parents were Native jewelers who participated in Indian Market during her childhood, but they neglected and abused her, refusing to teach her or support her. She says that she was vulnerable because she was just a kid and “[t]here was no one to watch out for me.” The abuser knew that she had a troubled childhood, and was only supporting herself with a salary of \$500.00 a month working for another Native artist. The predator worked at the gallery that represented her employer and he discovered that she was a gifted artist. When she took a jewelry class and began making pieces, he noticed her talent and wanted to make money off of her. At that time, she lacked financial resources for jewelry equipment and supplies, so he began manipulating her through financial support of her jewelry practice.

[H]e was the first person to really support me as an artist, unfortunately. But there were strings attached. I basically had to be his girlfriend. It was gross. Like, there was a lot of sexual coercion, and I managed to not go all the way. But he was constantly getting me drunk, I was underage. He would constantly get me drunk, then... you know... move in. I was his arm candy, like all the other dealers were jealous of him.

The predator used her lack of community connections and her economic precarity to control her, putting her into situations to take advantage of her impairment, through alcohol, to sexually assault her. Her account of his abuse described how he also exploited her creative labor: "...with me, it wasn't just my beauty and naivete, it was my skill. You know, so he had an ideal host to parasitize, someone to exploit. I made him a lot of money." He controlled her sales, taking her finished pieces and then selling them, and paying her very little, sometimes not paying her at all for her repair work. Sometimes he took her work and sold it without her even knowing about the transaction. "He had that kind of mentality, like I was not a human being worthy of agency over my own life. Like, he owned me. Like, I belonged to him. He did X, Y, and Z for me, I owe him forever. And that was a common attitude with those dealers."

His abuse was also supported by his circle of white, male Native art dealer friends. "[H]is friends were constantly telling me how lucky I was. Like, the gaslighting, the manipulation..." The predator's friends acted as accomplices, enforcing a market culture in which Native women are treated as objects for white men to abuse and extract value from.

In her experience, turquoise is a currency of power and control. White men commonly hold positions of power as art dealers and turquoise dealers and gate keep sales channels and material resources to maintain control. The interviewee detailed the power structures of the market in which Native jewelers, especially female artists who are beginning their careers, are vulnerable when white male predators hoard resources.

[D]ealers who have a ton of the stones, if they can hoard it, then they have more, more power over the metalsmiths, the artists. I experienced that, too. That's why I did my best

to acquire what I could for myself, so I wouldn't have to be on the leash of any dealer. Because I went through that when I first started out. And it's horrible, it's like...I wouldn't say it's straight-up slavery, but it's... you know, close enough.

She saved herself from this “slavery” through her unique jewelry designs and technical mastery. Her work quickly garnered attention from numerous clients, and won awards, enabling her to become financially independent. She taught herself specialized gemological knowledge and began to carefully invest in her own inventory of turquoise so she would never be vulnerable to exploitation by a dealer again. I am grateful for her courage in sharing her survival story with me.

Native female jewelers are also burdened with extra cognitive labor due to dangerous market hazards and challenging labor conditions when sourcing turquoise and engaging sales outlets for their work. The labor of turquoise sourcing is made more challenging for female jewelers who contend with white male turquoise dealers who feel entitled to their bodies. One female interviewee shared how her experiences with sexual harassment from dealers limits her turquoise sourcing options. She had to stop going to one supply store that has turquoise she uses when they hired an employee that would sexually harass her. She also described how she used to source high-quality and fairly priced turquoise from one stone dealer, but she had to endure his non-consensual “full-body creepy hugs” that made her feel groped. The same stone dealer was listed as a trusted source for turquoise by a male interviewee who described him as a friend and “a really cool turquoise guy.” The contrast between the male and female experiences with the dealer suggests that Native women are economically penalized when they enforce boundaries to protect themselves from sexual harassment from white men. They are also burdened with disproportionate cognitive and emotional labor when they contend with and navigate market risks posed by men who act on feelings of entitlement to women’s bodies.

Gendered Labor Burdens

Female jewelers contend with a competitive market that is unaccommodating to the often gendered burdens and health conditions related to reproductive and care labor. The need to participate in important art markets can lead to navigating potential health hazards, especially for jewelers who are pregnant. Due to limited sales channels, jewelers' finances can depend on their ability to participate in the most profitable markets. Health conditions like illness, pregnancy, or gendered care responsibilities can conflict with the timing of important Native art markets. One female jeweler was pregnant with a due date close to the date of Indian Market. She reported that, in addition to the intensive labor of finishing pieces and preparing for the market, she also spent time researching nearby hospitals and coordinating emergency plans for market coverage should she go into labor during the market weekend. She felt she could not economically afford to miss the market because it is her best show, and her ability to work would later be limited after she gives birth. All interviewees reported that the Indian Market is one of their best yearly shows. In a market with limited opportunities to make high volume sales, jewelers who are pregnant, experiencing other health conditions, or have other childcare responsibilities, are forced to make difficult choices between personal and/or family health, and economic security. Furthermore, jewelers who own small businesses do not receive parental or familial leave to care for their families.

Native womens' jewelry sales and opportunities for public recognition of their work are marginalized by a patriarchal art market. One female interviewee defined the Native jewelry scene as part of a larger, patriarchal, Western art market. She told me that the Native art market has long been controlled by white men, even though Native women make high quality art. She views the bias towards charismatic male artists as impacting how work is judged and awarded.

Pieces made by artists with connections might win an award over a worthier piece made by a female artist with less connections.

The whole Native jewelry scene ... moved away from [being] women-based. It was so matriarchal. A lot of the Native art you see in museums was made by women. And that's not talked about enough, but then the Native art scene, that was very much nurtured and fostered by white male boomers for decades. [It] became this microcosm of the Western art scene in general, where it's not necessarily merit-based or content-based, it's about who has the most charisma, and it's usually a man, a white man, you know?

Winning awards can make a big financial difference in an artist's life. Collectors of Native jewelry prioritize purchases from artists who receive awards, especially from the highly competitive Indian market judges. Indian market awardees are also featured in press outlets throughout the duration of the market weekend, resulting in significant boosts to sales and attention from museum buyers. When markets are saturated by work from non-Native male artists who emulate generic "Native-style" designs, the market becomes overly saturated and more competitive for scarce pathways towards sales and name recognition, further marginalizing Native female artists.

Patriarchal and Extractivist Market Relations

The settler capitalist nature of the Native art market creates unequal power structures in which Native artists are exploited for their labor. Settler colonial racial and gender logics transform, not only Native land and Native art materials like turquoise into commodities, but also transform Native artists into commodities so that their bodies, and labor capabilities can be controlled, and possessed by white settler men. Because white settlers own and control resources, Native female jewelers are put at risk because they are viewed as possessions from which power can also be extracted to the benefit of the white settler.. Interviewee experiences show that Native women experience marginalization in a closed system at the settler capitalist sites of the intersecting Native art market and turquoise market in three ways: 1) Lack of access to

powerbrokers that do not exploit them, 2) Working as a female in an unregulated market that historically has relied on dangerous tropes about Native women as exotic products themselves, 3) Saturation of capitalism and minimization of Indigenous values that hold Native women as respected leaders.

Settler capitalist relations are characterized by what Indigenous studies scholarship terms “extractivism.” Ansluos and Beaulne-Stuebing define extractivism as the compulsion of extractive mining industries and infrastructures to impose nonconsensual “settler colonial relations to land.” Instead of “the caring relations that sustained life here for millennia,” the land is treated as a commodity, “as a thing from which to take.” The mining industrial complex installs infrastructures and extractive industries on Native lands, rendering the land and the communities who live there as exploitable and disposable. Extractive settler capitalism is a mode of “ongoing settler colonial empire-building” resisted by Indigenous nations whose lands and people are harmed by extractive industries.³⁵⁶

Extractive settler capitalism drives sexual violence against Indigenous women. The construction of resource extraction infrastructure requires temporary “man camps,” housing male laborers, often located near tribal reservations throughout the US and Canada. At these sites, Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirit people are targets of sexual violence, human trafficking, and murder by the temporary labor populations, and are also targets of settler colonial violence in urban centers as well as rural spaces.³⁵⁷ Extraction is both a settler colonial mode of relations as

³⁵⁶ Ansluos and Beaulne-Stuebing, “Wounds on This Turtle’s Back,” 238.

³⁵⁷ For a list of reports and calls to action regarding Canada’s murdered and missing Indigenous women, girls, and two-spirit people epidemic, see Amnesty International ““Moving from Rhetoric to Action to End Violence Against First Nations, Métis, and Inuit Women, Girls and

well as a capitalist market operation. Settler colonialism as a project of racial accumulation manufacturers settler state power through what Sherene Razack terms gendered racial terror, targeting Indigenous women. Razack argues that “[i]t is critical to consider the violence that is written on the Indigenous woman’s body as a multiscalar imprinting of colonial power.” Dispossession and extraction, operate together and “...unfolds in everyday and institutional extractive relationships between white men and women,” “White men are an important link in the chain of events that culminate in excessive violence in the lives of Indigenous women. The asymmetrical intimacies of the border town reveal that what we know as the excessive use of force by police towards Indigenous peoples is a daily gendered enactment of colonial power on the part of white men.” Settler capitalist expansion requires individual settler subjects “...who understand their own racial superiority in gendered ways through violence.”³⁵⁸ A white settler male’s subjectivity is constructed through his ability to commit sexual violence against Native women. As a result, “four out of five Indigenous women will experience violence in their lifetime and that 97% of these crimes are committed by non-Indians.”³⁵⁹ When the white settler

Two-spirit People,” *Amnesty International*, 2021, <https://amnesty.ca/features/moving-from-rhetoric-to-action-to-end-violence-against-first-nations-metis-and-inuit-women-girls-and-two-spirit-people/>; For research correlating violence against indigenous women and man camps, see Jemma Tosh, “Fracking is a Feminist Issue: An Intersectional Ecofeminist Commentary on Natural Resource Extraction and Rape,” *Psychology of Women Section Review* 18, no. 1 (2016): 4., [10.53841/bpspow.2016.18.1.54](https://doi.org/10.53841/bpspow.2016.18.1.54); Traci B. Voyles, “Man Destroys Nature? Gender, History, and the Feminist Praxis of Situating Sustainability,” *Sustainability: Approaches to Environmental Justice and Social Power*, ed. Julie Sze (NYU Press Scholarship Online, 2018): 196–221, <https://doi.org/10.18574/nyu/9781479894567.003.0009>.

³⁵⁸ Sherene H. Razack, “Settler Colonialism, Policing and Racial Terror: The Police Shooting of Loreal Tsingine,” *Feminist Legal Studies* 28, (2020): 9-10, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10691-020-09426-2>.

³⁵⁹ Razack, “Settler Colonialism,” 2.

commits gendered violence against the Indigenous body, they re-enact and perpetuate the act of colonization and reassure themselves of their racial and patriarchal superiority.³⁶⁰

As the experience of female Native jewelers indicates, gendered racial terror is a method by which white male settler colonial extractive capitalist market systems transform Native women's bodies into resources. Aimé Césaire names "thingification" as the process by which the colonizer transforms the Indigenous person into a thing for the purpose of wealth production.³⁶¹ The thingification of Native women's bodies enables Individual settler subjects to operate as mechanisms of settler colonial economic systems. Shari M. Hundorf connects gender violence to European visual culture "that conflates the Indigenous women's bodies with the land in order to rationalize European expansion."³⁶² Native women are framed as passive in settler narrations and "... open to the embrace and penetration of Europe." Pocahontas, Sacajawea, and La Malinche became foundational to national identity because they bore children with Europeans and "symbolically affirm[ed] the fathers' right to the soil."³⁶³ Michael Householder points to how early Italian explorers' biblical imagery conflated the Indigenous woman's body with fertile earth, describing her as Eve – naked in a bountiful garden, receptive to the penetration of the

³⁶⁰ Razack, "Settler Colonialism," 2.

³⁶¹ Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism* (Monthly Review Press, 2000), 44.

³⁶² Shari Huhndorf, "Scenes from the Fringe: Gendered Violence and the Geographies of Indigenous Feminism," *Signs Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 46, no. 3(2021): 567, <https://doi.org/10.1086/712045>.

³⁶³ Hundorf, "Scenes from the Fringe," 567.

European man.³⁶⁴ As a symbol of Native homelands targeted for dispossession and extraction, Native women are subjected to gender violence perpetrated by white settler men.

My interview findings show that extractivism is a market relation of both turquoise mining and the Native art markets it supplies. Leanne Simpson articulates how colonialism and capitalism operate to continuously extract from the Indigenous and deteriorate Indigenous social relationships. Extraction is theft or “taking without consent” from Indigenous knowledge systems, and other than human relatives. Within extractivist logics, Indigenous women and children are viewed as settler colonial resources to possess and control because “...they are the potential to grow, maintain, and uphold the extraction-assimilation system.”³⁶⁵ Extractivism in the Native art market materializes in the form of settler control over mined resources like turquoise. Native art dealers and turquoise miners and dealers are settler subjects who amass economic power by extracting and controlling Indigenous resources. Resources that white men attempt to extract from are both tangible, like the turquoise material mined from Native homelands, and intangible like the creative labor of Native artists.

White male feelings of entitlement to Native women’s bodies intersect with the exploitative and harmful systems perpetuated by the same white men who gatekeep Native jewelry resources. Native art market systems enable white settler men to wield power by

³⁶⁴ For an extended discussion of the conflation of racialized bodies and the wilderness in colonialism see: Donald S. Moore, Jake Kosek, and Anand Pandian, *Race, Nature, and the Politics of Difference* (Duke University Press, 2003).

³⁶⁵ Naomi Klein, “Dancing the World into Being: A Conversation with Idle No More’s Leanne Simpson,” *Yes! Magazine*, March 6, 2013, <https://www.yesmagazine.org/social-justice/2013/03/06/dancing-the-world-into-being-a-conversation-with-idle-no-more-leanne-simpson>.

controlling which customers and which jewelry materials are kept from, or made available to, Native jewelers who need them for economic survival. Native women can be targeted for sexual harassment and violence if they need to interact with the white men who hold the economic power to necessary to access these crucial resources. Patriarchal settler capitalist control over resources is a weapon wielded by Native arts power brokers in an attempt to keep female artists in the role of the subject-producer-of-objects. As the interviewees who contributed to my research testified, gendered market harms and gendered market hazards exist because white settler men control a finite amount of sales opportunities and available turquoise. Thus, the settler men gatekeep and control resources in order to profit from and control Native female artists sometimes in violent ways.

The commodification of Native-made objects for the Southwestern cultural tourism market is a gendered site where control of Native people and resources is demanded by settler colonial and patriarchal actors. The process of settler colonial dispossession through the acquisition of Native art is a phenomenon theorized by Joanne Barker who argues that “...Indian-made art has made it possible, at least in part, not only to possess and own the Indian but to perform an Indianness that is personally and socially transformative. The contradictions within such practices form the foundation of a U.S. nationalism that has enacted a systematic dispossession and genocide of Indian people.”³⁶⁶ Barker’s analysis of how Native arts are capitalized on by settler nation states builds upon Phil Deloria’s theorizations of “playing Indian” as an ongoing theme in US settler cultural production. Deloria finds that the market for Indian-

³⁶⁶ Joanne Barker, “Indian TM USA,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 18, no. 1, (2003): 60, <https://doi.org/10.1353/wic.2003.0002>.

made crafts is maintained by settlers who “placed a premium on unmediated personal contact with native people and thereby constructed an interior version of the ‘Indian Other’ that could be fully incorporated, seeking redemption through transformative contact.”³⁶⁷ The otherness of Native artists is maintained through time by Southwestern arts and tourism economies that produce a fantasy of the primitive, unchanged, untouched Indigenous artist whose difference is consumed through art purchases.

The gendered harms that Native women experience within settler-capitalist markets are a legacy of economies that transform Native women into subjects that can be possessed. Settler fantasies of possession through dispossession are projected onto both the bodies of Native female artists and the consumable objects they make. The othered female maker is subjected to the settler gaze, and the objects she makes can be sold by settlers in the tourism market. The pervasive settler association of Pueblo pottery with Pueblo women in settler produced imaginaries of the Southwest is traced by Barbara Babcock. Babcock theorizes how Native women themselves have been commodified with the pottery they make since late 1800s ethnographic collecting expeditions which sought pottery as a pre-modern handmade object. The pueblo woman holding female-manufactured pottery became an iconic image of the Southwest as a space of exotic difference widely circulated by tourism and art markets. Babcock draws upon Todorov to theorize how the female pottery artist is a productive object within settler capitalist relations. “...[I]nstead of regarding the other simply as an object, [they] were considered as a subject capable of producing objects which one might then possess...” To maintain the female artist and her objects as settler possessions, she must be “kept from

³⁶⁷ Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 135-129, cited in Joanne Barker's, “Indian TM USA,” 58.

becoming like ourselves.”³⁶⁸ She is kept from becoming like the settler by being maintained in the settler’s pre-history, a space of racial difference, and through the settler possession of her objects.

The public spectacle of Native markets, like Indian Market, position Native art objects and the artists who make them as a tourist attraction available for public consumption. Possession maintains racial boundaries while also maintaining the settler’s innocence. Babcock’s example of Native arts and tourism imagery which entangles the Native female artist with the objects she makes, can also apply to Native jewelers who are rendered as producers of objects that the settler can possess, achieving feelings of closeness to Indigeneity, and feelings of innocence. Purchasing from Native artists can secure settler innocence as superficial, benevolent support of Native culture, that masks the ongoing gendered extractive settler capitalist market systems that Native artists face.

Historically, Native jewelers are treated as objectified tourist attractions within the curio trade and cultural tourism, in historic Santa Fe arts commerce, Native artists are physically positioned below the consumer. Native artists continue to perform the labor of interfacing with the public in an unregulated tourist attraction. For example, Jonathan Batkin uncovered racialized spatial arrangements in his archival research on curio companies, such as Maisel’s located in Santa Fe. Native silversmiths were on view to shoppers to demonstrate jewelry techniques by hand, while other Native silversmiths used equipment to mass produce low-priced

³⁶⁸ Barbara A. Babcock, “A New Mexican Rebecca: Imaging Pueblo Women,” *Inventing the Southwest* 32, no. 4 (1990): 404, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40169766>.

jewelry in large workshops hidden from public view.³⁶⁹ As discussed in previous chapters, the making of objects by hand places artists in settler ideas of an anachronistic time where Native culture is uncontaminated by white settler technology. My prior scholarship on the Palace of the Governors art market in Santa Fe identifies a similar racialized spatial arrangement in which Native artists set up their pieces on the ground, physically positioning the Native artists below the tourist gaze.³⁷⁰ In addition to the materials used in the jewelry, Native jewelers' labor was also controlled by settler entrepreneurs. For example, Batkin documents an instance where a Native jeweler was fired from a workshop when they sought to sell their own designs independently.³⁷¹

Institutions for Native arts which facilitate commercial art markets and sales are often celebrated as an opportunity for economic advancement and “diversity, equity, and inclusion,” but they often mask gendered, extractive, and exploitative capitalist relations. Joshua Miner argues that these institutions categorize and control Native arts through the markets and art competitions. Settler control of Native arts production through these programs is a form of cultural imperialism, which commodifies culture into a consumable product. Institutionalized Native arts markets “produced desire in the tourist for the souvenir.” Within the process of

³⁶⁹ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, 111-115.

³⁷⁰ Kristen B. Dorsey, “Pablita Velarde: Extractive Economies of Empire and Indigenous Resistance,” in *The Routledge Companion to Art and Challenges to Empire*, ed. E.C. Burns and A.M. Rudy Price (Taylor & Francis, 2025).

³⁷¹ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade*, 111-115.

cultural Imperialism, Native women are “unvalued in US society beyond what they could produce.”³⁷²

Mellanie Yazzie also argues that commercial markets for Indigenous arts are not liberatory, but actually maintain settler capitalism. Yazzie identifies similarities between global “cultural industry” development and the Native arts institutions of Santa Fe. Drawing from her prior participation in both economies, Yazzie critiques how non-Indigenous operated institutions go to Indigenous communities to commodify and sell their cultural productions as a way to generate economic opportunities. However, Yazzie asserts that this system uses “cultural entrepreneurship” as a method of expanding capitalist relations and colonial power. “Culture — that unique ethnographic attribute that Indigenous peoples supposedly still retain in a world otherwise corrupted by mass consumption—has become in the neoliberal period a new horizon for profit.”³⁷³ As we have seen throughout this analysis, Native culture has always been used as a well of settler capitalist profit. The Native art market today is a site where these conditions are exacerbated in our current stage of neoliberal capitalism. The intersection of development discourse and multiculturalism of the neoliberal period renders Native cultural productions particularly vulnerable to capitalist extractions. Neoliberalism is a multivalent term for an economic theory that expands capitalism through government economic policies that privatize

³⁷² Joshua Miner, “Remediating the “Famous Indian Artist: Native Aesthetics Beyond Tourism and Tragedy,” *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 30, no. 2 (2018): 80-87, <https://doi.org/10.5250/studamerindilite.30.2.0079>.

³⁷³ Melanie K. Yazzie, “US Imperialism and the Problem of “Culture” in Indigenous Politics: Towards Indigenous Internationalist Feminism,” *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 43, no. 3 (2019), 110, <https://doi.org/10.17953/aicrj.43.3.yazzie>.

social services. Neoliberalism is also a form of rhetoric that narrates the settler colonial nation state as inclusive and multicultural, which masks structures of state violence. “[L]iberalism allows capitalism to continue under even the most hostile circumstances, and the liberal language of development harbors a cunning power to transform conditions deemed unfavorable—such as the lack of infrastructure that poverty implies—into opportunities for seemingly endless profit.”³⁷⁴ The gendered market harms and hazards that interviewees reported demonstrate how settler extractive capitalist logics structure the market, yet these labor conditions are obscured by celebrations of creative entrepreneurship.

Native female jewelers are burdened with disproportionate amounts of cognitive, emotional, and physical labor. Native women who experience reproductive health related conditions are economically penalized if they are unable to participate in key markets because of the fixed timing of that market. The jeweler I interviewed who was pregnant had to perform extra cognitive labor and take on health risks to travel for Indian Market because she could not afford to lose sales and income. I myself have experienced similar decisions and sacrifices when I was pregnant and needed to travel for shows. Native artists are almost always self-employed, have no paid time off or parental leave, and experience economic penalties due to reproductive health conditions. Pregnancy is just one example of gendered reproductive and care labor.

Female artists can also carry disproportionate care responsibilities that male artists do not. Drawing from Kim TallBear, Mellanie Yazzie illustrates the complex conditions that create gendered care labor burdens in Indigenous communities. Caretaking is an important practice of Indigenous kinship relations, and can be performed by any relative. Settler heteronormative

³⁷⁴ Yazzie, “US Imperialism and the Problem of ‘Culture’ in Indigenous Politics,” 110.

nuclear family arrangements reduce Indigenous kinship relations to biological male/female reproduction. Yazzie writes that “TallBear’s work encourages us to maintain a commitment to making new relatives (and new revolutionaries) without reducing this essential practice of movement building to biological reproduction performed by cishetero bodies and reinforced by heteronormative social relations.”³⁷⁵ Although it would be unfair to generalize and characterize all Indigenous family structures as assimilated to settler domestic patriarchal arrangements, because of settler colonial disruptions to Indigenous kinship practices of care (by all family members regardless of gender), it does appear that Native female artists are more burdened with childcare than their male counterparts. I have witnessed Native female artists take on more care work than male colleagues.

Access to culture can be gendered, and Native women can be unfairly deemed as culturally insufficient. Gina Starblanket argues that it is critical to examine the power relations within Native formations of cultural memory, particularly around gender and sexuality. For example, in the settler colonial nation state of Canada, legal criteria for obtaining Aboriginal and treaty rights requires proof of traditional practices. Indigenous treaty rights that are tied to tribal “proof” of sufficient levels of cultural practices “serves a disciplinary and exclusionary function within communities as different or contradictory understandings of cultural practice can be read as legal or political...” Native women are unfairly judged as “culturally sufficient or culturally

³⁷⁵ Yazzie, “US Imperialism and the Problem of “Culture” in Indigenous Politics,” 110.

deficient” even though they can be excluded from contributing to cultural practices such as specific ceremonies.³⁷⁶

Native art studies is an undertheorized field because it is composed primarily of celebratory market systems that are supposedly positioned as helpful platforms for Native artists that provide valuable spaces and stages for artists to revitalize their cultures. Nancy Marie Mithlo argues that “American Indian art still struggles with the perception of being a niche art that’s affordable and available in places collectors want to vacation.”³⁷⁷ Mithlo calls for an “institutional critique about the production, circulation, and reception of the arts.”³⁷⁸ My interview research finds ongoing patterns of settler colonial framings of Native female artists that Mithlo identified in her research during the 1990s. Mithlo’s scholarship reveals how Native female artists in this context experience the gendered and racial exploitation of their labor within commercial Native arts public arenas. By interviewing Native women artists working in Santa Fe, Mithlo found a prevalent double burden experienced by Native women in a commercial arts context. The Native woman

... embodies national ideologies, popular culture, and tribal identity in her person and her products. This double expectation, that you be Indian in physical appearance and that your work conform to Indian art standards, could be argued to exist in equal strength for Native men and women, but in my work, it is the women who bear the responsibility as communal artists, thus positioning Native women as being closer to what may be considered a more accurate register of indigenous arts practices.³⁷⁹

³⁷⁶ Gina Starblanket, “Being Indigenous Feminists: Resurgences Against Contemporary Patriarchy,” in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, ed. Joyce A. Green (Zed Books, 2008).

³⁷⁷ Nancy Marie Mithlo, *Knowing Native Arts* (University of Nebraska Press, 2020), 36.

³⁷⁸ Mithlo, *Knowing Native Arts*, 36.

³⁷⁹ Mithlo, *Our Indian Princess*, 2.

Mithlo demonstrates how Native women produce images that subvert and contest settler colonial national narratives that transform them into allegories of conquest. The artists in Mithlo's research also hold communal responsibilities to transmit cultural knowledge, which Mithlo articulates as a labor of "doing tribal nationhood" which is often a feminized labor.³⁸⁰

My interviewees' reflections about their training in jewelry manufacturing and business operations reveal that Indigenous mentorship systems are a pathway towards the mitigation of market risks. Native women take on mentorship roles, yet established Native female jewelers remain underrepresented in the market, limiting female mentorship capacity. As reported by interviewees, male jewelers may not always be open to serving in mentorship roles, especially for female mentees. When female jewelers reported an inability to secure mentorship from senior jewelers and/or their family and tribal community, they experienced higher rates of market risks and market harms; therefore, access to knowledge through mentors can mitigate or protect female jewelers from market harms and hazards.

With strong community and mentorship connections, jewelers can engage Native art markets as generative geographic sites for building and expanding their relational networks for both economic success and cultural, relational belonging. In Indigenous arts and culture practices, community-based and familial relational mentorship facilitates intergenerational knowledge transmission that enable new generations of cultural producers to adapt to changing

³⁸⁰ "The cultural values of gender and economics in the arts are both constitutive of, and reactive to, established paradigms of knowledge. These multiple sites of knowledge have the opportunity to be contested in the social arena of arts production and consumption, thereby allowing for highly charged articulations of identity claims. Qualities such as femaleness, maleness, isolation, belonging, and community find voice in the moments when conflicting ideologies meet." Mithlo, *Our Indian Princess*, 15-17.

economies. Patricia Greenfield’s cognitive development research discusses Maya weaving apprenticeships in Guatemala. Greenfield analyzes Indigenous inter-generational learning structures that transmit weaving knowledge. Artists learn weaving through embodied learning guided by community mentors, or through familial mentorship between mothers and daughters. Familial weaving mentorship trained mentees “...to adapt to the changed social conditions under which their children will function as adults.”³⁸¹ Mentors are equipped with a long view of market systems, enabling them to impart necessary survival skills to mentees. Any methods for surviving settler capitalist markets are vital for Native jewelers who persist and survive to maintain Indigenous knowledge systems.

Conclusion

Santa Fe is a major geographic and micro-economic site, where white heteropatriarchal power is commonly experienced by the Native female artists I interviewed. Their experiences are examples of how the settler colonial project of Native land dispossession is a gendered process with compounding impacts on Native female jewelers. When Native homeland-sourced materials like turquoise are claimed as private property of predominantly white male settlers, Native artists are forced to pay more for materials and make less profit. Because of this scarcity model, building relational networks is an essential type of labor for making a living as an artist, however Native female jewelers navigate a market controlled by powerbrokers who feel entitled to women’s bodies, and maintain market cultures that exclude and exploit Native women. Native women experience extra cognitive labor burdens when deciding between personal safety and

³⁸¹ Patricia M. Greenfield and Carla P. Childs, “Learning to Weave in Zinacantán: A Two-Decade Study of Historical Change in Informal Education,” *Cognitive Development* 18, no. 4 (2005), 485, <https://doi.org/10.1174/0210370053125>.

well being versus economic opportunities. They can experience economic penalties when they prioritize their wellbeing. Native art producers continuously work to build networks of relationships with one another and with turquoise miners and dealers for material sourcing, but some of the dealers sexually harass Native female customers without accountability. Native art dealers, often white settler men, can also be predatory and exploitative. To avoid predators in the market, Native women are economically penalized and burdened with extra cognitive labor when they network with businesses like art galleries that will sell their work to customers.

Based on my conversations with the female jewelers I interviewed, their reported experiences in the Santa Fe-based Native jewelry market and turquoise distribution markets demonstrate that access to mentorship can mitigate significant market risks. Access to knowledge can mitigate the market risks, market harms, and market hazards, like those experienced by female interviewees who were victims of sexual predation, sexual harassment, and assault from white male art dealers and stone dealers. The ability to secure a mentor and other important market relationships and community systems of care appears to determine whether a jeweler experiences positive interactions or negative ones when sourcing turquoise and selling their work. The mentor and mentee relationship is widely discussed across all interviews, and interviewees described their experiences of teaching and learning as essential for acquiring the knowledge jewelers need for success, which includes the knowledge and strategies needed for making sound creative, cultural, and economic decisions when sourcing materials, making jewelry, and selling in the Native arts markets. This finding can inform critical future research that investigates how the adoption of patriarchal logics by some Native male jewelers may contribute to reasons why mentorship and knowledge exchanges are less accessible for female jewelers. However, the gendered market harms and experiences of Native jewelers occur when

Native homelands and the art practices connected to them are dispossessed and commodified by settler capitalist markets. It is imperative to center the words and insights of Native female jewelers who experience the most harms from extractive, patriarchal, settler colonial logics, because they courageously confront and unmask gendered dispossessive structures of power.

Chapter 4 NEGOTIATING THE COMMODITY RELATIONS OF TURQUOISE JEWELRY

The experiences and challenges of Native jewelers who contributed their insights to this chapter demonstrate that the turquoise mining and Native jewelry markets continue to operate as a racial regime of property ownership that counters Indigenous value systems. In the prior chapter, *Sourcing Turquoise in a Gendered Settler Capitalist Market*, I identified how colonial patriarchal logics persist in the market today. In this chapter, I examine the tensions between Indigenous cultural values and the settler capitalist market relations that commodify turquoise stones and finished jewelry. I build on interview findings about the gendered experiences of contemporary Native jewelers to examine how the settler capitalist logics of extractivism, and the settler effort to fix Native cultures within anachronistic space and time, maintain white, male settler economic power today. As I discussed in prior chapters, settler capitalists continuously attempted to nullify Native claims to their own lands, minerals, and creative products by framing Native societies as incapable of modern agency. When turquoise and Native jewelry are objects transacted by gendered, settler capitalist markets, their valuation is drawn from monetary cash value and significations of anachronistic difference used to racialize Indigenous peoples to nullify tribal political sovereignty. Such a valuation masks the Indigenous valuations of turquoise and jewelry as materials encompassing relational kinship systems that connect lands, families, and communities.³⁸²

³⁸² By using the term “commodity relations,” I draw from an Indigenous studies interpretation of Karl Marx’s understanding of labor and valuations of commodities. For example, Maryam Alhinai and Tema Milstein examine tensions between Indigenous ecological relations which emphasize kinship systems. Colonial capitalist discourse deploys racializing language to obstruct and discredit Indigenous social relations. They build on theorizations of how capitalist relations that emphasize individual accumulation mask Indigenous social relations that prioritize the interests of community over the individual: “Profit is the essence of all relations in neoliberalism

I draw my arguments in this chapter from interviewee perceptions of the turquoise market and its actors, interactions with mine owners and dealers, and changes interviewees have observed in the structure of the turquoise mining and distribution market and Native jewelry markets. Interviewee experiences with sourcing turquoise, and making and selling jewelry in the Santa Fe-based Native art market demonstrate the continuity of settler capitalist attempts to maintain control over Native cultural production. I argue that ongoing geographies of white mine ownership and distribution continue to exert non-Native economic power and control over Native homelands and material resources.

Native jewelers' contemporary experiences demonstrate that the reason for their limited access to homeland jewelry materials, and constraints on their creative autonomy, flow directly from the historic convergence of the turquoise mining industry and Native jewelry market, producing a commodity chain of white economic power. Contemporary settler capitalist market logics remain the same as historic ones in which Native jewelry is marketed by racializing Native jewelers as relics of the primitive past. The contemporary racial regime of turquoise mine ownership and trading post economy that Native jewelers are forced to navigate remains

and self-interest overrides social and collective interests (Harvey 2006); hence, human success is measured by the acquisition of material things. In a free-market economy, humans and extra-humans are devalued, manipulated, and commodified “as a result of colonial, patriarchal, corporate, exploitative, and often ecologically destructive development models” (Sefa Dei, Hall, and Rosenberg 2000, 8). Capitalist ideologies value market-driven technological change (or “progress”) and regard it as unavoidable (Harvey 2006). Accordingly, societies that deviate from these capitalist ideologies are regarded as uncivilised and backward. As Harvey (2006) states, “‘backwardness’ (the term is highly significant) arises out of unwillingness or an inability to ‘catch up’ with the dynamics of a Western-centered capitalism, usually portrayed as the highpoint of modernity or even of civilization” (72).” Maryam Alhinai & Tema Milstein, “From Kin to Commodity: Ecocultural Relations in Transition in Oman,” *Local Environment* 24, no 12 (2019), 1081, <https://doi.org/10.1080/13549839.2019.1672635>.

unchanged since the first US imperial economic and genocidal conquests of the Southwest region. The US empire's regional conquest targeted Diné, Pueblos, and Apache homelands and lifeways which resulted in the erosion of Indigenous agriculture, subsistence practices, and inter-tribal trade networks, forcing many Native people into the white settler cash economy. Trading post owners profited from the erosion of Indigenous economic independence and capitalized on Native made jewelry as a valuable commodity. With the arrival of the railroad to Santa Fe in 1880, curio dealers and cultural tourism entrepreneurs grew a market for Native-made jewelry and other art forms like pottery and rugs. Between 1890 and 1910, the growing market for Native-made jewelry coincided with the Cerrillos Hills turquoise mining rush, and turquoise mining expanded throughout the Southwest. During this time, mine owners needed to sell turquoise, and began supplying Native jewelry production.

Today's turquoise mine owners, are reported by interviewees to be predominantly male, and white with the exception of two Native mine owners (one past, one current).³⁸³ The monopolization of turquoise mines by non-Native mine owners leads to extractive treatment of the land, limited to no access to mines for Native people, and miner control over the pricing and quantity of turquoise for sale.

³⁸³ A non-exhaustive list of 127 commercial mines that produce material today includes 10 Arizona mines, 19 California mines, 4 Colorado mines, 93 Nevada, 1 Utah mine, and 7 in New Mexico. "American Turquoise," Durango Silver, accessed May 22, 2026, https://www.durangosilver.com/american_turquoise.asp.; Some of the New Mexico turquoise mine claims today are from the original 1879 Cerrillos Hills mine rush in which over one thousand claims were staked. "The 1879 Mining Boom" A Cultural-Historical Overview, Amigos de Cerrillos Hills State Park, accessed May 22, 2026, <https://www.cerrilloshills.org/history/a-cultural-historical-overview/the-mining-boom/>.

Interviewees also describe how Native jewelry consumer taste is influenced by tropes of authenticity in which the most sought after designs remain unchanged from the earliest turquoise and silver Native-made jewelry. Despite a market for experimental and innovative designs by Native jewelers, interviewees report that audiences continue to believe that Native jewelry should follow the same materials, techniques, and forms from the late 1800s. The allure of turquoise and silver Native-made jewelry to settler consumers appears to follow settler traditions constructed from notions of racial difference and desire to become Indigenous through the possession of Native-made jewelry.

The Native jewelers I interview for this chapter creatively navigate settler capitalist power dynamics as they engage the turquoise mining and distribution market, and the Native art market. I identify Native jewelers' approaches to daily business operations in which they encounter challenges stemming from settler capitalist relations in the market. To navigate and survive settler capitalist economies, Native artists prioritize and maintain methods grounded in their respective nations' cultures that counter the commoditization of gemstones and jewelry for only their monetary value. Native artists navigate settler capitalist relations using Indigenous values of relationality and reciprocity as they conduct their jewelry businesses.

Indigenous valuations of turquoise gemstones and Native-made jewelry include actions such as respecting the scarcity of materials by enacting practices of modesty in collecting and wearing turquoise, gifting, observing practices of inheritance after death, lowering prices for family and community, and encouraging novelty in design. They also each seek opportunities to maintain inter-Native trading systems to obtain turquoise. These relation-making practices operate in stark contrast to settler capitalist market norms and are often hidden from public view. Indigenous norms in the arts are often covert, operating privately within social circles and not

openly challenging the buy-and-sell market mandates. The tensions created between the collective values common in Indigenous settings and the arena of commercial sales often results in mutual unintelligibility where jewelers are ultimately penalized personally and economically. My conversations with interviewees explored the tensions they each feel between the values of settler capitalist markets and their own individual values. My analysis, however, does not intend to resolve these tensions and contradictions. To maintain their art practices, each interviewee grapples with methods of navigating a settler capitalist field, resulting in concessions, and strategies of resistance. I examine these Native techniques as a method of illuminating the contours of the settler capitalist political geography.

Historic Commoditization and Control of Native Jewelry and Turquoise

Native-made jewelry became a traded commodity within the trading post credit economy following the development of new commercial outlets. A robust commercial market for Native-made jewelry initially emerged in New Mexico from the trading post economy, followed by mail-order curio trade and then the cultural tourism markets that grew after railroads expanded throughout the Southwest.

While ubiquitous now, jewelry sales originally followed the production and sale of wool materials and goods that fueled the emergence of trading posts throughout the Southwest in the 1800s. Beginning in the 1850s, white settlers moved to the southwest to farm and raise livestock, including cattle and sheep. Many were Mormon settlers from Utah, who settled around the borders of the Navajo reservation, established by the US government in 1868. The white settlers began establishing settlements around the reservation border which overlapped with the border of the American occupied territories of New Mexico and Arizona. In 1881, the Atlantic and Pacific Railroad was constructed in the region and connected the Navajo Nation to East Coast

wool markets. Navajo families, who had already maintained large flocks of sheep, began rebuilding their economic security by supplying the wool market. The white settlers, who were originally along the borders of the reservation, began moving into the reservation to establish trading posts that capitalized on the Navajo wool economy. Trading posts offered credit for food and general goods in exchange for wool.³⁸⁴

In addition to wool, trading posts began accepting Navajo weaving and Navajo and Pueblo made silver jewelry set with turquoise.³⁸⁵ When traders noticed increasing market demand for Native-made jewelry, they began managing the production of it through piece work, providing jewelers with materials and then selling the finished jewelry pieces. Beginning in the 1930s, many trading post owners purchased turquoise mine claims throughout the Southwest region and sold the turquoise to the Native jewelers with whom they did business. Chambless and Ryan document how some of the most successful trading post entrepreneurs were, and still are, also mine owners. Some operate today, and continue the dual enterprises of turquoise mining and Native art dealing.³⁸⁶

³⁸⁴ Klara B. Kelley, "Ethnoarchaeology of Navajo Trading Posts," *Kiva* 51, no. 1 (1985), 19-20.

³⁸⁵ Henrietta Lidchi, *Surviving Desires*, 5-6.

³⁸⁶ Chambless and Ryan, *The Great American Turquoise Rush*, 227-239.; For example, the Albuquerque based company Sunwest Silver holds five mine claims and does high-volume sales of turquoise and silver jewelry through wholesale and retail sales channels. "As the owner and operator of five turquoise mines in the southwestern USA, Sunwest Silver provides distinctive stone for our jewelry artists. We offer a signature Carico Lake Turquoise Collection featuring stunning Carico Lake Turquoise, sterling silver and gold designs in earrings, pendants, bracelets and necklaces, as well as concho belts and squash blossom sets." "About Us," Sunwest Silver, accessed May 23, 2026, <https://sunwesthandmade.com/about-us>.

In addition to facilitating the Southwestern wool market, railroad expansion initiated a new era of cultural tourism when railroads extended into Santa Fe and Albuquerque in 1880. The curio trade commoditized a market for Native turquoise jewelry in response to the souvenir demands of railroad tourists. According to Jonathan Batkin, between 1900 and 1925, Native-made jewelry appeared suddenly as a curio trade commodity, and “its rise was meteoric.” The emerging curio trade soon catered to clients desiring Native-made objects as souvenirs.³⁸⁷

Following the curio trade’s marketing of Native made jewelry, Diné and Pueblo turquoise and silver jewelry was marketed by railroad tourism companies beginning in the 1910s. The expansion of the railroad into New Mexico sparked a robust tourism economy targeting a growing American middle-class consumer. Beginning in the 1890s, railroad tourism advertisements used imagery of Southwest Indigenous peoples to market to the middle class. Companies such as the Fred Harvey Company used Indigenous imagery for advertisements, and Indigenous arts for rail car, hotel, and restaurant décor.³⁸⁸

Beginning in the late 1870s, and onwards, Indigenous turquoise mines were subsumed within the early Southwest American mining economy, hindering Pueblo access to turquoise.³⁸⁹ The Cerrillos turquoise rush of 1890 to 1910 depleted much of the supply and new mines were

³⁸⁷ Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, 111-115.

³⁸⁸ Kathleen L. Howard and Diana F. Pardue, *Inventing the Southwest: The Fred Harvey Company and Native American Art* (Northland Publishing, 1996), 168-175.

³⁸⁹ For example, anthropologist John Adair’s research also documents how in 1890, the Zuni sought to mine their own turquoise from Cerrillos yet in order to do so, they had to seek permission from, and pay a fee to an American mine owner. From the John Adair Collection, Field Notes, Book 1.; Falkenstein-Doyle, “Eighteenth-century Economy,” 216.

needed to sustain the American turquoise jewelry market composed of Victorian-style jewelry. Because New York jewelry manufacturers only sought pure blue material, mine owners found a market for their leftover matrix turquoise in the Southwest cultural tourism industry. The matrix stones with marked veins were an affordable and available stone that soon monopolized the curio trade market. To meet the demand, the American turquoise mining industry expanded throughout the Southwest, spreading to other states, including Arizona and Nevada.³⁹⁰ Commercial turquoise mining began in Nevada around 1889.³⁹¹ New mineable deposits were located over older native turquoise mines.³⁹²

During the mid-1910s the turquoise and silver jewelry production market was composed of a mix of curio dealers, trading posts, and tourism companies who employed Pueblo and Diné men as manufacturing labor. Streamlined production processes emerged from “mass production” curio shops that employed Native men to work as bench jewelers who produced predesigned pieces. Mass production processes necessitated faster stone setting techniques. The mass production of jewelry led to miners streamlining turquoise cutting, limiting supplies of rough stones for sale to jewelers. Beginning in the 1890s, mine owners worked with lapidaries to mine and cut turquoise for a market of Southwest Native-style jewelry manufactured with new, faster

³⁹⁰ Chambles and Ryan, 237.

³⁹¹ This new turquoise source led to the decline of Cerrillos turquoise value. Falkenstein-Doyle, “Eighteenth-century Economy,” 216.

³⁹² Gertrude Hill Muir, “Turquoise: its history and significance in the Southwest,” (Masters thesis, University of Arizona, 1938), 8-16, <http://hdl.handle.net/10150/551739>.

production technologies.³⁹³ Because stone cutting and bezel making are time-consuming, manufacturers developed systems and tools to quickly form bezels for pre-cut and calibrated stones. In response, mine owners stopped selling the rough stone in favor of cutting stones in-house to maximize profit. Larger scale jewelry manufacturing businesses streamlined the production of jewelry by using pre-cut stones for standardized settings. The Pacific Jewelry Company of Santa Monica described to an anthropologist, John Adair, the development of standardizing stone sizes:

[I]n the old days it was impossible to get turquoise in quantity to fit the cups [manufactured bezels]. But he furnished the [turquoise] cutters... with a blank just the size of the cup, and the finished stone had to be of such size that it could be pushed through this blank. The turquoise dealers give him first choice of their stones and those that he rejects go over to Maisel's and the Indian country and as they are already cut to fit his cups he has in this way standardized the size and shape of the stones used in manufactured silver.³⁹⁴

Settler anxieties about authenticity led to federal government legislation to standardize definitions of authentic Native jewelry. Standards in manufacturing and materials became regulated through institutionalized control of Native jewelry in 1936 when the US Congress established the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. During the New Deal era, John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, involved himself in managing and regulating the Native arts economy of the southwest. Collier believed that mass production techniques threatened the

³⁹³ Julius Gans's Southwest Arts and Crafts in Santa Fe, which opened in 1916, and Maisel's Indian Trading Post of Albuquerque, which opened in 1916 are examples of curio shops that operated mass production factories for Native-made or Native-style jewelry. Falkenstein-Doyle, 216.

³⁹⁴ John Adair Collection (Field Notes, 1940).; Falkenstein-Doyle, "Eighteenth-century Economy," 217.

authenticity of Native art practices that he wanted preserved. “By 1930, reservation traders, Native American Jewelers, arts patrons and museum professionals were united in the belief that mechanized jewelry shops posed a serious threat to the survival of traditional Navajo and Pueblo silversmithing.”³⁹⁵ Mass production jewelry workshops led to a sharp decline in trading post jewelry sales because traders dealt in more expensive jewelry made by individual Native jewelers who still used more labor intensive techniques like hand forging.³⁹⁶

In 1937, the Indian Arts and Crafts Board passed an extensive set of regulations for Native jewelry which included the prohibition of pre-cut stones.³⁹⁷ Cherrie Falkenstein-Doyle points to the critical issue that this government imposed jewelry manufacturing regulation exerted control over Native jewelry materials and techniques. This made it impossible for most jewelers to meet the new standards because miners controlled the supply of rough stones. Native jewelers were also sometimes wrongly accused of using pre-cut turquoise in entry pieces at shows.³⁹⁸ In this way, where the regulations were supposedly meant to maintain Native jewelry “authenticity” as a protective measure, the regulations harmed the very people they purportedly protected and benefited the white settler colonial system.

³⁹⁵ Falkenstein-Doyle, “Eighteenth-century Economy,” 217.

³⁹⁶ For an in-depth discussion of the political and legal conflicts that led to the passage of the IACB, see Jonathan Batkin, *The Native American Curio Trade in New Mexico*, 179-186.

³⁹⁷ Falkenstein-Doyle, “Eighteenth-century Economy,” 217.

³⁹⁸ Standards set by Native arts institutions slowly shift over time. For example, today pre-cut stones are accepted in show criteria, but now jewelers are accused of using synthetic stones or undisclosed treated stones. One interviewee reported experiences with this today at SWAIA showing that materials of Native jewelry continue to be highly regulated in certain Native arts markets. Falkenstein-Doyle, “Eighteenth-century Economy,” 219.

By 1900, the settler turquoise monopoly was so established that Pueblo jewelers had to purchase most of their turquoise from settler traders who sourced it from settler-owned mining companies.³⁹⁹ By the late 1930s, many gemstone dealers were based in Los Angeles and partnered with mines and traders to distribute pre-cut turquoise to manufacturing companies and Native jewelers. Many turquoise claims outside of New Mexico were sold to larger copper mining corporations such as the Phelps Dodge Company. Ongoing open pit mining destroys turquoise deposits, exacerbating today's alleged turquoise scarcity.⁴⁰⁰

In the early 1940s, Adair found that turquoise dealers based in Los Angeles owned the most productive mines (which at the time were in Nevada) and held "a virtual monopoly on turquoise." One trading post owner explained to Adair that mine owners made more money selling cut and polished stones than selling rough turquoise.⁴⁰¹ Adair interviewed Native jewelers who could not meet the Indian Arts and Crafts Act standards. Native jewelers experienced limited access to rough turquoise making it challenging for jewelers to comply with Native jewelry regulations due to a lack of rough turquoise rough purchase. The New Mexico Santa Fe Indian school reported to Adair that they paid a high cost of \$50/pound for good stones, and sometimes had to purchase pre-cut stones and then "rough them up" to meet the IACB jewelry standards. Un-cut turquoise was unavailable because mines only sold pre-cut material.

³⁹⁹ Milford, *Brief History of Turquoise Mining and Turquoise Hill*, 175.

⁴⁰⁰ "Bisbee Turquoise History," Old Bisbee Turquoise, effective May 2, 2026, <https://oldbisbeeturquoise.com/bisbee-turquoise-history/>.

⁴⁰¹ Adair traveled through the Southwest and interviewed Indigenous jewelers, who were participating in an emerging market for Native made turquoise and silver jewelry sold to railroad tourists. Falkenstein-Doyle, "Eighteenth-century Economy," 219.

As I discuss in prior chapters, the Cerrillos Hills settler turquoise mining rush created various obstructions to Kewa turquoise mining; nevertheless, Kewa mining did persist. Even though settler mine owners monopolized Cerrillos turquoise, regional Native trade networks and cultural exchanges continued. During the 1930 and 1940s, Adair interviewed Native jewelers Keneshde, and Juan Deleosa about the mechanics of the Indigenous turquoise economy. Keneshde and Deleosa shared that the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo mined turquoise at Cerrillos, then exchanged the rough material to the Zuni Pueblo for black wool cloth and buckskins. Zuni lapidary artists then cut and polished the turquoise to trade to the Navajo Nation. Navajo jewelers set the turquoise stones into silver jewelry which were traded to the Zuni for more turquoise at the rate of two stones per bracelet.⁴⁰²

This convoluted history provides insights to the long and continuing normalization of jewelry production as it continues within the purview of settler capitalistic logics. Native jewelers hold complex standpoints in the turquoise mining and distribution system and Native jewelry markets. They perform simultaneous economic roles as customers of materials, manufacturers of jewelry, and as sales personnel who interface with public market audiences, and art dealers. Each jewelry business activity performs an economic function in the commodity chain of jewelry production and sales. Equally as important is the Native jewelers' roles as cultural producers connected to their tribal nations, human and non-human relatives, and inter-tribal Native jewelry communities. Each type of labor also produces more than monetary gain. Interview conversations identify and critique settler-capitalist relations in the markets they engage. They also operate by their own value systems to strategically engage or disengage

⁴⁰² John Adair, cited in Falkenstein-Doyle, "Eighteenth-century Economy," 215-216.

relationships with settler miners, dealers, and other property holders who operate through capitalist logics.

Contemporary Turquoise and Native Jewelry Markets Through Indigenous Perspectives

The following interviews conducted in 2025 evidence how settler control of the turquoise mining and distribution markets overlaps with Native jewelry sales channels, creating a complex market that Native jewelers negotiate through their own value systems.⁴⁰³ Interviewees report that non-Native turquoise mine ownership harms land and prevents direct Native access to turquoise mines. The most senior female jeweler critiques the over-extraction and over commoditization of turquoise by miners who only view it as a way to make money. For her, the over-extraction of turquoise by miners who want to make more and more money is leading to the destruction of the land.

They take, take, take, and dig, dig, dig. [the mountain is] like our own self, [like] a mother. [If] somebody cut you, and then they dig around in there, they hurt just like that. The mother hurts just like that. That's what we were told, and I believe in that. So I think they need to slow down on digging. Price-wise, also.

In Diné worldviews, the land is not an inanimate object, it is viewed as a mother. She provides an astute critique of settler capitalist extractivist relations which treat turquoise mines as inanimate sources of profit, rather than an honored mother, a creator of life. The jeweler's framing of commercial mining operations as violent is an especially powerful theoretical contribution. The mountain can feel and hurt just like humans can. Intensive commercial mining by non-Native miners takes too much turquoise from the mountain without gratitude.

⁴⁰³ To understand how mine ownership is impacting Native jewelers today, I asked interviewees to describe how they get their supplies of turquoise. I also asked them to share what types of turquoise they prefer to work with and why, and what types of challenges they experience when sourcing their preferred types of turquoise.

Extractive settler capitalism prioritizes accumulation for individual wealth, precluding any reciprocal relationships with land or other humans. The female interviewee sees commercial turquoise miners as only caring about profits because “...they're only making money...to see the mountains going down, it's a shame to see that.” Miners cause the land pain, and then exploit Native people who need to source from it.

I like turquoise. But to have a non-Native mining turquoise all the time, and selling it at a high price to Indigenous people, that doesn't sit well with me. Expensive turquoise is not the way to go. It comes from Mother Earth...Well, the saying is, if you want something from within the Mother Earth, you have to pray about it, you have to make an offering to take it.

Extractive settler capitalist values are the opposite of what this collaborator's father taught her. As a medicine man, her father taught her that turquoise is cherished in Navajo culture because it is used in ceremonies and there are creation stories about it. The jeweler loves the stone and wants to use natural, high-quality stones in her jewelry to maintain her father's teachings and her cultural values. She is troubled by the power dynamics and extractive logics of the turquoise mining industry from which she is compelled to engage. To maintain reciprocal relationships with the land, offerings are made before taking anything from the land. The turquoise mining and distribution market does not incorporate proper protocols for giving thanks to the earth, and profits off of Native jewelers.

Not all miners are placed in the extractivist category by interviewees. Native jewelers also discussed their appreciation of mine owners who they see as practicing methods that align more with Indigenous relational values including slow, careful mining (with hand tools, not dynamite and large equipment). In these specific instances, certain miners who slowly mine turquoise by hand are reported by interviewees as treating the mines with respect, and in doing

so, they extend this respect to the Indigenous jewelers whom they supply with high quality and fairly priced turquoise.

The senior female jeweler also shared that in the past twenty years, mine owners closed access to turquoise mines. “They don't want you going into the mine either. I guess way back, they used to have people come in and see the actual turquoise being mined, but now they don't allow that anymore.” She believes that miners did not want others to know where to stake adjacent mining claims for turquoise. Limiting the number of mine owners enables those with productive turquoise mine claims to maintain control over pricing in the market. She believes that by monopolizing turquoise mining lands, certain miners can keep raising prices which exploits Native customers who they know need to source certain types of turquoise to fill orders.

I think that's why they closed [the mines] off, they didn't want to have any other people mining in their areas...So I think that's one of the reasons why turquoise is expensive, they know artists will buy nice stones, natural stones. They know that, and at Indian Market, they jack up their prices.

A Hopi male interviewee also wishes for more Native access to turquoise mines. He emphasizes how the ownership structures of the turquoise mining and distribution market disrupt regional Native systems of trade. The jeweler maintains positive relationships with individual miners he purchases turquoise from, yet he critiques the way the Native turquoise market commodifies turquoise as a transactional object controlled by non-Native actors. He specifically discussed disruptions to Native mining at the Cerrillos Hills turquoise mines. “Natives have been mining that for thousands of years... and nowadays, good luck trying to get a mine permit.” He knows of two white men who own Cerrillos mine claims and actively mine Cerrillos turquoise. “I've been in the Cerrillos mines, it was a traditional mine [but] I don't think there's any Natives that mine it, so [it would] be really interesting to find out if there's Natives that can get permits.”

As a member of the Hopi Nation, his ancestors traded with the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo for Cerrillos turquoise. His knowledge of ancestral trade systems shapes his views of turquoise as an important cultural material, rather than just as a material solely equal to its monetary exchange value. Having the freedom to access turquoise mines directly could strengthen Native cultural relationships with turquoise. Recognizing that turquoise is an ancestral material of Native trade networks, he would like for Native people to have direct access to turquoise mines.

[I]t'd be really cool to have, a program where natives were allowed to go and mine their own turquoise, and have more intimate contact with it, the whole process from the earth to finished product, rather than having to deal with a bunch of different people to use something like we always used culturally, so that'd be really cool to do... For us to be able to just go out and mine turquoise ourselves, like our ancestors did, and be able to, just have direct contact with it, rather than having it... commodified so much.

The jeweler does not state a desire to outright own a mine, just a desire to access a mine without “having to deal with a bunch of different people” who pose barriers to “utilize a material that's been traditionally used for thousands of years.” The freedom to mine turquoise like his ancestors did would allow for a deeper relationship with the material.

Interacting with the earth to mine the turquoise and turn it into jewelry is viewed as an important process that can align with ancestral turquoise use, rather than its use as a market commodity. This collaborator believes that restoring Indigenous access to important Native art materials could be a part of the “land back movement” for the return of tribal homelands and land management to tribal nations. He points to mining laws and difficult permitting processes as disrupting Native arts practices. In addition to turquoise, he shared that access to Native homeland arts and cultural materials is a widespread issue. The interviewee brought up how access is restricted for materials like tufa stone, used in Hopi architecture and Native jewelry, as

well as yucca plants used for basketry arts, due to complex permitting processes by his tribal government.

Like [part of] the land back movement, it would be really cool to have access to cultural materials that we used in our artwork for a long time. Like, even in Hopi nowadays, in order to get tufa, you have to actually go through this really rigorous mining application permit, and it's like, they treat it as if you're gonna go out there and strip mine a whole big area, rather than just getting, like, maybe a half a truckload of tufa that you would use for a couple of years. So, it's really interesting, the range management people out there at Hopi, like the basket weavers, they were able to go out and get the yucca plant for their baskets. Now [its] like, well, I want to go get yucca, who do I have to apply to?

The extraction of materials to meet market demands might lead to tribal governments regulating the harvesting of materials by their own tribal citizens. The interviewee expressed how, throughout his childhood, he helped his family mine and process tufa stone for whitewash paint for his communities' buildings. Tufa stone demands increased with the commoditization of Native jewelry for the cultural tourism market. He detailed how yucca harvesting is sustainable because "a lot of the basket weavers know how to collect it without killing the plant, because it's a perennial plant," yet its' harvesting is unnecessarily regulated: "...the earth provides this for us, but we have to go through the [Hopi] government in order to use it." The hyper-vigilance of tribal governments in enacting permitting processes stems from long histories of tribal battles against resource colonialism on Hopi lands.⁴⁰⁴

⁴⁰⁴ Andrew Curley, "Infrastructures as Colonial Beachheads: The Central Arizona Project and the Taking of Navajo Resources," *Society and Space* 39, no. 3 (2021): 387–404, <https://doi.org/10.1177/026377582199153>.; Ania Ty, "Resource Colonialism: Land-Grabbing and Pollution in Indigenous Nations Located Within Arizona," *Climate X Change*, May 12, 2021, <https://climate-xchange.org/2021/05/resource-colonialism-land-grabbing-and-pollution-in-indigenous-nations-located-within-arizona/>.

Turquoise Supply and Pricing

Interviewees describe a drastic rise in turquoise pricing in the past decade, while the quality of the material available for sale remains the same. Some stone dealers and miners inflate prices, hoard stones to control the market supply, and use the term “scarcity” to encourage sales of turquoise marketed as rare, and sometimes attempt to sell treated stones as natural. When I asked interviewees if they have any difficulties sourcing turquoise, and what they attribute these difficulties to, inflated stone pricing emerged as a primary concern.

I've noticed that, within the last 6 years or so, a lot of the stones that I used to buy [at a] pretty good price are increasing, and the value isn't increasing. The quality of the material is the same. So they're touting it as really high-quality turquoise, but I remember when I was first shopping around for turquoise, a lot of it was the same stuff, you know? I'm like, wasn't this just 10 cents a carat before? Or 10 cents a gram, and then now it's, \$1.80 a gram, \$1.80 a carat.

One miner admitted to a mid-career male jeweler that miners can raise turquoise pricing because consumers perceive it as valuable and scarce. He appreciated the miner's honesty when he explained that the reason he raises his turquoise prices is because “...it's what people expect nowadays...turquoise to be expensive, because, the rarity of it.” The interviewee sympathized with miners who, like jewelers, are also business owners and need to cover overhead expenses while producing profit. He understands that certain types of gem grade turquoise are sought after, so their value increases, but his conversation with the miner confirmed his suspicions about the alleged widespread scarcity of turquoise. Because miners control the market, they can control the pricing and quality of the material that is put into the market:

And I think it's just because the miners can do that, you know? They have quality control of the mine, so they're basically controlling the market of it. And I always hear about how rare turquoise is getting, but there's still a lot of cool stuff out there. I mean, really good quality stones that I'm finding, and so I've always wondered, [if scarcity is] just something that people are spreading around to make turquoise more valuable?

Supplies of rough turquoise are carefully controlled by the miners who own the mines. Artists reported seeing buckets and buckets of rough turquoise in the back rooms of trading posts and jewelry supply stores. Many trading post owners also own turquoise mines, and are able to release limited amounts of rough into the market to keep pricing higher. Furthermore, miners can price pre-cut stones higher, so some opt to only sell stones that their company mines and cuts, rather than uncut rough stones. One interviewee exclaimed how miners "... really control how much of the raw material you can get nowadays...they're only selling [turquoise] as cabs, so it's really kind of hard to get the rough material." Several interviewees spoke about a group of Nevada mine owners who own many mine claims that produce high quality material have increased prices over the years. One senior jeweler is discouraged by the greed she sees reflected in pricing set by the Nevada miners:

They were pretty decent people, and they are still decent people, it's just that, I think greed got a lot of them. One of the guys from the [family of miners]...he really jacked up his price, and now... [we] don't buy stones from him.

She also pointed out that in addition to price increases, the miners now only sell pre-cut stones which are high quality but "spendy." "The [miners] from Nevada have their own mines. And they do everything...the cabbing and high polish and whatnot. All their stones are natural, so we purchase from them. But they're pretty spendy stones. And they don't really sell you rough stones." High costs of quality stones limit her designs and ability to sell to customers who seek jewelry set with larger, high quality stones, but can not afford sharply increased price points. Her inability to purchase high quality rough turquoise correlates with another senior jeweler who clarified that "it's not hard to get rough, it's hard to get some really good rough because a lot of turquoise looks like expensive turquoise." When rough turquoise is available for

purchase, it can be difficult to know what quality turquoise it is and if the quality is commensurable with the price.

Interviewees repeatedly described how purchasing rough turquoise sometimes feels like gambling. It can be hard to tell what quality or level of hardness the stones are until you start cutting into the stone so you “take a gamble” on purchasing rough stones because “when you cut it up, there could be nothing in there, and you’re spending hundreds of dollars on it.” The art of stone cutting is called “lapidary work” and it requires a specialized skill set and equipment. The ability to obtain high quality rough is important to the jewelers I spoke with who have mastered lapidary work. The ability to cut and carve unique stone shapes expands the creative possibilities for their designs.

When miners and dealers raise prices of natural stones, it encourages the use of cheap, synthetic turquoise in Native-made jewelry. Some customers do not understand the difference between synthetic and natural stones, so they choose lower cost jewelry made with synthetic stones. One interviewee sees the increasing use of synthetic stones as a major challenge for her business because she tries to maintain a cultural protocol of only using natural stones in her work. She reports that customers cannot or are unwilling to purchase jewelry set with natural stones at higher price points. Natural turquoise is important to her culturally because her father, who was a Navajo medicine man and jeweler, and her older brother, taught her to value natural stones: “Well, first off, my father was a traditional medicine man. And he used to use all these tiny stones to do offerings for his prayers. And those are natural. And that’s how I came about, knowing that they have to use natural stones for the prayers to work.” She laments that many jewelers are pressured to use block turquoise which is not natural but much cheaper so that they

can easily sell their work. She is discouraged by the wide use of block turquoise in jewelry today because she says it is full of chemicals and “...it just feels to me like it’s plastic.”

Block turquoise mimics natural turquoise but at lower price points. When jewelry made with cheaper materials is available, consumers are less willing to invest in pieces made with natural turquoise, intensifying competition in the market. Native jewelers who prioritize the spiritual and cultural significance of natural stones have difficulty selling their jewelry when jewelry with lower price points is available.

Trading Post Culture

Native jewelers still take on piece work to strategically engage the trading post economy. Several interviewees report how traders “farm out stones” to jewelers who make finished pieces with the material. The trader then sells the finished pieces and the jeweler receives payment for their labor and any other materials used from the jewelers’ inventory. Some of the interviewees establish working relationships by producing work with farmed out materials. They then choose to receive payment in turquoise for their finished jewelry and labor. This method enables them to access desired materials at lower costs.

As interviewees source stones and other supplies from trading posts, they report experiences with “trading post culture,” in which they encounter racist treatment by miners and trading post owners. One male interviewee enjoys working with some miners, yet he frequently encounters miners who maintain cultures of white supremacy and treat him poorly because he is Native. His experiences with racial discrimination when shopping for turquoise in trading posts illuminates the racial logics that structure bordertown economies founded through a white settler drive to accumulate profit from dispossessed Native land and Native people:

[I]t's like the good old boy kind of culture, they're all kind of old country guys, who are, like, dealing with the Indians. You get a feeling that it's like the trading post culture, they got something that you want, so they could control that...a lot of times you want to just do your business and not really talk to them a lot because you can tell that they're just like, "buy my stuff and get out." It's an experience dealing with a lot of the miners, you know? ...you can kind of feel a little bit of animosity [when] they're dealing with you, just because of who you are. And, it's weird, because you go to some gem and mineral shows, and you'll notice how they interact with other people, and then somebody like us will come up, and they'll be like, oh, okay, let's just deal with these guys and get them out of here.

His experiences of poor customer service compared with white customers, and feeling animosity from miners in a retail setting, is an astounding illustration of extreme settler colonial racial thinking. The gem shows that the interviewee refers to are trade shows for gemstone dealers and miners to exhibit and sell their inventory. The shows are typically large and packed with competing companies. The ability to provide good customer service can give a dealer a competitive edge over competitors with similar products. When miners treat Native customers with animosity, it demonstrates that settler colonial anti-Native racial feelings overpower common sense business protocols.

Another interviewee shared how Native artists are working together to produce their own sales opportunities through Native-organized art markets in Gallup, New Mexico. The market organizers experienced resistance from white business owners and politicians.

I know in Gallup, when that happened, there was a lot of racism that happened, because it's the border town to Navajo, Zuni, and other public communities. And again, for just having a lot of Indigenous population members in that community, or in that town. And the politics of it is that there's no Natives serving in those leadership positions that, you know, provide a voice for Native communities at that level. So there's a lot of non-white or non-native people that are very... that have their agenda set. And so I think the politics behind that is difficult when you're trying to develop markets for the communities that are there, the Native communities. And also, the other part, too, is... I never knew this, but trading posts in Gallup are pretty wealthy. They inherited a lot over time through their families that created those trading posts, but they're wealthy millionaires the most per capita in Gallup, or in that county of McKinley County. And so that was another interesting viewpoint or perspective of how these markets, if it's a Native-led market that

established itself, [they] compete with these trading posts in that area that are non-Native owned.

Native artists develop their own sales channels to take back control from Trading post families whose inter-generational wealth is derived from Native-made jewelry. As main actors in the Native turquoise jewelry market, trading post owners are reluctant to cede economic power to Native people.

Anti-Indigenous racism of predominantly white customer bases contributes to the exclusion of jewelers from the market. One interviewee thinks that trading posts remain profitable because they are owned by non-Natives and sell Native-made jewelry to non-Native clientele, explaining that “white people like to buy from white people.” Today when Native jewelers rely on trading posts and galleries to sell their work, those businesses take significant cuts. Retail jewelry pricing is increased by the trading posts and art dealers so that the dealer can still make a profit after paying an artist their percentage of the sale.

Commoditization: American Turquoise as a Global Commodity

Native jewelers report experiences of mine owners declining to engage with them as clients in favor of international corporate clients with more buying power. Many of the Native jewelers I interviewed reported that they can no longer purchase Southwest turquoise. The dearth in inventory and the accompanying high prices of the scarce inventory available may be due, in part, to new global markets. Large jewelry manufacturing companies in Japan, China, and Indonesia are now purchasing Southwest turquoise and have increased demands for American-sourced turquoise. Chinese and Japanese companies place huge orders with American turquoise mine owners and dealers, then manufacture “southwest-style” jewelry for Asian markets. For example, *Cowboys and Indians Magazine* profiles Earnie Montoya, the owner of Sunwest Silver,

who consistently sells turquoise in large quantities to global clients. He reportedly once made a \$1.3 million dollar sale to a Chinese company.⁴⁰⁵ Some mine owners tap into global markets for high volume sales, and prioritize large transactions with these global clients over smaller purchases by individual Native jewelers.

In a globalized settler capitalist market, American turquoise is a currency from which non-Native dealers construct their racial superiority. One female interviewee stated that a prominent turquoise dealer inherited a huge inventory from his grandfather who owned multiple mines. She was told by him that “in China, they call me the Turquoise King.” When she inquired about purchasing rough stones from him, he refused, stating “I don’t do those small sales, like, I’m used to doing, like, \$100,000 sales.” He then “gifted” her one piece, and attempted to explain how impressive it was that he could afford to be so generous. She shut down his boasting by changing the subject.

The dealer who claims to be the “turquoise king” tries to construct an image of himself as racially superior over Native jewelers by enthusiastically gatekeeping his turquoise. Most individual jewelers cannot, and do not, need to purchase huge quantities of turquoise that international jewelry companies do, yet this dealer perceives Native jewelers as inferior capitalists and boasts about his own success in the global turquoise market.

During the same interaction reported by the female interviewee, the dealer passed judgment on the purported lack of exploitative ingenuity of Native jewelers, and perhaps Native

⁴⁰⁵ “One of Montoya’s biggest sales ever was to a Chinese group that plunked down \$1.3 million, then later invited him to their gated estate in Las Vegas.” Wolf Schneider, “All Roads Lead to Earnie,” *Cowboys and Indians Magazine*, August 3, 2018, <https://www.cowboysindians.com/2018/08/all-roads-lead-to-ernie/>.

people as a whole, remarking that “the Native jewelers totally missed out on the turquoise market. It just passed them by.” The interviewee expressed her feelings of being disparaged for not commoditizing turquoise. The self-proclaimed “turquoise king” uses the field of settler capitalism to declare himself a winner in the global turquoise market and racially superior in comparison to a homogenous group of Native jewelers who he subordinates as financial losers. His rhetoric follows the settler capitalist formula of constructing whiteness through property ownership against racialized groups who are perceived as incapable of adequately engaging capitalist systems. His racial feelings unravel when the origin of his financial success is incorporated into the equation. American turquoise is extracted from stolen Native lands, and only becomes a valuable commodity to the global market because of its association with Native-made jewelry and Indigeneity. The global market seeks American sourced turquoise specifically for the manufacturing of Native-style jewelry. Theft of Native lands and intellectual property forms the foundation of the settler capitalist turquoise market, not the perceived business savvy of the dealers who build wealth from dispossession.

Native jewelers observe that a fewer number of customers are willing to pay higher prices for turquoise and silver jewelry. They carefully track consumer tastes to develop economically sound turquoise sourcing practices. When answering questions about challenges they face when making and selling jewelry, fake native jewelry or “generic style,” “southwest style” jewelry is listed as detrimental to Native jewelers’ sales. One reason provided by interviewees for this shift is increasing competition from cheaper, non-native-made jewelry that uses American turquoise.

The Native jewelry market is saturated with fake and non-native made “southwestern style” jewelry. Under the Indian Arts and Craft Board regulations, the sale of non-Native

manufactured jewelry as Native-made is illegal and punishable by prison sentences and fines.⁴⁰⁶

Fake Native jewelry manufactured in the Philippines uses American mined turquoise and is sold by counterfeit dealers in the Southwest.⁴⁰⁷

One interviewee reported that fraudulent stamps are made to apply a Native jewelry artist's signature to pieces they did not make. Stamps with a jeweler's logo are applied to every piece by a jeweler, like signatures on a painting.

Sometimes people steal your signature, and put it on their work, or whoever's work...especially in Gallup, New Mexico. They have Natives doing jewelry there in mass production. Somehow, they get ahold of your signature, and they stamp them on, and they... They say, oh, this is so-and-so's jewelry. That's not... that's not right either.

Shifting client demographics and priorities may be one reason for a growing market for inexpensive, non-Native made jewelry. Interviewees reported a shrinking customer base for high price point jewelry. The American Native art market customer base is an older demographic that is shrinking as the baby boomer generation dies. Their children inherit collections but are not interested in collecting, and the jewelry is often sold through auctions or to traders. Interviewees report that younger generations do not prioritize or are unable to make expensive jewelry purchases.

Interviewees also observe that some white mine owners make their own "native style" or "southwest style" jewelry. Southwestern style jewelry is made by non-Native miners with their

⁴⁰⁶ Barker, "Indian TM USA," 25-27.

⁴⁰⁷ A Santa Fe-based counterfeit ring was caught by the FBI and prosecuted. The ring was discovered with the aid of investigative reporters and Native jewelers. Maraya Cornell, "History's Biggest Fake Native American Art Conspiracy Revealed," National Geographic, March 15, 2018, <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/history/article/native-american-indian-art-fake-forgery-hopi-zuni0>.

gemstones, often set in silver. As one interviewee described, many of these non-Native miners who make “southwest style” jewelry began during the 1970s when Native style turquoise and silver jewelry became a trend in American popular culture. During the 1970s, celebrities like Cher accessorized with Native-made turquoise and silver jewelry, increasing the popularity of southwest-style fashion and accessories. One interviewee describes the white mine owners who began making their own “southwest-style” jewelry from their turquoise mine yields as “hippie cowboys.” These “hippie cowboys” capitalized on the jewelry trend set by celebrities like Cher by copying historic Native-made jewelry from the 1800s. Interviewees describe the style as generic, imitations of old coin silver style Navajo jewelry. Many pieces replicate Navajo necklace squash blossom designs.

One interviewee attributes market monopolization by white jewelers as contributing to the challenges Native jewelers experience with obtaining turquoise.

I’m bugged when they straight up copy Navajo jewelry instead of just being inspired by it. Like, that really bugs me. And then they use the natural turquoise, which has cultural significance to tribes in the Southwest, ...and it’s just so hard for the actual Native smiths to access turquoise as a group.

Settlers capitalize on Native aesthetics while also easily accessing Native turquoise. This development is especially egregious considering how source materials are increasingly inaccessible to Native people for whom it is culturally significant. Another interviewee knows of at least five non-native turquoise mine owners who are making and selling “southwestern style” jewelry because “They know who they’re selling to,” meaning they are selling to other white people. The copying of Native jewelry by non-Native settlers is enabled by market demand.

And it’s really funny, because I know some of the turquoise dealers started getting into making jewelry, too...it’s like, why not make our own jewelry and use our own stones in it? I don’t know if it’s just, like, really easy to make, or if it’s just [popular] you know...It’s just, like...oh, you’re another white guy who’s doing coin silver jewelry?

Several of these white jewelers are reported to be based in Flagstaff and “do really well” by “...making old Navajo-style jewelry... and they’re producing even more jewelry than the Navajos are.” He thinks that the white men who make Native-style jewelry may be successful because “...a lot of people would be willing to buy jewelry from a white guy, rather than having to deal with a native and be awkward about it.” His insights show that the white mine owners who make “southwestern style” jewelry capitalize on the creative labor of Native jewelers by appropriating their aesthetics.

Interviewees are deeply concerned about the pervasive issue of non-Native jewelers copying the specific jewelry designs of individual Native jewelers. One referenced a social media dispute between a Native jewelry artist who developed a distinctive and recognizable style, and a white man who is replicating the same designs. When white jewelers copy Native jewelers’ designs, it seems to him that the white jewelers believe that they can “...do the exact same thing, but better. Instead of... creating something unique... because he knows he could sell it.” The interviewee feels that copying another’s designs just for the sake of making sales is not right. He believes that artists should use their creativity to make unique pieces with nice turquoise stones instead of “...doing something that a lot of Natives have been doing since the turn of the century.” He argues that it shows a lack of creativity and imagination when white jewelers copy Native artist’s jewelry designs because they are trying to capitalize on the market for Native jewelry. In his creative practice, he strives to keep his designs unique to prevent others from copying his work.

Native Values

Interviewees discussed alternative market relations beyond capitalist ones through lenses that are unique to each interviewee’s personal, community, and cultural values. Turquoise stones

and turquoise jewelry are viewed and valued by Native communities differently than non-native consumers. Interviewees critiqued two non-Native uses of turquoise jewelry as a commodity that only holds monetary value: when Native art market audiences in Santa Fe wear many pieces of turquoise jewelry all at once which can be interpreted as immodestly flaunting one's wealth, and when collectors amass large collections that are locked away and not worn. The stashing of large collections in a safe is in contrast to the Diné cultural protocol that turquoise jewelry should be worn daily.

The most senior female interviewee was taught by her Navajo family that turquoise should be worn every day, and in a more modest way than she sees Santa Fe Native art market audiences wear it. To follow the values instilled in her by her family, she wears a modest amount of turquoise. She observes that Navajo use of turquoise jewelry contrasts with the way some Indian Market audience wearing turquoise jewelry:

I don't know, something just bothers me in Santa Fe Market. It just don't sit well with me sometimes, I guess I just see too many people wearing a bunch of...jewels [they] overdo it. I'm not being jealous or anything, but the way we were raised, we were supposed to wear just a simple necklace and maybe a concho belt, but... we don't really show it off too much. In the white man's world, it's totally different.

The interviewee feels that turquoise jewelry should not be "stashed" away because it is supposed to be out and used daily. "It's a good luck piece to carry turquoise with you at all times. That's what we were told." In a dream her grandmother dreamt, her great grandmother told her grandmother to wear a little bit of turquoise every day for protection. "Even just a little tiny turquoise. She wears it. Same way. My great-great-grandma told me this in my dream when she passed." The interviewee feels that turquoise is too accumulated by consumers who collect so much that most pieces are not worn. She was taught by her family that turquoise should not be stashed away, but should be worn daily.

I guess way back then, people really cherished their turquoise and they would wear it every day. They say that's for your protection, is what we were told. So, that's why we [Navajo people] wear turquoise every day. And nowadays, we just accumulated so much, it's like some of them are just sitting in our tool box, waiting to come out and be seen, but we just collect so many. And I think a lot of it should be wearable all the time.

Many non-Native collectors may buy jewelry as financial investments, not for the pieces themselves, or for the cultural values of the stones. But it is impossible to treat turquoise jewelry appropriately when it is over accumulated.

In a settler capitalist market, Native-made jewelry is separated from its connection to its maker when it is perceived as only monetarily transactional. One jeweler describes how collectors might purchase jewelry from artists when they become well known and then wait for the artist to "kick the bucket, so the value of whatever they bought from you will [increase]." One female jeweler stated that Navajo values dictate that jewelry connects generations together. "In traditional ways, it wasn't like that. A piece was passed on down to our grandkids." Her brother's jewelry was widely collected and when he passed away, she noticed that galleries that had a few of his pieces raised the prices of his work. Increased pricing on a loved one's work excludes many families from purchasing the work to keep as memories of their loved ones.

That's the way I see how people are. They just wanted whatever piece to put in their gallery so they could jack up their price and say, okay this is so-and-so's jewelry, and that person is gone, and now the value's way up there. I don't think it was meant to be like that. But... It hurts when you go back out there and see, and you're like, okay, let me see how much... It is. If I can afford it, I'll buy [it but if] it's... It's too expensive, I'm glad I'm an artist that can actually make things like that that my brother made...but it'll have my own trademark on it...I will have a story to tell about that piece that I made that [came from] his design...and...just give it back life, and then add something on to it. That was how it was supposed to be.

She sees a jewelry piece as always retaining a connection to its maker. When galleries treat a loved one's art pieces solely as commodities that appreciate in value, it prices out their relatives who want to purchase the piece back because it is like a piece of their loved one who

has passed on. Because she is also a jeweler, her skills allow her to re-create her brother's pieces as memories that bring the designs new life. Her ability to make his designs enables her to mitigate the pain she feels when she cannot afford to purchase them back.

Relational and kinship practices are an important method jewelers use for maintaining cultural teachings for how to wear and respect the material of turquoise. Strategies for maintaining Indigenous protocols when using turquoise include Native relational practices of gifting stones and finished pieces to friends and relatives, and teaching customers how to appreciate turquoise from different countries. Relational practices and knowledge sharing is also extended to non-Native market audiences by jewelers who educate customers about the materials and meanings of their jewelry.

One jeweler favors gifting his work over selling it. He maintains a full-time salaried job, so his jewelry practice is not his primary income source. Initially, he wanted to learn the art form so that he could create pieces as gifts for friends and family. Gifting is easier for him and feels like a closer expression of his value system than selling jewelry for cash.

I find it way easier to gift it than to sell it. And that was the whole purpose of me developing jewelry in the beginning. It wasn't really to sell it, it was just to gift it to friends and family and say, hey, I thought about you, this is a piece I made, and I hope you like it. And my initial concept [for] jewelry making was, oh, if I made that, and I made it for someone that I cared about, then I think that was meaningful. And that's how my journey started. And since then, it's just been growing into something, something better, and I think that's a beautiful way to think about things.

Handmade jewelry can represent material manifestations of connections. The practice of gifting that some jewelers employ can be used to maintain Indigenous kinship and relational systems that value connection making through sharing rather than settler capitalist values of over accumulation of resources.

The same interviewee describes how he has noticed that Indian Market audiences are willing to pay higher prices for jewelry but he remains conflicted about raising his prices to current market rates. Pricing his finished pieces entails negotiating his personal values with business operations. Friends advise him to price his pieces higher, but he opts to price his jewelry lower as an intentional choice that keeps his creative practice true to his values. He wants his jewelry to remain accessible, because jewelry making is a way to engage reciprocity with his tribal community, whom he notices attend the market and appreciate the work he shows at his booth.

It's still hard for me to price jewelry high. Like, [at] [Indian Market], people can sell them well over \$1,000, and I can't do that because it's like, I can... live on some of what I'm making now with the jewelry I'm selling. But at the same time, it's... it should be affordable, and it should be... something that people value. ... Not just to wear, but to understand the artist and to support them, but not to... overcharge, and to kind of... because that's... you're creating capitalism. You're, like, promoting capitalism in that... that way of thinking.

Because he does not fully rely on his jewelry practice as a sole income source, he uses this flexibility to maintain his jewelry as ways to build connections to people, either non-Native or Native, who he knows will value his pieces.

Indigenous relational practices are also maintained through trade networks which interviewees emphasized as important to maintain and describe how they prioritize trading as an Indigenous economy built on relationships rather than extractive logics. One interviewee discussed the Native trade systems of the past, and highlighted the importance of the Kewa turquoise mines in the Cerrillos Hills.

Traditionally, you know, Hopis would travel down into the Gulf of Mexico, they would trade for turquoise down in that area, which a lot of it would come probably from the Cerrillos Mines in Northern Mexico, [and] there's [also] a few old traditional, prehistoric mines in Southern Arizona, [and] in California. Traditionally, we were always involved

with turquoise trade, mostly through Mexico...the New Mexico Pueblos still use that turquoise.

He explained that Cerrillos turquoise has been found at Native ancestral ruins around Flagstaff, Arizona. He likens ancestral travel across long distances as similar to how artists today make efforts to obtain the right materials: “I guess it’s probably, like [how] today, people like what they like, and [so they] traveled there or traded to get it, you know...” To source materials, he welcomes opportunities to engage inter-tribal trading systems, exchanging finished jewelry pieces for stones and other supplies.

Jewelers also seek out strategic trades with non-Native miners and dealers. The most senior female jeweler wished for a more robust trade economy like the one her family utilized during her childhood. When her family’s old car needed to be replaced, her father traded the car dealer a squash blossom set for a used Chevy truck. She laments that today’s economy does not allow for many trade opportunities. Back when she was growing up, she describes the economy as much simpler:

I wish it was still the same, trading this and that for things...but no, it’s totally different. These days, you can hardly trade with anything. Only once in a while we can trade, but not often. I still trade with rough stones. I wish it was still like that. To me, it was a lot simpler. If you trade it equally across the board then both sides are satisfied. That’s how I was raised when we were kids growing up, even with our weaving, it was like that...And back then, we didn’t have...a lot of money so even 25 cents was a lot of money back then. Now, it’s like, that’s nothing.

For her, in a cash only economy, class difference is more apparent, and it is more difficult to use your art practice to obtain needed items. In our conversation she also discussed how her family traded weavings for turquoise stones, and non-Native traders traveled to her family with their stone inventories. She notes that traders do not travel to jewelers as much today.

Each interviewee makes efforts to build relational networks to source turquoise, necessitating the incorporation of non-Native turquoise market actors and Native arts dealers into Indigenous relational systems. Some jewelers are sometimes able to trade finished jewelry for stones, and are happy when they meet dealers who are willing to trade. However, they all reported that the ability to trade with miners and dealers is declining. One jeweler notes that sometimes the wives of miners are more willing to make trades, but even they are declining as the cash transactional value of turquoise increases.

Native art market consumer tastes with regard to native jewelry designs are fixed in the past. Interviewees report that Indian Market shoppers prefer “traditional” Native jewelry, demonstrating that the Native jewelry market continues to be influenced by the settler colonial logic that Native cultures must be framed as unchanging and pre-modern. Native art market audiences often expect Native jewelry to conform to specific designs they perceive as “traditional” Diné and Pueblo designs made from turquoise and heavy silver. For example, one jeweler I interviewed illustrated the concept of turquoise as the most sought after gemstone in the Native jewelry market place when she described how her earlier designs relied on “the mystique of turquoise.” She used larger, natural American-sourced turquoise because she knew it would easily sell. Other interviewees report that their pieces using turquoise always sell first during Indian Market.

Consumer expectations that Native-made jewelry remain fixed within a specific antique aesthetic applies to both the design and types of turquoise used in the jewelry. The Santa Fe-based Native art market collector of Native jewelry may draw ideas about “traditional” aesthetics from the judging categories of the Indian Market awards. Prior to each market, participating artists are invited to enter their work for judging. Judging categories for jewelry have slowly

diversified but still enforce a false binary of “traditional” and “contemporary” on Native-made jewelry. Judging results are highly publicized, and award-winning pieces are reported by interviewees as the first to sell. As a result, many Native jewelry consumers follow aesthetic tastes of antique Native-made jewelry that are reflected in client tastes today.

A lot of people, especially at shows, they want to go after traditional work, that’s really popular....I don’t want to, like, kind of fall into line and start producing stuff that everybody, is used to buying, my whole idea for going into the jewelry business was to produce a unique item, you know, a unique material...they’re just so used to seeing, Navajo-style jewelry, [they think][that’s what Native American jewelry is. Basically [what] Southwestern jewelry is...just the Navajo-style coin silver work, you know, like the naja, squash blossom, stamp work. Anything else is, like, weird [to them] you know?

It is harder for jewelers to sell jewelry that does not look like it was made in the late 1800s. One interviewee reported that market audience’s design expectation for “traditional” or “Southwestern-style” jewelry is dictated by pervasive marketing of specific styles historically and today through tourism and Native art market trading companies. Some consumers seek jewelry that replicates the jewelry aesthetics and materials of Native jewelry made between the late 1800s to 1930s.

For jewelers who do not conform to white aesthetic conventions that perceive Native jewelry as unchanging, it can take time to gain a client following. One interviewee feels that Native jewelry designs can be constrained by the market’s emphasis on the value of the turquoise stones themselves. He noticed that some consumers desire unoriginal jewelry, set with valuable stones, over skilled and complex metalwork. He felt that when he began his business, it was challenging to sell to customers who cared more about the carat weight and quality of the turquoise set in the piece than the creative form of the piece itself. He persisted in developing his own style, and continues to push his work by using stones as sculptural elements, rather than the sole design interest of each piece. Similarly, other interviewees experienced challenges selling

work that broke from market audiences' ideas about what collectable, "authentic" Native jewelry should be. They each persevered through challenging sales years but continued to carve out a space for their style in the Native jewelry market by slowly building a customer base.

Chinese vs. American Turquoise

Interviewees reported that Native jewelry customers often reject turquoise that is not sourced from America. Several interviewees discussed their own appreciation for Chinese turquoise which can be the same quality as American turquoise, but is often available at a lower price point. One jeweler described his experiences with market audiences who often reject Chinese turquoise when they discover that it is not mined from the US.

I'm really into Chinese turquoise, because it's so varied, you know? When I was first doing silversmithing, I would tell people, I use Chinese turquoise, and they'd be like, Chinese turquoise! To them, because it was from China, it wasn't as high-grade as American turquoise...But there's some really good Chinese turquoise out there that's equal to the finest American turquoise.

Customer rejection of Chinese turquoise is also reported by other interviewees. One interviewee told me about his friend who purchased high-quality, Chinese-sourced turquoise rough. He used it in his pieces, and potential customers were interested in them until he told them that the turquoise was from China. Even though the turquoise had the same appearance and quality level of material sourced from coveted American turquoise mines like Bisbee or Lander's, he was ultimately unable to sell the pieces.

Indigenous Values of Relationality and Market Relations

The provenance of turquoise is often only narrated as originating from a specific mine such as Bisbee, Number 8, and Royston. Mine names can signify quality, rarity and value to the turquoise consumer, yet this market discourse about mine provenance overshadows the racial and gendered regime of white, patriarchal property ownership of turquoise mines which supply

turquoise jewelry manufacturing. The opaque extractive resource processes, removed from the circulation and transactions of jewelry in a highly developed arts environment, perpetuates forms of exploitation that are all too prevalent, and it mirrors other extractive logics that operate globally in all manner of commercial markets, from appliances to foods.

The turquoise mining and distribution market, and the Santa Fe-based Native jewelry markets, are co-constitutive overlapping settler capitalist systems made possible by the labor and creativity of those who make the jewelry. Together these interrelated markets form an ongoing racial regime of property maintained by gendered, racial logics.

I identify patterns in interviewee experiences with sourcing materials for their work and engaging market sites to sell their finished work, which emerge as a series of three tensions and oppositions through material-based and ideological standpoints: the way stones are mined through either extractive or relational approaches to turquoise mining, struggles for control within racialized geographies of sales, and consumer desires for American sourced turquoise and Native-made or Native-style jewelry within global markets.

By examining sourcing, interviews revealed a key site of tension in how stones are mined. Interviewees shared their concerns and critiques of turquoise over extraction by some settler mine owners who they see as often inflating prices based on market perceptions of scarcity. Interviewees also express concerns about methods of mining that harm the land and take turquoise without proper protocols. The cycle of overextraction, scarcity, and price inflation exists in tension with Native relationships to land, cultural protocols for mining and using turquoise, and values taught intergenerationally by tribal communities and families. This is not to say that all Native people maintain anti-capitalist practices. While outside the scope of this

research, it is important to qualify that tribal nations and individual Native people do intentionally engage capitalism in diverse ways.

The most sought after turquoise is from mines owned by primarily white, male settlers. The capitalist dogma and system they perpetuate results in over extraction of turquoise that harms the land, further limits access to the mines for Native jewelers, and inhibits the ability of Native people to maintain trade systems that relied on Kewa turquoise mining in the Cerrillos Hills. Some mine owners operate through the extractive capitalist logics of accumulation at the expense of all forms of life. Extractivism and greed are the opposite of the Native values expressed by one jeweler who shared that in Diné values and protocols, you give the land offerings to thank it for the turquoise. Land is not an inanimate object to be extracted from, the land can feel pain. When turquoise miners take too much and do not give thanks for the turquoise they hurt the land.

The white settler mining rushes in the Cerrillos Hills, beginning in 1879, resulted in ongoing dispossession of Native turquoise mines. Because a majority of turquoise mines located in the US are owned by white settlers, the availability and pricing of turquoise is controlled by white owners. “Scarcity” is a settler capitalist strategy to accumulate individual wealth while, at the same time, avoiding accountability. Miners control the pricing, types, and quality of turquoise that is available in the market because they can claim that the turquoise is “scarce.”

Across all interviews, Native jewelers are challenged by having to balance inflated gemstone pricing with customer perceptions of value and affordability. Interviewee discussions confirm strategies of miners and dealers to control supply and demand by selectively releasing turquoise into the market. Interviewees encountered buckets of turquoise stashed in the back of jewelry supply stores in border towns, and called attention to dubious claims of scarcity when

compared to the large stone inventories they encountered while shopping for turquoise. Interview conversations challenged the use of scarcity as a way for settler property owners to sell more turquoise at higher prices. Henrietta Lidchti is one of the few scholars who directly addresses the challenges of sourcing turquoise for Native jewelry practices within a market system that enables miners, dealers, and brokers to conceal and control stashes of gemstones.

The cult of authenticity causes the acquisition of the rarer American stone to be overladen with some secrecy and mystique. There are stories of old mined turquoise cached in deposit boxes held by dealers, brokers and Indian traders waiting to be released onto the market, and finds in pawn shops with gaudy jewellery broken up for gemstones. So opportunism and chance are asserted as important factors.⁴⁰⁸

American Studies scholar Mellanie Yazzie contextualizes the relational responsibilities of Diné cultural teachings within ongoing Indigenous resistance to extractive capitalist industries in the Southwest: “This dual move of defending and caretaking relational life is at the heart of the Diné concept of k’é, which is still widely practiced as a social and ontological custom in both Diné resistance struggles and in everyday Diné life.”⁴⁰⁹ Yazzie identifies k’é as a value that informs Indigenous feminist anti-capitalist struggles against the inter-connected oppressive “structures of colonialism, capitalism, and heteropatriarchy.”⁴¹⁰ Connected sites of settler colonial violence, including anti-Indigenous violence in bordertowns and uranium and coal mining on Diné lands, all harm Indigenous lands and bodies. The senior female jeweler includes

⁴⁰⁸ Lidchti, *Surviving Desires*, 125.

⁴⁰⁹ Melanie K. Yazzie, “Decolonizing Development in Diné Bikeyah,” *Environment and Society: Advances in Research* 9 (2018): 34, <https://doi.org/10.3167/9781800732452>.

⁴¹⁰ Yazzie, “Decolonizing Development in Diné Bikeyah,” 34.

turquoise mines as her relation. Her articulation that the mountain is our mother and cutting into her body results in pain extends a critique of extractivism that is grounded in Diné relationality.

The mountain as a mother is an example of what Yazzie defines “land/body relationality” which connects human bodies to the land, instead of the modernist idea that the human is defined by its separation from the land. In alignment with land/body relational practices, Native cultural producers expressed a desire for direct access to turquoise mines. The ability to be at the physical location of a mine enables relationships with the lands where the turquoise is sourced. Relationships with the land are maintained through giving offerings and thanks to the land. Interviewees critiqued how miners close mines, preventing public access, to maintain competitive edges in the turquoise market. Enclosures of mines as private property obstruct Native access and impair Indigenous practices of relational making and reciprocity. The interviewee sees miners who take turquoise without considering the mountain’s pain as operating through multiple strategies of greed. Miners who prevent access to mines can keep supplies a secret to control prices, and exploit Native artists who shop for turquoise at Indian Market.

Settler capitalist market relations treat stones and jewelry as transactions for cash values while Native jewelers view stones and jewelry as transacted objects for producing interpersonal connections, and connections to the land. Interview reveal the different types of valuations, beyond monetary worth, for turquoise stones and Native-made jewelry. For many of the interviewees, stones are gifts from the earth with spiritual significance, and jewelry pieces are always connected to the artist that made them. Interviewees emphasized that owners of the jewelry should care about that artist as well as the actual piece. Native jewelers expressed that turquoise jewelry and stones should not be over-accumulated, they should see the sun and should be worn daily.

Turquoise mine ownership disrupts Native trade systems, but Indigenous trade economies that supply Native jewelry practices continue. One interviewee described the importance that Kewa-mined turquoise from the Cerrillos Hills has for his Pueblo ancestors. He views non-Native mine ownership and complex government permitting processes as obstructions to Indigenous homeland-based material sourcing. He has extensive knowledge of how Cerrillos Hills turquoise supplied Indigenous trade networks, and articulated that dispossession eroded Indigenous turquoise mining practices. As an Indigenous economy, trade networks are expressions of Indigenous relationality because they produce connections as well as opportunities to exchange materials. Mellanie Yazzie's definition of relationality as an ontology of connection and movement, which counters settler capitalist delineations of time and space, serves to clarify this interviewee's perspective.⁴¹¹ Significantly, the interviewee expressed his wishes for easier Native access to mines, not ownership of mines. His articulation of Indigenous trade economies is not based on individual ownership and accumulation, instead it is a reciprocal exchange of equally valued materials used for arts practices. Transactions outside of capitalism are often represented as Indigenous practices of the past by economic anthropologists and historians, yet the interviewees who contributed to this chapter demonstrate that Indigenous practices of gift giving and other reciprocal exchanges are ongoing, contemporary Indigenous relationality.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ Yazzie, "Decolonizing Development in Diné Bikeyah," 34.

⁴¹² J.K. Gibson-Graham and Kelly Dombroski (eds.), *The Handbook of Diverse Economies* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020), 14.

The geographic sites of sales discussed by interviewees are contested spaces. Jewelers must travel to trading posts who deal turquoise and sell other jewelry materials. Interviewees experience anti-Indian treatment by many trading post owners in border town economies, and narrate how white entrepreneurs who profit from both the gemstone and Native-style or “Southwestern-style” jewelry attempt to regulate or eliminate Native sales autonomy. Native led markets emerged as opposition to white economic control in bordertowns. The Indian Market also operates as a geographic site of tensions between settler capitalist logics versus Native networks where the market site is a gathering place and space of reunion and connection for Native artists.

Native jewelers often need to travel to trading posts located in reservation bordertowns because many trading post owners hold vast inventories of turquoise. Interviewee experiences at trading posts demonstrate ongoing racial and economic hierarchies in which majority white mine turquoise ownership overlaps with trading post entrepreneurs. Trading post market systems often treat Native jewelers as extractable sources of labor for jewelry production. When Native jewelers attempt to source turquoise from trading posts located in racially charged bordertown sites, they are treated with anti-Indian hostility that extends from extractive settler capitalist trading post economies of reservation bordertowns. Jennifer Nez Denetdale argues that bordertowns are settler colonial developments for “...non-Indian settlers who have appropriated aboriginal Indigenous lands through various means, including abrogation of treaties, outright

theft by forcibly displacing Native peoples, and setting up trading posts and other businesses to profit off the Indian trade.”⁴¹³

Even though bordertowns are located on reservation lands, they are distorted into white spaces through violence, which has occurred among Diné people. In bordertowns like Gallup, Native people are targeted by individual white settlers and police who violently enforce the racial division of space between the Native reservation and the white urban center.⁴¹⁴ Since Gallup was established in the 1880s on the Navajo Nation reservation, generations of Diné people make weekly trips to border towns like Gallup for supplies, groceries, jobs, and other services, yet “... the town’s space is, then, foreign territory, and Diné are cast as the invaders and aliens who threaten white civilization.”⁴¹⁵ The US settler colonial project requires racial divisions of space to control and subjugate Native people.

One interviewee discussed his contributions to a Native-led art market located in Gallup. The market creates a physical space that is organized along Indigenous values of cooperation and collaboration. The interviewee discussed contributing his volunteer labor to support Native-led art markets. He sees his involvement in Native-led art markets as a way to give back to his community. The markets offer artists sales avenues beyond the exploitative control of trading

⁴¹³ Denetdale illuminates how “Navajos’ relationships with border towns are actually part of the larger history of settler colonialism that began with the American invasion into Navajo country in 1846 and solidified when Navajos returned to a portion of their homeland that was designated a reservation.” Jennifer Nez Denetdale, “‘No Explanation, No Resolution, and No Answers’: Border Town Violence and Navajo Resistance to Settler Colonialism,” *Wicazo Sa Review* 31, no. 1, Special Issue: Essentializing Elizabeth Cook-Lynn (2016), 114.

⁴¹⁴ Denetdale, “No Explanation, No Resolution, and No Answers,” 112-113.

⁴¹⁵ Denetdale, “No Explanation, No Resolution, and No Answers,” 112-114.

post business owners. He describes how trading post owners are backed by local politicians and use this power to fight Native-led art markets.

Trading post resistance to Native-led art markets demonstrates the power of Native-led art markets as threats to the status quo of settler capitalist relations. As an alternative economy, Native-led art markets carve out spaces for community reciprocity, and monetary transactions. Even though they are temporary, Native-led markets carve out physical space for Indigenous cultural productions where relational responsibilities circumvent white economic power that attempts to control Native jewelry manufacturing and sales in bordertowns.

Interviewees emphasized how they engage the geographic site of Indian Market as a space to build trade networks. Indian Market is not only an institutional site of commerce, it is also a site for Indigenous artist networking where interviewees trade for materials with finished jewelry from either native or non-Native people.

The physical site of Indian Market has always been a significant geography of Indigenous trading and knowledge exchange. Audrey Goodman and Lisa Tatonetti detail the long trajectory of Santa Fe as a space for Indigenous gatherings. Santa Fe is occupied land. Its name is “O’ga P’ogeh Owingeh / White Shell Water Place in Tewa, a language of the Pueblo peoples, and Yootó in Navajo, this city has a long history of Indigenous engagement and intellectual traditions that predate the first Spanish occupation and continue to this day.”⁴¹⁶ Santa Clara Pueblo Literary and arts scholar, RoseMary Diaz, highlights the intellectual traditions that predate the first

⁴¹⁶ Audrey Goodman and Lisa Tatonetti, “2022 Conference Welcome: Calling You In,” *Western Literature Association 2022 Conference*, Santa Fe, New Mexico, October 19–22, <https://westernlit.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/10/Program-2022-updated-11-7-22-for-digital-distribution-1.pdf>.

Spanish occupation and continue to this day. Diaz articulates how the town has long “...been a center of trade and commerce for the region’s Indigenous people for centuries.” What is now the central plaza, the contemporary epicenter of Santa Fe’s many arts events, has long been a place where Tewa, Tiwa, and Towa Native peoples facilitated trading and gatherings with people “from as far away as South America and Canada for the raw materials needed in the traditional arts of the Southwest as we know them today: basketry, wood carving, pottery, and, later, with the arrival of the Spanish, silversmithing and weaving.”⁴¹⁷

In the form of adornment, American turquoise is purchased and worn by settler tourists indicating their connection to dispossessed Native land and ownership of a constructed Indigenous racial difference. Accordingly, the turquoise and silver jewelry produced by Native jewelers is marketed, institutionalized, and rendered into definitions that continue to fix Native material culture, and by association Native people, as unchanging. The frozen-in-time Native jeweler is stripped of contemporary agency, and kept this way to maintain ongoing white economic profit from stolen Native land, minerals, and creative cultural production.

Native-made jewelry set with turquoise continues to be a profitable commodity for a settler capitalist market. Turquoise became synonymous with non-Native public perceptions of Native jewelry when it was used in designs sold as portable souvenirs to railroad tourists to the Southwest. As Henrietta Lichdi articulates, “[t]he stone that most clearly functions as gem and

⁴¹⁷ “The Scene: Craft in Santa Fe,” American Craft Council, effective May 2, 2026, [https://craftcouncil.org/articles/the-scene-craft-in-santa-fe/#:~:text=Certainly%2C%20Santa%20Fe's%20ever%20Devolving,past%20will%20always%20be%20prologue.&text=RoseMary%20Diaz%20\(Santa%20Clara,University%20of%20California%2C%20Santa%20Cruz.&text=Virgil%20Ortiz's%20Sirens:%20Secret%20Passkeys,of%20the%201680%20Pueblo%20Revolt.](https://craftcouncil.org/articles/the-scene-craft-in-santa-fe/#:~:text=Certainly%2C%20Santa%20Fe's%20ever%20Devolving,past%20will%20always%20be%20prologue.&text=RoseMary%20Diaz%20(Santa%20Clara,University%20of%20California%2C%20Santa%20Cruz.&text=Virgil%20Ortiz's%20Sirens:%20Secret%20Passkeys,of%20the%201680%20Pueblo%20Revolt.)

object of desire in Native jewelry is turquoise.”⁴¹⁸ Consumer ideas about authenticity and turquoise values connect to ongoing authenticity/settler time logics fixing native jewelry in the “past.” To this end, the settler consumer of Native jewelry seeks late 1880s era designs made with American-sourced turquoise. As reported by interviewees, turquoise is the most demanded gemstone in the Native jewelry market. It remains in this position because turquoise was historically popularized to further the needs of the turquoise mining economy to sell the less valuable matrix turquoise, which was perceived as inferior to the pure turquoise (without host rock) preferred at the time by New York jewelers.

The “mystique of turquoise” is an apt descriptor of how American-sourced turquoise is conceived as valuable because it represents consumable Native land. Interviewee discussions about client preferences for American sourced turquoise over other sources from countries like China demonstrates that settler consumption of Native jewelry remains embedded with the aesthetic preferences of historic cultural tourism markets. When Native jewelers turn to other non-US sources for turquoise that meets their aesthetic and quality preferences, they encounter resistance from Native art market clientele. Even though other turquoise is the same quality as American sourced turquoise, it is not viewed as an “authentic” material for Native jewelry by Native art market audiences.⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁸ Lichdi, *Surviving Desires*, 125.

⁴¹⁹ It may be that the quality and aesthetics of the raw material itself is not what creates value for these customers, but the desire to own a piece of the land it is mined from as a way of owning the land itself. Future research with consumers can examine this theory.

It is possible that some consumers' ideas about jewelry flow from institutional judging standards that are reiterated at Indian Market and other Native markets. To reiterate, the manufacturing processes, types of materials, and designs used by Native jewelers were informally regulated by non-Native dealers and retailers, and then formally regulated and policed after the passage of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act. Henrietta Lichdi traces consumer ideas about "traditional" Native jewelry and connects it to the origin of the Native jewelry market. Lichdi describes the market as imposing restrictions on Native jewelry drawn from nineteenth century settler anxieties about the need to keep Native cultures uncontaminated by white culture.

[A] hostile region in the nineteenth century into the "salutary, educational, heroic, and...Lucid region" of the early twentieth century...The rapid propulsion of Native American arts and crafts into the public arena soon provoked fears of appropriation, resulting in sporadic attempts at regulation in keeping with a desire to preserve the intangible or inalienable aspects of indigenous culture visibly through craft.⁴²⁰

Anxiety about Native jewelry authenticity descends from nineteenth century settler colonial perceptions of the Southwest as transformed from wilderness space to civilization resulting in the unfortunate, but inevitable elimination of Native people. This continued through the 1930s where concern about preserving the "pure" forms of Native jewelry resulted in the passage of the Indian Arts and Crafts Act, which is indicative of how Native-made jewelry functions as a signifier that Indigenous cultures are to remain in their perceived premodern state. As interviewees expressed, jewelers who attempt to break from settler stylistic constraints encounter resistance from customers who prescribe to limited anachronistic aesthetic categories for Native-made jewelry.

⁴²⁰ Lichdi, *Surviving Desires*, 5.

Native jewelers enact various strategies to maintain their own cultural teachings and value systems that instruct proper protocols regarding meanings and uses of turquoise and finished jewelry pieces. J.K. Gibson-Graham and Kelly Dombroski argue for economic research that challenges the frames of *capitalocentrism*, which describes “...the way a set of economic practices and relationships ascribed to capitalism are established as the dominant, most efficient, modern, innovative and dynamic forms of economic activity that have hitherto existed.”⁴²¹ A *capitalocentrism* analysis only acknowledges “...waged labour, commodity production, private enterprise, private property and institutional finance. The dynamics that are privileged are those of supply and demand and capital accumulation motivated by competitive rational self-interest.”⁴²² Gibson-Graham and Dombroski argue for economies to be viewed through a *more-than-capitalist*, or a *diverse economies framing* which theorizes “...multiple trajectories of economic change that are not captured by unidimensional and unidirectional studies of economic practice and change.”⁴²³ A diverse economies framing de-centers and de-naturalizes a capitalist centric view that assumes capitalist economies are completely dominant, and any alternative economies are weak and fragmented.⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ “The economic practices that are associated with the capitalist economy—waged labour, production of commodities for exchange in markets, in capitalist businesses.” J.K. Gibson-Graham and Kelly Dombroski, “Introduction to The Handbook of Diverse Economies: inventory as ethical intervention,” in *The Handbook of Diverse Economies*, eds. Gibson-Graham and Kelly Dombroski (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2020), 8-9.

⁴²² Gibson-Graham and Dombroski, “Introduction to The Handbook of Diverse Economies: inventory as ethical intervention,” 8.

⁴²³ “The Handbook of Diverse Economies,” 2020, 4.

⁴²⁴ “The Handbook of Diverse Economies,” 2020, 14.

Conclusion

The settler political economy of Native turquoise jewelry operates through ongoing dispossession of Native lands and resources to control and profit from supplies of turquoise. The circulation of Native jewelry set with turquoise continues as a way for settler capitalists to keep Native culture conceptually fixed in the past. Native cultural producers enact cultural value systems to negotiate tensions between Indigenous relationality and settler-capitalist relations that operate through extractive logics. Indigenous relational practices are employed by interviewees to navigate the capitalist systems of ownership and control. Indeed, interviewees described using Native-based strategies to wade through the capitalist extractivism they encounter at the Indian Market. They understand that they live under a capitalist system, and the practical requirement of making jewelry as a living necessitates participation in native art market infrastructures.

Settler capitalist power in the market operates through turquoise mine ownership resulting in settler control over turquoise pricing. Native jeweler strategies for sourcing materials, making jewelry, and selling it to Native art market audiences are political interventions made through daily choices. Indigenous relationality is enacted to navigate settler economic power and control while retaining Indigenous personal values and community responsibilities. Joanne Barker, argues that Indian accommodations to the market are a political strategy.⁴²⁵ Cash economy market systems cannot be fully avoided, yet interviewees also intentionally seek out opportunities to trade for the acquisition of needed supplies. Interviewees often make economic decisions about gemstone inventories, business cash flow, and sales that deprioritize monetary profits and prioritize maintaining personal and cultural values. Native

⁴²⁵ Baker, "Indian TM USA," 60.

jewelers enact strategies to safely access resources and maintain arts production and cultural practices through knowledge and practices of relational making as Indigenous strategies to navigate market systems. The making, gifting, wearing, and trading of turquoise jewelry is an Indigenous relational practice that maintains kinship systems and Indigenous ontologies and strategic relational practices can also function as political strategy. Strategic relationality is enacted in response to market manipulations and attempted control by white male settlers. Native jewelers are savvy to market manipulations and develop creative strategies in response.

Turquoise for Indigenous people of the Southwest is an important vehicle for cultural diplomacy, facilitating inter-tribal connections through material exchange. The Native-to-Native trading networks described by some of the interviewees are a continuation of ancestral trade networks and are a method of survival enacted by Native artists who navigate oppressive structures of settler economic power, control, and resource ownership within settler capitalist markets. Indigenous systems of gift giving, and trading, operate outside of the cash economy through relationship building.

Chapter 5 “AMERICAN PROGRESS” IS STABILIZED BY AMERICAN TURQUOISE

This whole time, I thought what Americans couldn't see was Indigenous people—our history, our truths, our contemporary lives. But then I realized that without us, they cannot see their own country.⁴²⁶

Turquoise in the Southwest encapsulates the settler colonial state's struggle to eliminate and replace the Indigenous person on the land to justify Native land dispossession. In my archival and interview research, I track the stories that settlers tell about turquoise and why their extraction and ownership of it, and by extension Native lands, knowledge, cultural production, labor, and bodies, is just. Turquoise is a symbolic stand-in for Native people, and by possessing it, the colonizer can eliminate, consume and become the Indigenous person, to secure a racial regime of property. The story of Indigenous elimination is always incomplete and always unstable. Just as a majority of mined turquoise is too soft to bear the force of a polishing wheel, the US national story of Native elimination is equally fragile. As I show throughout my research, turquoise is a desired material of Indigenous racial difference, often invoked in attempts to stabilize settler mythologies. My insights are drawn from archival research about *the settler turquoise monopoly* of the 1800s to my analysis of contemporary Native jewelers' experiences in the market today. Interview research with Indigenous artists enables a fuller understanding of how an unregulated and exploitative market functions in discrete case studies of turquoise sourcing, making, and selling work within the Santa Fe-based Native jewelry market.

⁴²⁶ Rebecca Nagle, “Erasure is How Anti-Indigenous Racism Works,” Welcome to Native America, December 22, 2025, https://gohini.substack.com/p/erasure-is-how-anti-indigenous-racism?utm_medium=email.

Tracking settler desires for turquoise shows the settler colonial compulsion to claim, occupy, and possess Native lands and minerals. As it is extracted and transacted, turquoise reveals how gender, land, property, and power continue to operate covertly within the settler-controlled Southwest American turquoise economy. The provenance of American turquoise as a material *from* this land is essential in this settler nation state narrative of Indigenous elimination and capitalist expansion. Turquoise has been sought after by settlers throughout territorial New Mexican history and continues through to today because it has been constructed within the settler imagination to stabilize the Indigenous person as fixed in an unchanging, primitive past. The settler can then possess and adorn turquoise to consume and become the Indigenous. The 1879 archive I analyze shows that settler ownership of turquoise mines and turquoise specimens collected with Kewa mining tools at the site of Kewa turquoise mines in Cerrillos are actions taken by gendered settler subjects in attempts to eliminate and replace Kewa miners with settler prospectors and white settler property owners.

The settler nation state's triumphant story of Indigenous elimination is a perpetual fixture of US settler colonial identity. I conducted a majority of my research and writing for this dissertation during the second presidency of Donald Trump. Trump's second presidency issues daily political rhetoric that mirrors the discourse from 1800s-era political, industrial, and literary archival materials I examine. As I complete and file this dissertation, the Trump Administration is waging yet another stage in the US nation state's perpetual war on tribal sovereignty. A rapid-fire onslaught of federal government collusion with mining companies is threatening formerly

protected tribal homelands everywhere almost weekly.⁴²⁷ The Trump Administration’s policy playbook describes Indigenous people, particularly those who resist extractive industries on their homelands, as obstructions to American progress, just like Lew Wallace and Bradford Prince in 1879 and 1891.

Settler capitalist political economies expand by producing racial feelings in their white, settler citizenry. Today’s version of the story also requires non-white immigrants to be targets of elimination, as they have so often been in other ways throughout American settler colonial occupation. On July 23, 2025, the US Homeland Security’s social media accounts posted a series of images picturing settler fantasies of western heroism and manifest destiny.⁴²⁸ In one post, John Gast’s *American Progress* (1872) is paired with the caption “A Heritage to be proud of, a Homeland worth Defending.” The painting *American Progress*, and its social media post by the US Homeland Security account captures the temporal permanence of settlers’ desire to eliminate and replace Native people, a desire that is always bound to mining and mineral possession as a mode of consuming, possessing, and controlling Indigenous lands and bodies.

American Progress was commissioned in 1872, the same year as the passage of An Act to promote the Development of the Mining Resources of the United States (the General Mining

⁴²⁷ As of March 2026, ten significant Indigenous cultural regions located on public lands are threatened by impending mining and oil drilling projects. The Wilderness Society, “Not for Sale: the Fight for Public Lands,” March, 2026, <https://www.wilderness.org/sites/default/files/media/file/not%20for%20sale%20report%20digital.pdf>.

⁴²⁸ US Homeland Security, “A Heritage to Be Proud of, a Homeland Worth Defending. American Progress - John Gast,” Instagram post by @dhs.gov and @whitehouse, July 23, 2025, <https://www.instagram.com/p/DMd6L55Jfna/>.

Law of 1872).⁴²⁹ George Crofutt, a successful entrepreneur in the tourism brochure market, commissioned the painting for the cover of his Western travel guides.⁴³⁰ Crofutt was also an unsuccessful former gold prospector in the 1860 Colorado's Pike's Peak Gold Rush, who became enamored by the idea of the Western prospector as a heroic agent of manifest destiny.⁴³¹

The painting's intended use of promoting Western railroad travel is aptly timed with the General Mining Law of 1872 that enabled easy mineral prospecting in the West, and both industries were made possible through the legislative and genocidal elimination of Native people from vast tracts of tribal homelands. Progress is represented by Native people and buffalo running from male prospectors and homesteaders who pave the way for railroads. Martha Sandweiss quotes Crofutt's description of the painting to narrate his intention. The allegorical female floating in the center of the image "...bears what Crofutt called 'the Star of Empire...In her right hand she carries a book—common school—the emblem of education and the

⁴²⁹ *An Act to promote the Development of the Mining Resources of the United States (the General Mining Law of 1872)*, Sess. 2, ch. 152, 17 Stat. 91–96, <https://www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/STATUTE-17/pdf/STATUTE-17-Pg91.pdf#page=1>.

⁴³⁰ American Progress is in the collection of the Autry Museum of the American West. The painting was to make it into a lithograph for a series of travel brochures, and re-printed for different runs by Crofutt, also in the Autry's collection. John Gast, "American Progress" The Autry's Collection Online, [https://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M545330;type=101.](https://collections.theautry.org/mwebcgi/mweb.exe?request=record;id=M545330;type=101.;); "Crofutt included an engraving of it in his guidebooks and produced a large chromolithographic version for his subscribers." Martha A. Sandweiss, "John Gast, American Progress," *Picturing US History*, <https://picturinghistory.gc.cuny.edu/john-gast-american-progress-1872/#:~:text=John%20Gast%2C%20a%20Brooklyn%20based,series%20of%20western%20travel%20guides.>

⁴³¹ "Crofutt, George Andrews," *Geographicus Rare Antique Maps*, https://www.geographicus.com/P/ctgy&Category_Code=crofuttgeorgea.

testimonial of our national enlightenment, while with the left hand she unfolds and stretches the slender wires of the telegraph, that are to flash intelligence throughout the land.”⁴³² Crofutt’s settler capitalist imagery of Native wilderness lands transformed into an illuminated cradle of white settler civilization through railroads and mining is an ever present idea. The 2025 Department of Homeland Security’s posting of *American Progress* reveals that settler capitalist extractivism and racial feelings of white supremacy has always been the material of America’s national identity, and not merely a horrifying, unprecedented revival of an 1872 settler capitalist feverdream. Indigenous elimination is always the end goal of a nation founded on land theft.



Figure 8: US Homeland Security, “A Heritage to be proud of, a Homeland worth Defending. American Progress - John Gast,” social media post by @dhsgov and @whitehouse to Instagram on July 23, 2025, <https://www.instagram.com/p/DMd6L55Jfna/>.

⁴³² Martha A. Sandweiss, “John Gast, American Progress,” *Picturing US History*, <https://picturinghistory.gc.cuny.edu/john-gast-american-progress-1872/#:~:text=John%20Gast%2C%20a%20Brooklyn%20based,series%20of%20western%20travel%20guides.>

The US Immigration and Customs Enforcement post was part of a social media campaign to recruit more ICE officers to hunt, and disappear Immigrants (and in several cases Native American people) to internment camps rapidly constructed by for-profit corporations in collusion with the Trump Administration.⁴³³ The racialization and criminalization of immigrants, many of whom are Indigenous to the continent, enable corporations like Core Civic, the entity that constructs the camps, to realize astounding profits from the mass incarceration of non-white bodies.⁴³⁴ However, much of the public discourses decrying this violence fail to situate it within the long trajectory of US settler colonialism. In response, Cherokee Nation journalist and author Rebecca Nagle, issued a salient analysis.

For a long time, I thought it was my job to fix all this. To push back against the erasure. I thought the primary victims of invisibility were my community trapped behind the cloak. And then, Trump got reelected. This past year, I keep hearing the word unprecedented. As an Indigenous person, none of it feels unprecedented to me. Slowly, I came to realize there is power in invisibility. It is the power of sight. I can see what others cannot. How can a President build detention camps on U.S. soil, deploy the military to U.S. cities, threaten to annex foreign land, or bomb boats in the Caribbean without Congressional approval? Because the United States first gave its President this power, so it could take more Native land.

The rise of fascism in the United States is the natural outcome of a country that has never acknowledged its own history. The rise of fascism is that history coming home to roost.

This whole time, I thought what Americans couldn't see was Indigenous people—our history, our truths, our contemporary lives. But then I realized that without us, they cannot see their own country.⁴³⁵

⁴³³ “Lending an Indigenous Perspective to ICE Raids,” American Indian College Fund, Jan 20, 2026, <https://collegefund.org/blog/lending-an-indigenous-perspective-to-ice-raids/>.

⁴³⁴ Lauren-Brooke Eisen, “Private Prison Companies’ Enormous Windfall: Who Stands to Gain as ICE Expands,” October 1, 2025, BrennanCenter.org, <https://www.brennancenter.org/our-work/analysis-opinion/private-prison-companies-enormous-windfall-who-stands-gain-ice-expands>.

⁴³⁵ Nagle, “Erasure is How Anti-Indigenous Racism Works.”

Settler construction of gender is a throughline in the story of turquoise as a material of national identity and is told by gendered settler subjects who produce the Native person as eliminated. The white settler then attempts to indigenize themselves in gendered ways to legitimize their ownership and avoid accountability. Turquoise enables the gendered settler subjects to consume the Indigenous other by possessing the mine, the mineral, and the jewelry. Since the US conquest of the region, settlers in New Mexico are possessed by their own rituals of attempting to vanquish Native resistance and presence. This cycle is impossible to complete because Native presence and refusal is ongoing despite settler colonial violence to Native lands and bodies.

My interviews with Native jewelers reveal that oppressive settler capitalist relations of *the settler turquoise monopoly* create gendered market economic penalties, health risks, and in some situations, Native female artists are targets of sexual harassment and sexual abuse. Extractive relations of *the settler turquoise monopoly* impact Native artists' labor experiences, economic security, personal safety, all in gendered ways, and flow from historic settler political economies that view Native people, knowledge, creativity, and Native lands as sources of personal enrichment. The Native artists I interviewed identify the impacts of settler colonial logics in their own creative practices. They each grapple with tensions experienced as they operate their businesses, and seek opportunities to counter extractive capitalist relations with relational practices drawn from their individual cultural and community backgrounds. Native jewelers express a love for turquoise as one of several important materials valued in their cultures, yet they also wish to disengage from what some of them view as over extraction and harms to the land maintained by some of the mine owners of *the settler turquoise monopoly*.

I detail how the economic system of capitalism and settler colonialism operate together to expand settler colonial imperial conquest of territory. Genocidal settler colonial violence and forced removals try to physically eliminate Native societies from lands desired by the US settler state for resource development and permanent settler occupation. Settler cultural production, legal, and market discourses symbolically eliminate Indigenous presence from the land and resources desired by settler capitalist systems.

The settler turquoise monopoly provides an example of how settler political economies actually hold the levers of their own demise. I argue that settler regimes of property *need* to commoditize Native knowledge. Yet, they deny it exists at all. Indeed, the ongoing existence of Indigenous peoples, whose cultures and homelands settler political economies need to commodify, nullifies settler property claims. In *the settler turquoise monopoly*, settler capitalists struggle to justify Native lands, knowledge, and labor as their own legitimate property. A critical analysis of settler political and economic discourse shows that the settler story always fails because Indigenous people are still present in the settler author's temporal and geographic realm. It can never fully override Indigenous contemporary presence and agency, so slippages and contradictions materialize throughout the settler-produced archives I examined. In contradiction to their simultaneous suggestion that Native people are ghosts, each settler text addressed in this project contains the author's description of their contemporary interactions with Indigenous peoples. Because settlers cannot fully erase Indigenous people, settlers must construct Indigenous peoples as incapable of evolution and modernization, doomed to die out specters, sub-human wilderness dangers, and obstacles to settler mining development.

During the territorial era, New Mexico political actors sought mine ownership as a method of consolidating a white property regime. Mine claims, and the collecting and possession

of turquoise and Native made objects by individual settlers, worked on behalf of the larger project of US imperial conquest and Native land dispossession in the Southwest. By examining the historic discourse of the settler turquoise mining industry, I show that white mine ownership and control of turquoise is a racial property regime. Through interview research, I draw connections between historic gendered and racial regimes of settler property to the logics that remain embedded in the markets today. Native jewelry artists navigate gendered challenges and harms that stem from ongoing settler constructions of Indigenous racial difference and inferiority that continue to fuel settler economic power through the commodification and transacting of turquoise and Native-made jewelry.

In *Chapter 1: Claiming Frontier Masculinity*, and *Chapter 2: Collecting “Dead and Gone” Native “Sisters,” Susan Wallace’s Curio Cabinet*, I draw from archival research and discourse analysis of settler narrations about Kewa turquoise mines authored in 1879 to show how the mechanisms of historic and contemporary settler political economies are gendered, especially how the masculine and feminine white, settler subjects narrate their own subjectivities as agents of empire through the ownership of Native turquoise mines, stone hammers, and turquoise jewelry. Each historic text demonstrates that the legitimacy of settler property, which is constructed from stolen Native lands and objects, requires each settler author to narrate contemporary Native people as spectral, conquered, and eliminated from the contemporary period. However, each author is confronted by the Native people living in their own time and space, making settler efforts to transform Indigenous people into ghosts an always incomplete and impossible process. The colonial political structures of New Mexico in the pre-statehood era of 1850 to 1912, mobilized discourse to transform contemporary Kewa miners into ghosts. Stories of Indian ghosts are used to secure mines as settler property Early New Mexico mining

discourse relied upon the circulation of specific myths that narrate Indigenous absence or a trace of presence. As traces, Native people cannot act to disrupt settler private property regimes, instead they are easily dominated and incarcerated, or easily subjugated as laborers. Settler ghost stories are continuously disproved by ongoing Native presence.

A continuous Indigenous presence nullifies settler turquoise mining claims. Under American settler mining laws, the first to discover and stake a claim has the first rights to work it and patent it. Therefore, mine ownership is produced by and maintained by ongoing mining work, which the Kewa were doing. I interrogate the discourse of discovery used to legalize settler mining claims by building from American studies scholar Manu Vimalassery's argument that capitalism in North America does not simply profit from "empty" lands but appropriates generations of Native land management labor.⁴³⁶ The historic settler discourses and conditions by which Kewa turquoise mines were declared as settler property are revealed through an analysis of two territorial governor reports to the US secretary of the interior authored by Governors Lew Wallace and LeBaron Bradford Prince in 1879 and 1891 respectively. In each report, Wallace and Prince attempt to narrate Native turquoise mines as their property. Ongoing Kewa turquoise mining throughout the white settler mining rushes in the Cerrillos Hills is an important history that destabilizes the legitimacy of the settler turquoise monopoly. The early New Mexican mining industry used descriptions of existing Native mining as evidence that the region is profitable. The New Mexican territorial reports authored by Lew Wallace complain that Kewa miners refuse to share the locations of turquoise mines with white men because they are

⁴³⁶ Vimalassery, "The Wealth of the Natives: Toward a Critique of Settler Colonial Political Economy," 297.

“indifferent” to mineral discoveries. “Indifference,” in Wallace’s perspective, is actually a clear example of Indigenous resistance to settler mining in the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo’s sacred sites. The settler mining economy which staked mine claims *over* existing Kewa turquoise mines (between 1879 and 1910) is an example of theft of Indigenous knowledge and turquoise.

I theorize that turquoise mine claims are doubly productive for the project of US settler capitalism because they produce both tangible settler property via the minerals they yield, and conceptual settler power through the cultural circulation of masculine settler subjects. The mineral prospectors of 1879 are, in the words of Lew Wallace, “here and come to stay.” Wallace declares that the mineral prospector is a heroic figure who can vanquish Indigenous people to discover riches in the wilderness. I theorize that mineral prospecting is a “wilderness hero journey,” what scholar Richard Slotkin describes as a frontier narrative in which a white settler enters Native land, framed as “wilderness,” extracts Indigenous knowledge, and then uses it against Indigenous people. I also track temporal language that frames Indigenous mining as premodern, a strategy that political science scholar Kevin Bruyneel terms “settler memory,” a political discourse to nullify tribal political agency.⁴³⁷ Bradford Prince’s 1891 report continues the theme of the Indigenous person as an obstacle to settler progress. Like Wallace, Prince evokes a racial hierarchy in which American settler miners are superior to Mexican miners, and Native people and their reservation borders are problems that obstruct the territorial mining industry of New Mexico.

⁴³⁷ Bhandar, *Colonial Lives of Property*, 2.; Sherene Razack, *Dying from Improvement: Inquests and Inquiries into Indigenous Deaths in Custody* (University of Toronto Press, 2015), 10.; Bruyneel, *Settler Memory*, 13-19.

By collecting turquoise, Kewa mining tools, and other objects as specimens for curio cabinet collections, female settler subjects also operated as agents of settler colonialism to secure Kewa turquoise mines as settler property. As a counterpart of Lew Wallace's masculine mineral prospector, his wife Susan Elston Wallace places herself in the role of a wilderness hero also seeking Native turquoise mines in New Mexico. I analyze Susan Wallace's book *The Land of the Pueblos* (authored in 1879 and published in 1888), which details her 1879 turquoise mine tour at Mt. Chalchihuitl. By examining Susan Wallace's curio collecting descriptions at the site of Kewa turquoise mines, I show how the curio trade produces gendered settler regimes of property that attempt to reinscribe settler ownership of Native turquoise mines. Susan Wallace is an early example of white, settler female collecting in a burgeoning 1879 Santa Fe curio trade. The curation and possession of objects is Wallace's attempt to fix Native people within anachronistic space and time, while she constructs herself as the racially superior agent of discovery and civilization in the valuable mineral lands she journeys through. She also seeks objects that she believes were owned by Native women for her collection. In her narrative she invents stories about how the possession of these objects created her own indigeneity and the object's owners as her "dead sisters." Collecting curio turquoise specimens and Native-made objects is a strategy for Wallace to self-indigenize and render the Native makers and prior owners of her curios as extinct and adopt their identity. Wallace's curios function as an assertion of Wallace's own claim to Kewa turquoise mines as her settler property.

To deepen my gendered analysis of turquoise and Native-made objects, I identify parallels between Wallace's curios and objects collected by the Smithsonian ethnographic collecting expedition were both conducted in 1879, the same year of the Cerrillos mining rush (1879 to 1880s) of the turquoise mine claims. Ethnographic collecting by the Bureau of

Ethnography expeditions is conducted for a masculinized pursuit of settler knowledge making. Even though early ethnographers attempted to frame curio collecting as unscientific, the objects collected were interpreted in similar ways. I contrast Wallace's description of a Native stone mining axe with James Stevenson's descriptions of Native stone mining axes also collected by his group at Mt. Chalchihuitl in 1879. Wallace and Stevenson each use the stone axes to evidence theories about human evolution popularized in their time. The axes represent "inferior" Native mining tools to legitimize white settler mining in Kewa lands. The female curio collector and the male ethnographic collector both enter spaces of "wilderness" to civilize and possess by claiming Native people's "ancient" objects. They bring the objects back to either male or female spaces to produce and support gendered settler narrations that justify settler claims to Native land due to the settler's constructed racial superiority.

In *Chapter 3: Sourcing Turquoise in a Gendered Settler Capitalist Market*, and *Chapter 4: Negotiating the Commodity Relations of Turquoise Jewelry*, the full impact of *the settler turquoise monopoly* on Native artists is revealed. The labor of sourcing turquoise, as it is performed by Native jewelry artists, exposes the ongoing logics and structures of the settler turquoise monopoly today. Chapters three and four map the settler capitalist market as it is experienced by the Native artists who navigate it. My findings reveal that the material of turquoise and the history of its commoditization are bound with the racialization of Indigenous peoples and the theft of their lands in the Southwest. An explicit connection between Native land dispossession and the materiality of Native arts is demonstrated by a market-level analysis. Findings about the gendered impacts of turquoise mine ownership demonstrate the discourses and processes involved in framing Native art materials and cultural knowledge as settler property are maintained in a similar form today as they were in 1879.

In my interview discussions, I identify how Native jewelers are experiencing the same racial property logics as they source turquoise from settler mine owners and dealers. Interviewees also discussed the strategies they develop to navigate the uneven power maintained within settler capitalist markets. A main strategy discussed across all interviews is inter-generational mentorship from senior family members or another member of the jeweler's tribal community. Native jewelers who receive mentorship guidance from senior jewelers are introduced to more trustworthy dealers and are taught how to avoid dishonest stone dealers. Mentees are also shown how to navigate sometimes exploitative retailers like art galleries, and are aided in sales relationship development and negotiations. Interviewees also spoke about methods of maintaining inter-tribal trade systems to exchange needed materials, and maintain practices of gifting to extend relational networks. Pricing finished jewelry lower is an approach taken by one interviewee to counter capitalist values of prioritizing personal enrichment over relationships. Native jewelers enact these strategies as each contends with capitalist relations within the Native Art Market and turquoise mining and distribution market.

I draw from Indigenous feminist theory to examine gendered market challenges reported by interviewees. Arvin, Maile, Eve Tuck, and Angie Morrill argue that it is critical to challenge the assumption that racialized and gendered people are simply striving for equality and inclusion within systems that currently privilege whiteness. The systems themselves need abolition and Indigenous peoples seek, and require, independence from Western nation states. Indigenous women face unique issues such as land and settler colonialism which “are resolved via decolonization and sovereignty, not (just) parity.”⁴³⁸ Female interviewee experiences with

⁴³⁸ Arvin, Tuck, and Morrill, “Decolonizing Feminism,” 10.

market dangers and market harms provide clarity as to how the cultural industry of the Native art production and circulation is a gendered settler capitalist project to continuously occupy and control Native lands, resources, and bodies. Settler colonialism and capitalism structures that create compounding economic and physical harms for Native female jewelers.

The turquoise market is a white property regime that disproportionately impacts female Native jewelers. Connecting the historic mine ownership to today's mine ownership shows an ongoing geography of white property ownership. Power relations continue to flow from property ownership and market relations. *The settler turquoise monopoly's* power is constructed from discourses of settler gender binary, patriarchy, white supremacy, discovery, and claiming of resources by white propertied males who act as individuals but operate through violence to maintain US settler colonialism/imperialism.

The commoditization of Native jewelry for settler consumers transformed turquoise into an object of settler desire allowing for consumer acceptance of drastic price increases and narratives of the gemstone's scarcity. Constructions of race and gender maintain turquoise mine ownership as a white property regime, and turquoise distribution is controlled by white male dealers, some honest, some not. Ongoing consumer desire for turquoise is constructed from the racialized figure of the Native artist. Beginning in the 1890s, cultural tourism companies like Fred Harvey used constructed images of Native jewelers hand-crafting pieces without the use of modern machinery in marketing materials. Turquoise as a material sourced from mines located in the Southwest positioned Native-made jewelry as symbolic of Native land in cultural tourism jewelry economies. Cultural tourism companies circulated settler constructions of "authentic"

Native jewelry. Today, settler definitions of authenticity are institutionalized by Native art market judging criteria where Native jewelry had to conform to non-Native standards. The Indian Market audience interactions, as reported by Interviewees, show that ideas about “traditional” Native jewelry further consumer notions that Native jewelry designs and materials should remain unchanged and as they were in the 1880s.

The labor of sourcing turquoise, performed by Native jewelry artists, reveals the ongoing logics and structures of the settler turquoise monopoly today. The settler racial regime of property ownership maintained by *the settler turquoise monopoly* is not just a story about Native lands, but it is a story about Native labor; – physical labor, intellectual labor, creative labor, and the labor of relations – continuously asserting relationships with their homelands and with one another as we reclaim space and political power from settler capitalist markets.

As the Native jewelers I interviewed work in gendered settler capitalist markets, they observe and critique extractive land relations to turquoise mines and treatment of turquoise and jewelry as a commodity to possess in large quantities. The critiques of extractivism that the interviewees discussed are drawn from their personal values and cultural teachings about taking smaller amounts of turquoise from the land in a modest and reciprocal way, or trading for it through ongoing trade economies. Turquoise is also used as a material of connecting to cultural cosmologies and for passing stones intergenerationally.

Indigenous relationality with turquoise destabilizes settler capitalist claims to property because Native existence delegitimizes the nation state of America. Indigenous communities continue to assert ongoing relationships with the land and sovereign rights to manage and engage homelands. Turquoise is a contested raw resource extracted from Native homelands. From the Kewa perspective, the Cerrillos Hills turquoise mines are sacred sites. Settler documentation of

mines and its associated cultural practices served as undeniable proof of ongoing presence for the Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo's land claim against the US government for the return of the Cerrillos Hills. When tribal nations enter land claim litigation, or file lawsuits against extractive industries that threaten irreplaceable homeland sites, they leverage the settlers' words against their own property regime to reclaim land, mines, or materials that are rightly belong to them.

The Santo Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo's struggle with the US government over its access to turquoise serves as an example as to how Native art practices (Santo Domingo practices of turquoise mining, jewelry, and commerce) can be used to contradict the settler narratives to regain sovereignty over Native land. By building from the premise of turquoise as a material essential to arts and cultural practices, and generated from Indigenous homeland knowledge, I argue that when Native art materials and cultural knowledge are commoditized by settler-controlled marketplaces, Native cultural producers are forced to navigate labor exploitation because their access to raw homeland materials is restrained. I also find that Native art materials are commodified by settler capitalism, *but* their ongoing use by Native communities destabilizes settler property regimes.

I demonstrate that Native contestations to settler colonial property regimes expose the illegitimacies of settler property doctrine. The Kewa's turquoise mine land claim lawsuit leveraged settler-authored texts about Kewa mining to assert the tribes continued relationship with the turquoise mines. The protection and return of tribal homelands to tribal governments remains a pressing concern in the field of American Indian and Indigenous studies.⁴³⁹ The term

⁴³⁹ Indigenous studies scholars articulate links between Indigenous knowledge systems, tribal homelands, and Indigenous futurity because access to homelands is critical for the maintenance of Indigenous Knowledge systems, which include arts and cultural production. Lindsey

“Land Back” is taken up today by Indigenous activists and Indigenous-led organizations to describe a political framework in which the goal of collective mobilizing is the return of land to Native communities.⁴⁴⁰

Limitations of Research

Community-engaged research, like that I employed, is limited by academic time frames and funding. I entered my Interview research with a relational approach relying on my connections to friends and colleagues. Building genuine, trusting relationships takes time. I am accountable to the people who graciously supported my research by sharing their knowledge and experiences with me, therefore, I needed to keep my number of interviews small so that I could responsibly honor my research partner agreements. I will bring the knowledge generated from my interviewees to a future expanded research project.

I do not independently produce “new” knowledge, therefore, I must remain accountable to the people who shared their stories, especially to the Santa Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo. During my research, I met with Santa Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo tribal preservation officers who generously discussed my project. We were only able to meet once, when they invited me to meet with them at the University of New Mexico Maxwell Museum archives, which houses materials related to the anthropological research the Pueblo commissioned to support their land claim for the Cerrillos Hills. Due to scheduling and time restrictions, I could not visit the archive before completing my research. I was able to access one important document digitally which is authored

Schneider, “‘Land Back’ Beyond Repatriation: Restoring Indigenous Land Relationships,” in *The Routledge Companion to Gender and the American West*, 1st ed., vol. 1 (Routledge, 2022), 452-464, <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351174282-39>.

⁴⁴⁰ “Landback,” NDN Collective, accessed May 23, 2026, <https://ndncollective.org/landback/>.

by the contracted anthropologists Florence Hawley Ellis and Albert Henry Schroeder. This document is an essential foundation for the research and findings presented here. Future research will be generated from the materials that the tribal preservation officers choose to share with me. My resulting future publications that build on this dissertation will require the Santa Domingo (Kewa) Pueblo's oversight and collaboration.⁴⁴¹

Future Research Directions: Recovering Stories from Native Women Who Labored in the Settler Turquoise Monopoly

Scholars of turquoise mining history have assembled complete pictures of many white male entrepreneurs and their mine managers who stake mine claims, find fortunes, or lose fortunes. As property owners who each made their life's work out of the "blue gold" their businesses extracted from the earth, the white male mine owners are named and visible in mining histories. Their portraits are carefully assembled from archival materials, recollections from their descendants, and their own oral histories. Their names and perspectives are memorialized in books and turquoise trail tourism spaces.

While conducting archival research in the Palace of the Governor's Photographic archives I found images of Native women performing labor for turquoise and Native jewelry markets (1940s to 1970s). The Native women who performed the labor of the settler turquoise monopoly are photographed but not named. Native women labored to process the mine yields of the white

⁴⁴¹ Two additional case studies are: the Indigenous cultural practice of surfing in the occupied Kumeyaay coastline of La Jolla, CA, and Chickasaw Nation cultural philosophies about darkness as they connect to dispossessed Chickasaw Southeastern homeland cave environments. Like the turquoise mining case study, each focuses on different sites of contested land. I published on one aspect of my darkness research in 2025. Kristen Dorsey, "Darkness, Land, and Capitalism: An Indigenous Critique of Darkness Retreat Center Website Marketing," *Folk, Knowledge, Place* 2, no. 2 (2025), 111–138, <https://doi.org/10.24043/001c.147884>.

owners, and shaped stones for finished jewelry pieces that became the commodities the white trading post owners and Native art dealers relied upon.

The Native women who labor in *the settler turquoise monopoly* are frequently overlooked in literature. In my future research, I hope to locate the descendants of the women pictured in the photographs I saw in the archive. I will collaborate with communities to whom the women in the photographs belong, highlighting the experiences of Native women in my future scholarship. One photograph pictures a Kewa mother drilling turquoise beads with her infant in her lap. She sits at her kitchen table expertly multitasking. As a mother myself, I have done similar multitasking labor and know how difficult it is.

In the second photo, two Diné women work in the office of Hardy's, an Arizona turquoise mine company. They are bent over a large table loaded with piles of turquoise rough. They appear to be doing the meticulous labor of sorting the stones into piles to separate out the higher-quality material. In the same room, a man sits behind a desk, talking on the phone as the women work. Native arts markets cannot exist without Native women's labor. Yet their labor is often invisible within academic scholarship. The photographs I found capture moments of work that often remain obscured by market spectacles.

Turquoise is just one case study, there are more examples of mined and extracted materials and a comparative analysis could yield impactful insights relevant to tribal homeland recovery efforts.⁴⁴² How then do histories of Native art materials, as they form the lynch pins of

⁴⁴² Mica at the Picuris Pueblo is another example of a Native raw homeland art material at the center of a tribal battle against settler mining. During my interview research, I was told a story about how the Picuris Pueblo resisted the theft and mining of their mica mine by a mining company. The Picuris Pueblo sued the State of New Mexico over the dispossession of the land. Mica-rich clay is a vital material for the Picuris Pueblo's pottery artists.

tribal sovereignty over their homelands, connect to one another? These materials were once central to the flows of our Indigenous trade systems, that functioned not only as economic exchanges, but also as rivers of knowledge exchange, a relational diplomacy making. Each art material can connect Native geographies together, creating a fuller picture of how Native art materials are central to Indigenous political power. Likewise, what does each legal case tell us about effective strategies towards land return efforts? When each case is compared across geographies and time periods, tribal governments can harness this knowledge as they map out governance strategies that serve their communities and secure the futures of their people's homeland-based knowledge systems.

APPENDIX

Chapters 3 and 4 Appendix: Interview Research Methods

Sample limitations: The sample size is limited, therefore, this causal relationship warrants additional research outside the scope of this dissertation. Cross-analysis of interviews across a larger sample will determine if this chapter's findings point to a broader, pervasive pattern of predatory behavior by white, male business owners in the Santa Fe-based Native American Art market.

Data analysis methods summary: Interviews were coded using grounded theory methods. Interview answers explored changes in the turquoise market structure over time, how artists address challenges with sourcing and other market hazards, and how do they feel about it?

Interview methods summary: The semi-structured format of each interview allowed for exploration of topics and feelings of significant importance to each interviewee. Interview questions explored three thematic topics: Topic 1 explored the extent of each interviewee's experiences with learning how to make jewelry, and the amount of experience conducting turquoise sourcing and participating in Native art markets and other sales channels. Topic 2 explored interviewees' perceptions of the turquoise market and its actors, and Topic 3 explored any challenges each interviewee experienced when sourcing turquoise.

Interviewee recruitment: Interviewee recruited with help from friends during Indian Market, 2025, and through my existing personal network of native artists. I used a Snowball sampling method beginning with my relationality with sample population. I either have a prior relationship with the interviewee, or they are a friend of a friend. 10 interviews were conducted in the fall of 2025. The time period of the interviews is significant because it was shortly after market (SFIM). The interviews captured recent events and reflections on the market they just completed. Their feelings and memories are fresh – in relation to the turquoise and native art market / jewelry industries discussed. Out of the 10 completed interviews, six interviews were selected for analysis for equal representation across the sample criteria. One interview was cut short due to interviewee’s scheduling conflicts and internet instability.

Sample Criteria: *Interviewees were recruited with the following criteria;* 1) *Market experience:* Working with turquoise and selling at shows in Santa Fe for 5 years or longer. Turquoise is a main material used in the work 2) *experience level:* number breakdown for beginner, mid-career, and entry level. 3) *Gender:* number of males, number of females. 4) *Age:* how long have they been doing this and has it changed over time., breakdown of age ranges. 5) *Tribal Affiliation:* Interviewees must be from southwest tribal nations to whom turquoise is important culturally and economically.

Sample limitations:

Gender demographics – current Sample limitation: no non-binary jewelers interviewed during the research time period. Future research will recruit interviewees from this population. need a

larger sample size to account for patterns across gender identities with experience levels. It is essential to recruit participants from this demographic for a complete picture of gendered experiences.

Tribal affiliations: A majority of participants identified themselves as members of the Diné (Navajo) Nation. Comparisons between interviewees from Cultural and community backgrounds remain limited by the current sample. Future research will recruit interviewees from more diverse tribal backgrounds.

Consent form procedure: consent form, Interviewees received a \$100.00 payment, at will info Interviewees reviewed a consent form prior to each interview. At the beginning of each interview, consent form questions were addressed. Important consent protocols listed on the consent form include at will information / voluntary participation/ sharing my draft procedure. Interview answers are potentially shaped by each interviewee's awareness of the risks and benefits listed on the consent form. Therefore, some names of certain turquoise industry actors or other specifics might have been withheld. Upon chapter draft review, interviewees were also informed that I am withholding their names in my publications/presentations, and dissertation.

Interview questions:

- 1) What is your Tribal affiliation, other positionality that is important to how you introduce yourself? Age?
- 2) How did you learn jewelry making? How did you come to sell it in a market setting?

- 3) Number of years working as a professional jeweler? Has this always been your primary job?
- 4) Markets you participate in and for how long? Retail stores and other sales channels you work with?
- 5) Number of years working with turquoise?
- 6) How/where do you get your turquoise? What types do you work with and why? How do you view these mines?
- 7) Please describe how you see the turquoise market is structured and what your experience of it is today? Have you noticed any changes over your career?
- 8) What are your perceptions about turquoise mine owners and dealers?
- 9) Do you have any difficulties sourcing turquoise for your work? If so, then what do you attribute these difficulties to?
- 10) Any other challenges you experience with making and selling your work as a native jeweler?
- 11) Anyone else you think I should interview?

Data Analysis Methods: All interview files (video, audio, and transcription) to MAXQDA, a data analysis software used by qualitative researchers.⁴⁴³ The interview questions into three topics which provided a preliminary scaffolding for organizing codes into a hierarchy.

⁴⁴³ I selected this software for its manual coding features, and the ability to write research memos and link them to the topics and related sets of in vivo codes. I used my UCLA ID to purchase a student license to conduct this research
https://www.maxqda.com/trial?gad_source=1&gad_campaignid=1616421829&gbraid=0AAAAAD-

Each interview is coded using an open coding method to identify descriptions of significant events, occurrences, and phenomena. To identify concepts, each interview is manually coded with *in vivo codes* and *concepts*. *In vivo codes* were created by identifying unique terms and phrasing. Attention is paid to an interviewee's repetition of specific phrases and terms, and emphasis and emotions behind the use of terms and phrases. For example, one interviewee's repetition of the term "spendy" holds multiple levels of meaning about their perceptions of turquoise value and feelings about pricing transparency. I also identified and coded *Concepts* brought up by each interviewee. Concepts included descriptions of events, phenomena, and experiences. Organic themes come up beyond the interview questions are new concepts. Some interviews discuss the questions out of order and I always add new questions or follow-up questions based on interviewee answers (following the semi-structured interview process – allowing me to deepen and clarify my understanding of each interviewee's unique interests, opinions, and experiences of the phenomenon the interview is exploring.

As I coded each interview through the discovery coding method, I organized codes under each of the three interview topics. I refined code hierarchies as I identified new concepts and *in vivo codes*. When similar *in vivo* and concept codes are identified, a new category is created to group them under.⁴⁴⁴ Cross-interview analysis was developed through memos to record similarities and differences between codes and code frequencies within and across interviews.

[6Ox2KJgdBmNyamNWGVfVnXFonE&gclid=Cj0KCQjwsdnNBhC4ARIsAA_3heh5nHNw6Pj bK762SaInFQ2muyWF80wYNWXsW4VVAiVsvfBduwmQGnkaAlp5EALw_wcB.](https://doi.org/10.1080/10439862.2014.941111)

⁴⁴⁴ Udo Kuckartz, *Qualitative Text Analysis: A guide to Methods, Practice & Using Software* (SAGE Publications Ltd, 2014), 11.

Codes were then grouped into categories, and categories were refined based on ongoing Cross-interview analysis. The categories were developed based on Kuckartz's process of category organization to define the properties, dimensions, and subcategories of each category. Properties are the defining characteristics of a category, dimensions are the range of variations within a category, and subcategories are more narrow versions of the broader category.⁴⁴⁵

Analytic memos generated a list of concepts from the open coding further questions to explore with my data, and to define limitations of my current data set. Memos also further shaped categories and categorical hierarchies based upon connections between codes. As I identified new categories and connected similar categories together, I narrated these connections and further developed new questions to ask during data analysis. Analytic memos also allowed me to identify ways my own personal lived experiences and insider knowledge of the phenomena and experiences discussed in the interviewees influences and deepens the category comparisons.

⁴⁴⁵ “For Strauss, a category is an independent terminological element of a theory; it is a classification of concepts. This classification occurs when we compare concepts with each other and they appear to refer to similar phenomena. In this manner, concepts are grouped together under a concept of higher rank – an abstract concept, called a category, such as ‘Caring for Personnel’...Categories have *properties*, *dimensions* and *subcategories*...*Properties* are the characteristics of a category, the delineation of which defines and gives it meaning...*Dimensions [are]*...The range along which general properties of a category vary, giving specification to a category and variation to the theory...*Subcategories*: Concepts that pertain to a category, giving it further clarification and specification.” Udo Kuckartz, *Qualitative Text Analysis: A Guide to Methods, Practice & Using Software*, (2013 SAGE Publications), 11.; see also: Anselm Strauss and Juliet Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Second Edition: Techniques and Procedures for Developing Grounded Theory* (SAGE Publications, Inc, 1998).

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