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# Tribal Attribution of the Pectol Shields Capitol Reef National Park, Utah

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## TRIBAL ATTRIBUTION OF THE PECTOL SHIELDS

Submitted to The National Park Service, August 20, 2001

by

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Regarding the efforts to assign North American Indian tribal attribution to the three buffalo hide shields found by Ephraim Pectol in 1925, throughout the extended process of conducting research and comparative analysis toward this end, the suggestion that the shields are of Apachean origin has repeatedly surfaced. (Fig. 1) Firm evidence has coalesced to support this deductive conclusion. Since about 1980, when the author first learned of and began to study the Pectol Shields, as well as a number of other painted leather objects discovered in Utah (see Lanford and Miller 2000), numerous colleagues intimately familiar with historic American Indian material culture have independently suggested that the connection of the objects with Apachean peoples be explored. Early on, the author independently realized that a probable connection existed with Athabascan peoples who in later times devolved into various historic Apache groups, but determined to follow a course of deductive examination. Over the years, close attention has been paid to the material culture of the adjacent regions, as well as intimate scrutiny of the material components, and techniques of decorative and symbolic elaboration. The investigative trail has always lead back to an Apachean designation.

Along with the other painted leather artifacts, the Pectol Shields have undergone extended scrutiny, and have been the subject of protracted discussion among numbers of scholars. The shields have been compared with shield imagery depicted in rock art, and have been the subject of careful artistic as well as technological analysis.

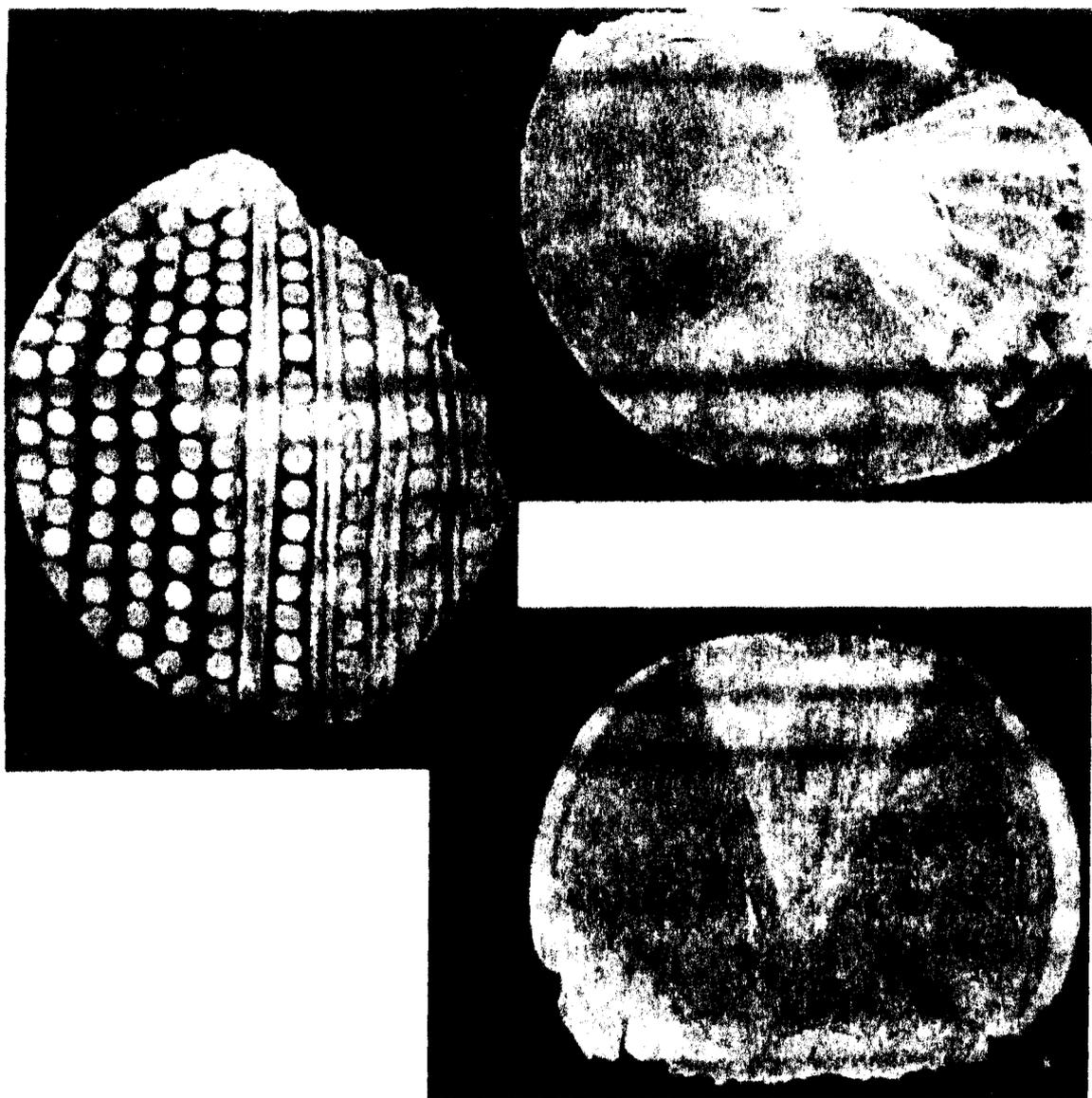


FIGURE 1. Left, Shield I, a (cat. no. CARE 12), top right, Shield II, b (cat. no. CARE 191), bottom right Shield III, c (cat. no. CARE 11).

## CONSTRUCTION AND FORM OF THE PECTOL SHIELDS

From personal observation on several occasions the author has determined that each of the Pectol Shields was made of a single thickness of hide, not of two laminated pieces, as has been erroneously reported elsewhere. Each shield is essentially circular, rather than oval-- which is also suggested in a number of reports. It is possible that the perception of them being oval derives from the angular perspective of shields illustrated in historic drawings and paintings. It is doubtful that any prehistoric or proto-historic shields in North America (north of Mexico) were actually ovoid in shape. Perhaps our eyes perceive what optical illusion suggests as elliptical form set up by the missing areas of the Pectol Shields (resulting from rodents eating away portions of the margin of each). (Figs.1, 2) The fact that prehistoric, proto-historic and historic North American Indian shields were universally circular rather than oval in form is borne out by abundant depictions in rock art and historic examples in collections.

The author determined the true original circular outline of the Pectol Shields by laying each on a large sheet of (acid-free) paper, determining the center point, and from that locus-- and following the intact margins, scribing a full circle onto the paper. The projected outline conforms to a circular rather than oval shape. Diameters: Shield I (CARE 12) 34 ½ “, Shield II (CARE 191) 37 ½ ”, and Shield III (CARE 11) 31”, respectively.

## PROPER PHYSICAL ORIENTATION OF THE PECTOL SHIELDS

Regarding the Pectol Shields, determining the vertical / horizontal orientation of each plays an absolutely crucial role in understanding how the ancient maker / artist intended them to be viewed and utilized-- and how the designs displayed on the fronts can be considered. (Fig. 1) This critically affects the possible interpretations of the designs. In fact, no discussion of any potential symbolism is possible unless the correct orientation of the shields is understood.

Since their discovery, the Pectol Shields have been photographed and published repeatedly without apparent knowledge of or regard for their correct visual orientation. Even in various photographs taken of Ephraim Pectol with the shields, they are oriented haphazardly. In at least one tome, a sketch of Shield I (CARE 12) is pictured with the rows of dots horizontally, side to side, rather than vertically. Shield No. I is mistakenly illustrated upside down in Lanford and Miller, 2002, p. 44; however, Shields II (CARE 191) and III (CARE 11) are aligned essentially in the correct manner on the following page in that text.)

Ephraim Pectol recorded in his notes the arrangement in which he found the shields as placed one on top of the other by the American Indian person or persons who cached them. Prior to reviewing Pectol's notes, and confirmed independently by aligning the now

irregular and warped surfaces of the shields. The author was able to determine that Shield I (the shield with the dot motif, cat. no. CARE: 12) was cached on the bottom of the stack (Fig. 1a). Shield II (with the four irregular quadrants, cat. no. CARE: 191) was in the middle (Fig. 1b), and Shield III (with the single triangular motif, cat. no. CARE: 11) was on top (Fig. 1c). This placement was without regard to their orientation during their original use. Likewise, the areas eaten away by rodents do not coincide exactly. Evidently space between the shields permitted the creatures separate access to each. The manner in which the shields were stacked together does not relate to the proper orientation of how the shields should be turned for viewing. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate the Pectol Shields oriented in the correct manner.

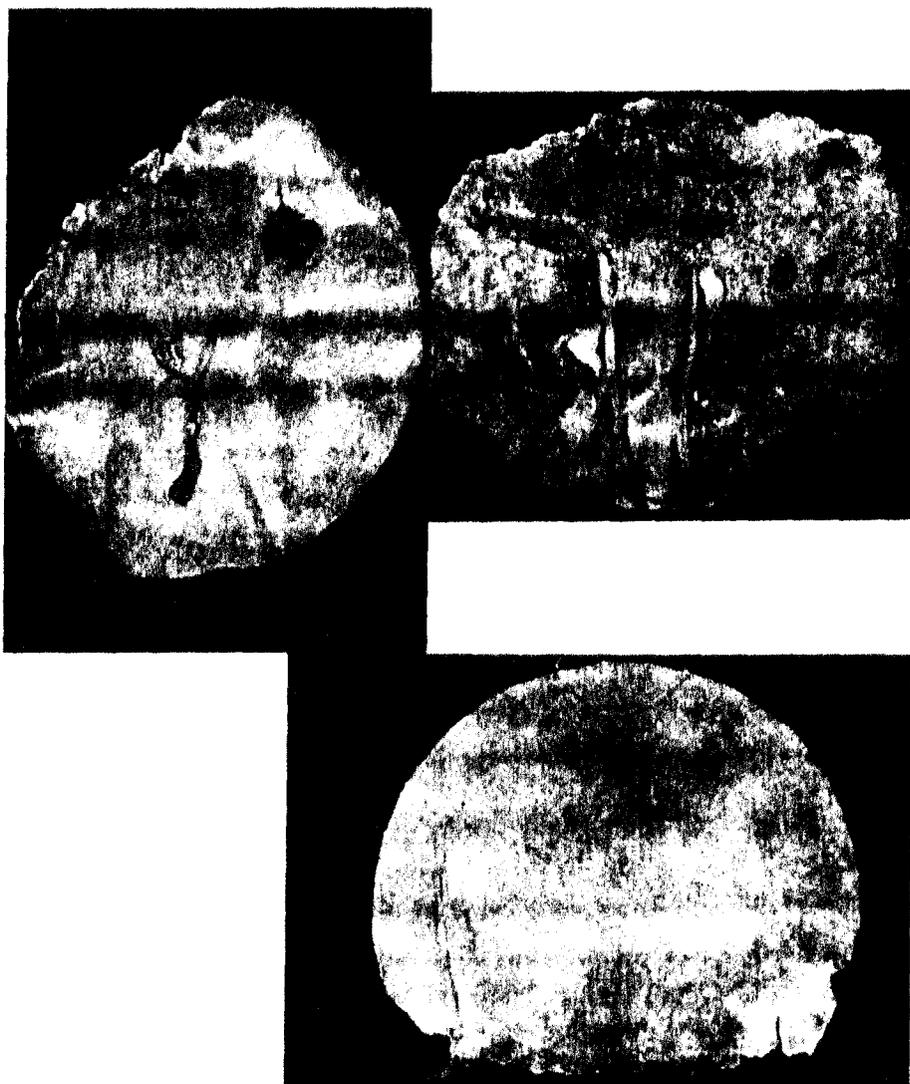


FIGURE 2. Back Sides of Pectol Shields: Left, Shield I, a (cat. no. CARE: 12), top right, Shield II, b (cat. no. CARE: 191), bottom right Shield III, c (cat. no. CARE: 11)

The back of each shield furnishes the primary clues in determining its top and bottom, particularly if the carrying straps are extant. In the instances where straps are missing the arrangement of the holes provided for their attachment supplies the same information. (Fig. 2) The top edge of each shield can be determined primarily by the placement of the handgrips (or the holes for handgrips), in addition to the long strap that the bearer might choose to loop around his neck. (Figs. 2 a, b) Note that the neck strap of Shield I (CARE 12) is knotted, possibly for the user to slip through his left arm. (Fig. 2a) In the absence of an original neck strap on Shield III (CARE 11) the holes for handgrips are present.

The neck straps of Shields I and II (CARE 12 and CARE 191) are attached at two points on the back of each, side by side on a horizontal plane, spaced some 5" or 6" apart. Tanned leather thongs passing through holes in the shields secure the neck straps in place. By envisioning the strap looped around the neck of a right-handed bearer, it can be seen that the grip for his left hand is located to the upper right, about half way to the edge of the shield from the mid point. The handgrip is extant on Shield I (CARE 12). (Fig. 2a) A rectangular piece of folded, tanned buffalo hide, the hair intact and the flesh side painted with red ochre, serves as a pad strung on a narrow leather strap. Only one of what was undoubtedly a pair of holes is extant at the upper right of Shield II (CARE 191) the second hole having been located in the now missing portion. An additional hole between and slightly above the neck strap holes on Shield II (CARE 191), as well as a second pair of holes at the upper left of Shield III (CARE 11) perhaps were for an additional loop for the user's upper forearm. (Fig. 2 b, c) Considering these arrangements for the straps, the top edges of the shields are apparent.

Various other holes and thongs appearing on the shield were undoubtedly for attachments on the front side, such as feathers, animal parts and personal medicine charms (a practice not commonly seen on Puebloan shields). A single thong is visible at the lower left on the back of Shield II (CARE 191). (Fig. 2b) Holes can be located randomly, or can occur in a row, such as the rows extending from the center directly toward the bottom of Shields II and III (CARE 191 and CARE 11). (Fig. 2 b, c)

An additional clue to the intended vertical - horizontal orientation of the Pectol Shields is the rawhide from which they are made. Visible on Shields I and II (CARE 12 and CARE 191) especially is a lighter-colored strip with irregular margins that sometimes results in the epidermis of the hide along the top of the hump of the animal. In these two examples the strip is apparently oriented vertically so that the head area of the animal's hide is toward the top of the shield (highly unlikely for it to point downward).

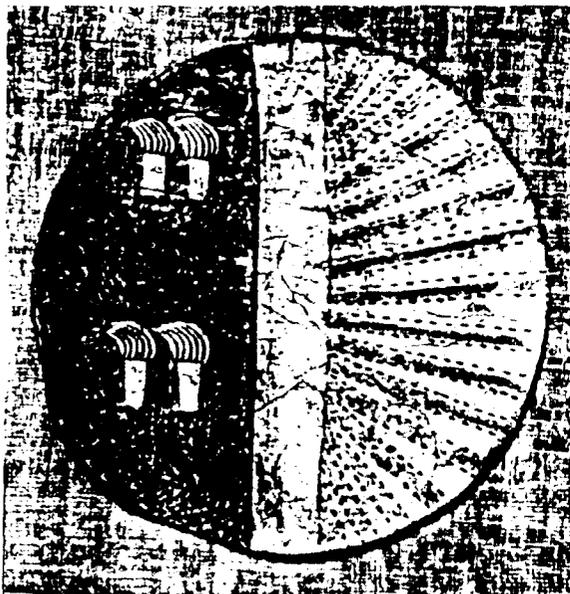
## PAINTE D IMAGERY ON THE PECTORAL SHIELDS

It is often difficult to resist making visual associations in designs. The eye wants to see things familiar to us. Straight away, many observers have asserted that the series of tapering green bars with red tips flaring to the right, along with the arching, neck-like device extending to the upper left on Shield II (CARF 191) taken together suggest an avian form. (Fig. 1) Certainly if we visually isolate this motif, the possibility of it representing a bird is apparent, although it is not in the scope of this paper to specifically discuss implied symbolism. Perspective is, however, the importantly significant. On the Plains and Montane regions, the representation of animals in profile rather than in profile, as in the Southwest, was ubiquitous. In Southwestern arts profile imagery was rare. (Fig. 3)



FIGURE 3. Shield, Hopi, American Museum of Natural History, cat. no. 50.1-2010.

In contrast, in the Southwestern arts frontal depictions of (recognizably) avian forms are common. (Fig. 3) If the motif in question on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191) was indeed intended to represent a bird, it does not conform to the typical Southwestern norm. It does, however have parallels in Plains iconography, both in its profile perception, and well as artistic execution. (Fig. 4) Note the similarity of execution-dashed black lines paralleling the separate "rays." On southwestern objects, whenever flaring motifs composed of ray-like elements are present, the orientation is commonly arranged vertically downward, not horizontally. Such designs commonly cover the lower half of Pueblo shields. Horizontal bisection, rather than vertical, is particularly prevalent on shields from the Southwestern tribes. (Fig. 19)



FIGURE, 4. Shield, Mandan, Conner (1985)

It is essential to state that in North American Indian arts things were not always strictly realistic in graphic depictions. For example, an abbreviated motif or a total abstraction might represent a specific animal whose identity is veiled to the uninitiated. As well, other interpretations for motifs such as the avian-like design on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191) are possible. As a matter of pure speculation, it is plausible that any given design resembling a specific entity seen in nature could actually portray a dream sequence or vision, or other ethereal phenomenon. Unfortunately, we are resigned to conjectural discussion regarding the array of possibilities.

The remaining symbols on Pectol Shield II (CARE: 191), and patterns emblazoned on the other two Pectol Shields remain veiled and speculative. The iconography does not relate specifically to any known to this author or the many colleagues consulted. While similarities exist in some regards to shields depicted in rock art, as well as historic shields, the meanings are enigmatic.

## MATERIALS AND DECORATION

A certain concrete and generally agreed upon tenet is ever present in the evaluation of material culture. This principle holds that the overall characteristics of the components comprising an object, coupled with the details of construction, are crucial to the overall process of its assessment. The techniques employed in securing any attachments or other decorative features- in this case the painted designs in particular-- are likewise fundamental to exacting research. It is indispensable to conduct hands-on examination of any objects under inspection, lest the resulting conclusions be based on deficient data. The examiner must be accomplished in recognizing the inherent qualities of all components themselves (such as the nature of animal hides and earthen pigments), as well as the attributes of decorative techniques-again in this case, the painted motifs.

As stated above, each of the three Pectol Shields was fabricated of one piece of buffalo hide. The relative thickness of the hide, in some areas as much as  $\frac{1}{2}$  " or more, is one indicator of the hide being from a buffalo, although this is not entirely conclusive. First and foremost, the color of, and the characteristic crazing or crackling of the epidermis of buffalo rawhide are unmistakable. (Figs. 2, 5) Additionally, the compacted felt-like, and fibrous nature of the frayed and worn edges of the shields helps to confirm the source of the rawhide as being buffalo. The fine, felty grain of abraded or tanned buffalo hide is usually recognizable when compared to that of other quadrupeds. It is significant to note that each of the Pectol Shields has the epidermal side of the hide as the back- the painted motifs being applied on the front, the flesh side.



FIGURE 5, Pectol Shield III (CARE 11), reverse side.

## PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE PIGMENTS AND PAINTING

The Pectol Shields share a commonality of painting technique with the other late pre-contact, painted objects from Utah-- three buffalo robes, two burden straps, and a parfleche. Their artistically executed imagery attests to the high degree of mastery of painting on leather by the accomplished hand of the maker(s). (Figs.20 through 23 respectively, and Lanford and Miller, 2000:38 - 47.) The specific procedure of applying the finely ground mineral pigments mixed with a binder to the surface of these leather objects, and the Pectol Shields per se, is of paramount import in assigning them cultural and / or tribal attribution. Like other historic artifacts, the Pectol Shields are documents in and of themselves. In a manner, they speak for themselves, each tendering an assortment of clues to the cultural identify of their maker(s). The nature of pigments that are present is one of the most important features to take into account.

The overall nature of the painted areas-- the way the pigments initially adhered to the hide and the original surface texture of painted areas, along with the affects ensuing from abrasion, flexing and general use, are telling for any painted objects. Painting techniques differed greatly between cultural and geographic regions, and serve as evidence to determine the origins of objects. This is particularly true between the Southwest and the Great Basin, Plains and Plateau artistic regions—the first standing apart.

Let us first consider the methods of applying paint to leather objects in the Great Basin, Plains, and Plateau, and the resulting characteristics of painted areas of animal hide. The painted leather objects from Utah discussed throughout this essay, and especially the Pectol Shields, are prime examples of the prevalent painting technique involving the use of glue-like size or (sizing) that differs so markedly from non-Apache techniques employed in Arizona and New Mexico. The painted areas of the objects from Utah discussed in this essay all exhibit like characteristics of powdered pigments mixed with glue or sizing prior to their application to leather.

Mable Morrow relates that a piece of rawhide given a coat of size or varnish resisted the action of the sun, air, and moisture (Morrow, 1975:31-32). In addition, it also protects the painted surface from abrasion. Indians procured and prepared sizing from a number of sources: liquid from the eyes of large animals, hide scrapings, cartilage, scrapings from horns and hooves, and most common of all, cactus sap. Morrow continues, "Rawhide workers probably used more prickly pear cactus than any other material for sizing."

In the 1970's, on a number of occasions, Milford Chandler communicated to the author that he had observed Indians flay a cactus leaf in half as to form a pallet and pour a quantity of powdered pigment onto the cut side. By stirring the powder into the cactus sap, a glutinous pigment resulted. The benefits of mixing the paint in such a manner were several. The viscosity of the paints permitted their application with precision—the paint remaining static exactly where it was laid down. Likewise, two colors could be applied side by side without them running together. Pigments mixed with glue did not run outside

their borders. Rather, the glue permitted the paints to bind with the hide base to form a smooth field with lustrous finish.

An initial step in preparing the surface of the rawhide for applying painted designs, was to give it an overall, thin coating of clear (colorless) sizing. Likewise, an even more important step was to coat the entire surface of the rawhide object with clear sizing after the designs painted subsequently had thoroughly dried. This extra overlay helped to protect the designs from wear during use. This lends a handsome sheen to the overall surface of the rawhide.

#### THE SUGGESTION OF VARNISH ON THE PECTOL SHIELDS

It has been suggested in some reports that the shiny finish evident on both sides of each Pectol Shield might be from some kind of lacquer or varnish applied to them subsequent to their discovery. This is definitely not the case, for not only is the surface gloss typical of painted rawhide objects en general, it can be seen with close scrutiny that no traces of any liquid having seeped into the cracks and crannies in the epidermis are detectable on the Pectol Shields. The crazing or crackling of the epidermal side of bison hide occurs with age throughout the years after the respective objects are made. Hence, any sizing is present only on the very surface of the hide. In addition, examination of both sides of each Pectol Shield with black light revealed none of the greenish florescence that would be expected from varnish or lacquer.

#### INCISING

A prevalent technique with probable symbolic meaning, and consequential decorative aspects is referred to as "incising," which is the creation of patterns in the epidermis of buffalo hide by scoring and / or excising the dark outer layer to expose the lighter inner layer. This process creates designs of contrasting shades in the natural colors of the hide. (Fig.5). Incising is most likely an ancient technique, easily hit upon almost automatically by any groups during the processing of buffalo hide. Incising (inc. excising) became a common form of ornamentation practiced by Plateau tribes especially—primarily on parfleches. However, Plains Indian also employed incising on parfleches and on other object types as well, chiefly on the reverse sides of shields. Painted designs intended for the front of a shield were nearly always applied to the flesh side, hence with buffalo rawhide the epidermis on the reverse was available for incising. Men of the Crow tribe in particular practiced this custom, but it was not limited to them. A possible connection exists between the Plains Indian practices of incising and excising motifs on the reverse sides of shields with Pectol Shield III (CARE 11). It is conceivable that the makers, assuming them to the Apachean, picked up and retained the trait when they were still living further north than they were in later years. Although depicted on the front of the shield, and therefore probably relating to painted—rather than incised motifs, the in-

pointing triangular motifs on the shield in Figure 34 call to mind the incised patterns illustrated in Fig. 5

## SOUTHWESTERN PAINTING

Among the Southwestern Pueblo peoples, painting of objects has been largely restricted to ceremonial paraphernalia primarily made of wood, such as articles for altars, non-secular clothing and accessories, and kachina dolls. In addition, numbers of fabric and leather objects (and even feathers) are likewise painted-- moccasins, armbands, kilts, masks, and headdress and tableta parts-- again things largely specified for spiritual purposes. The Navajo made very little use of painted objects. The principal object types were Yeibechai masks. The highly charged symbolism embodied in their well-known sandpaintings fall into the class of objects being discussed. This author sees little in common between sandpaintings and the symbols on the Pectol Shields, although a detailed study along these lines has not been undertaken.

As with leather objects from the Great Basin, Plains and Plateau, in the Southwest precious few pre-contact articles of any kind bearing purposefully applied pigments survive to the present. Nonetheless, rawhide and some miniature wooden shields were made in notable quantities by Southwestern Pueblo peoples at least since early historic times. (Fig. 6) Bearing fired paints and glazes, ceramics are in a separate class not considered here. Some items, such as certain moccasins, were painted with dry paints-- the pigments simply being rubbed on. Other articles, in a more widespread practice, were colored with solution-- basically pigments wholly or partially dissolved in water, and without a binder. In Southwestern painting sizing was not typically used to prepare wood or leather prior to painting. Neither was sizing mixed with pigments for application, nor applied to the surface after being painted.

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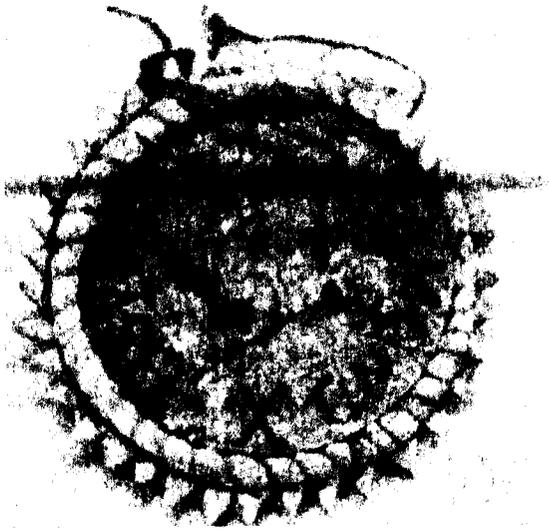
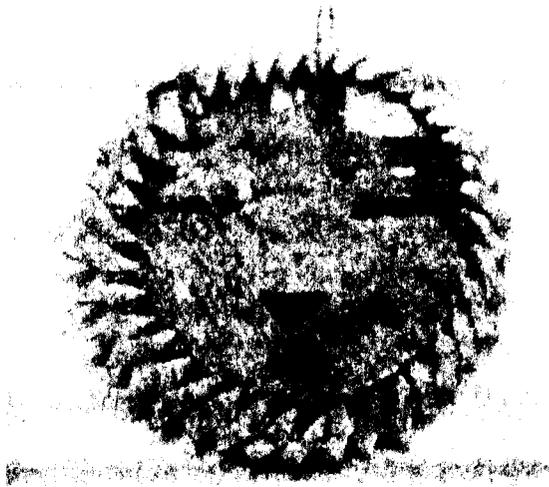


FIGURE 6. Miniature wooden shield, Hopi, AMNH, cat. no. 50.2-113.

The resulting surface characteristics of painted historic Southwestern Pueblo objects in particular-- other than those of the Apache, are recognizably dissimilar from that of painted objects from the Great Basin, Plains and Plateau. The unsized pigment surface on such objects as rawhide shields and wood displays a characteristic matte finish, not smooth and shiny like objects from the latter areas, and like the Pectoral Shields. The surfaces are prone to powdering, flaking and chipping. (Figs. 3, 6, 7, 8) Particularly with painted Pueblo leather objects, naturally subject to flexing, the unsized paints slough off in tiny bits to larger pieces and leave irregular spotting across the surface. Although wooden objects are not flexible, their surfaces are given to flaking are well. (Fig. 6)

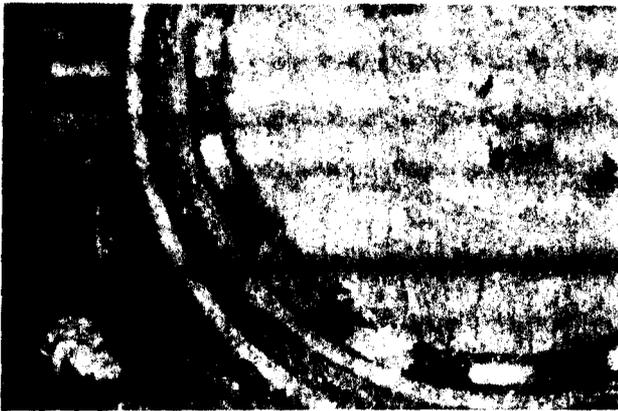
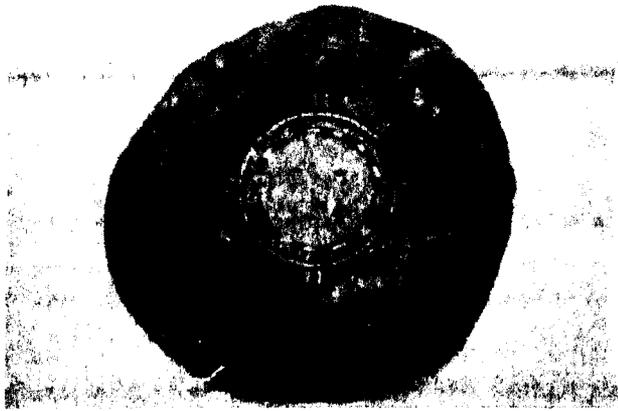


FIGURE 7. Hopi Shield, of rawhide. AMNH cat. no. 50.1-2064.

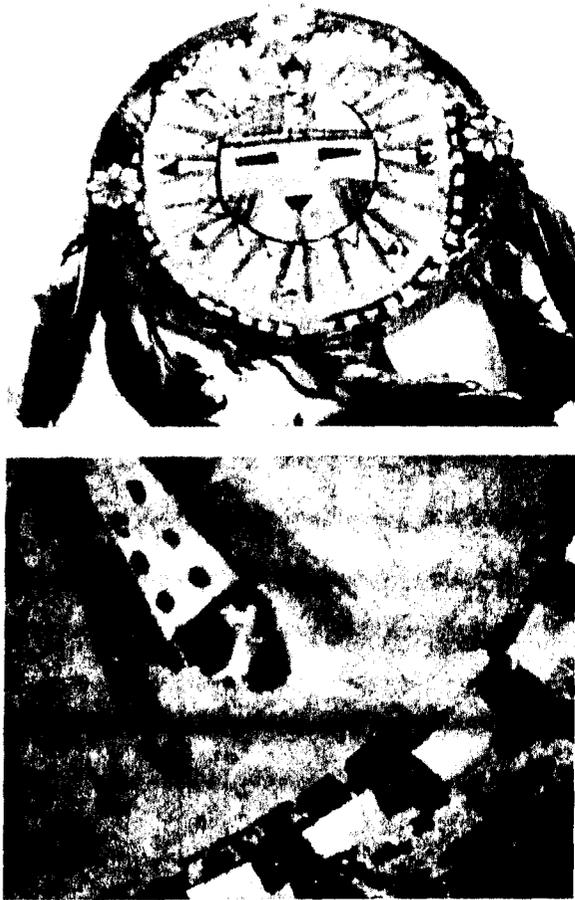


FIGURE 8. Shield, Hopi, AMNH cat. no. 50.2-5464.

As with the practice of incising buffalo rawhide, it is plausible that as various groups of Athabascan speakers moved in southerly and southwesterly directions through the mountains and plains, those who became the various bands of Apaches developed, borrowed and / or retained a vibrant leather painting. This artistic trait, that permitted the tangible expression not only creativity, but also of the representation of non-secular symbols imbued with covert meaning. Therefore, when combined with other features, painting technology and the resulting nature of the painted areas of objects from diverse cultural areas serve explicitly in differentiating possible areas of origin, and possibly even in determining cultural or specific tribal attribution.

## APACHE PAINTED OBJECTS

The various groups of Southern Athabascan peoples coalesced into historic groups, particular the widespread, yet quite homogeneous diverse bands of Navajo, and the several groups of Apaches, who in later historic times came to be (and still are) identified as the Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, Jicarilla, Mescalero, Chiricahua, and Western (or Arizona) Apache. The Navajo and Apaches early on developed distinctive cultural traits, including—and in particular their respective body of material culture. The Navajo, unlike the Apaches, never became proficient leather workers. Not to say that the Navajo processed no animal skins—but for whatever reasons, they never developed the use of rawhide, painting on rawhide and tanned leather, nor beadwork on tanned leather to an elevated degree.

It is unlikely that the Athabascan peoples developed their many traits independent from other groups with whom they associated during their migration. In particular Plains and Plateau Indians, as well as the Apacheans, carried the practice of painting on rawhide and tanned leather was carried to a high level. The presence of Apachean groups in South-Central Utah in early times, certainly the time of the Pectol Shields—AD 1500, is given evidence by the presence of recognizably Apachean painted leather objects. Figs. 9,

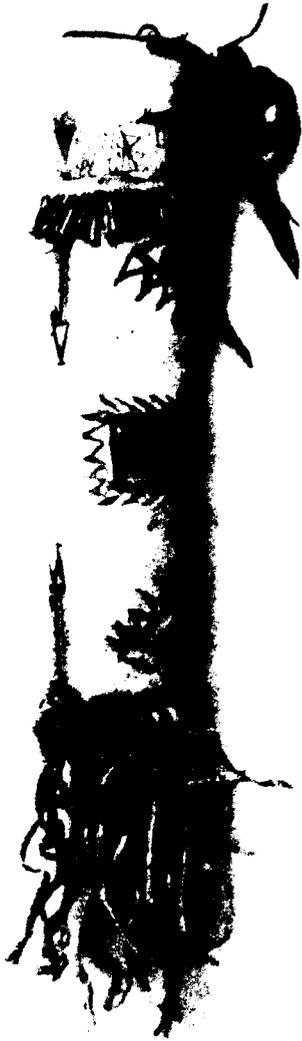


FIGURE 9, Arizona Apache parfleche cylinder, Morrow (1975:110)

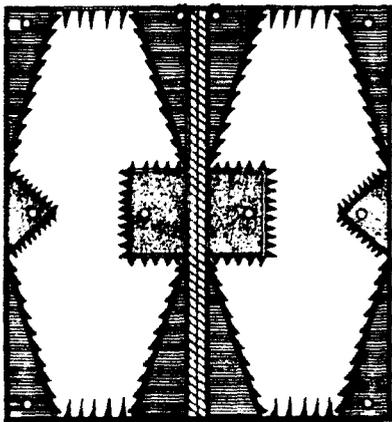


FIGURE 10, Jicarilla Apache Parfleche (schematic drawing), Morrow (1975:85).



Figure 11, Lipan or Mescalero parfleche, AMNH Cat. no. 50.2-2554,

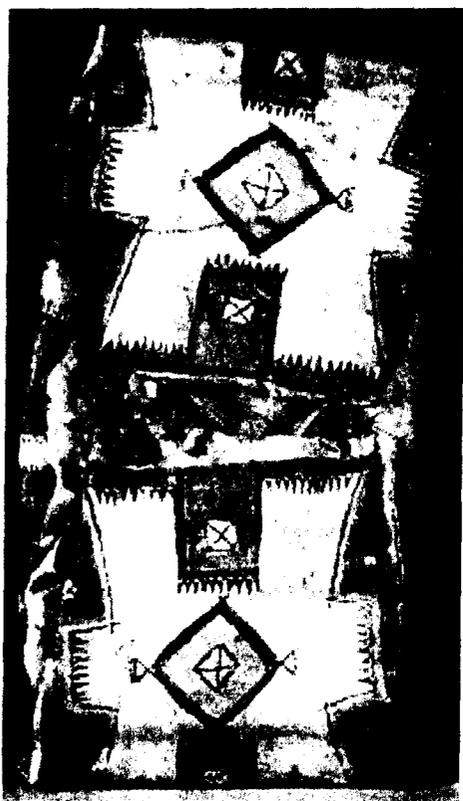


FIGURE 12, Jicarilla Apache Parfleche, TGIAHA, cat. no. 8926.101 (Torrence 1994: 155).



FIGURE 13, Mescalero Apache parfleche, NMAI cat. no. 3-5404 (Torrence, 1994:153)

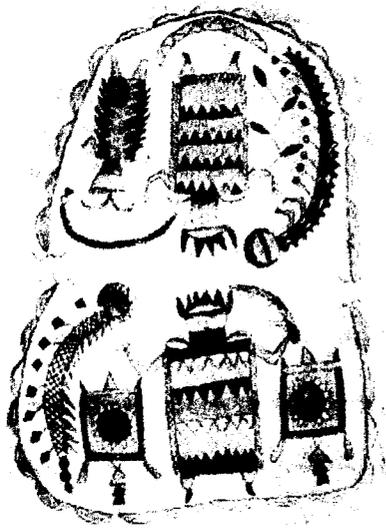


FIGURE 14, Apache "medicine shirt," BAE Annual Report 9, Smithsonian Inst., Plate VI

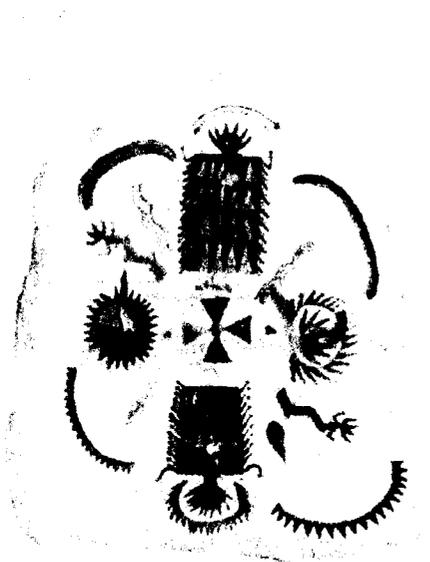


FIGURE 15, Apache "medicine shirt," BAE Annual Report 9, Smithsonian Inst., Plate VII



FIGURE 16, "Jim," Apache Medicine man, with painting buckskin ("medicine shirt"), AHS.

As can be seen in these few illustrations, the commonality of characters of the motifs, including basic triangular, rectangular and serrated forms is characteristically Apache. Serrations along the borders of primary motifs are prototypically Apache painting on tanned leather and rawhide, including shields. (Figs. 1, 17)

Likewise, patterns of alternating dark and light (usually black and unpainted) rectangles or squares are commonly seen in Apache hide painting (as well as in later beadwork). Serrations, or "toothed borders" are immediately apparent to the eye on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191), and on the parfleche from Nine-Mile Canyon. (Figs.1) Such artistic cohesion from late prehistoric times into the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (and indeed on to the present) is unmistakable)



Figure 17, Apache Shield, Ferg (1987:141)



FIGURE 18. Chief San Juan, Mescalero Apache, NMAI cat. no. 36004.

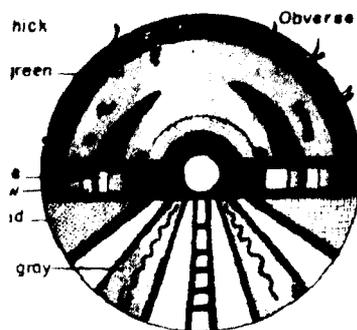


FIGURE 19. Santa Ana Pueblo Shield, Wright (1976:67)

SYNTHESIS OF CONVERSATION WITH GAYLORD TORRENCE, 8-3-01

Among numbers of other scholars, Gaylord Torrence, an art historian who has focused his life's research on North American Indian material culture, professor at Drake University, and author of *THE AMERICAN INDIAN PARFLECHE: A TRADITION OF ABSTRACT PAINTING*, has discussed the Pectol Shields with the author in depth. We observed that the Pectol Shields are reminiscent of Plains shields on one hand, and Apache on the other-but noted the origin of Apachean peoples in the North, and that at least the more easterly Apachean groups have a connection with Plains Indians (and exhibited numerous traits common to Plains Indian cultures. We agreed that certain design elements and characteristics, especially those on painted rawhide containers, were shared between the Apache, and Comanche, and even the Ute. All three of these people were originally located further north than in late historic times, and at times were in close proximity to each other.

And of course the shields could have been made for another form of art, like medicine.

Particularly notable on Apache parfleches are the small, solid, black "teeth" arranged in a sawtooth "fringe" in association with primary motifs. (Figs. 9 – 18, and 20) The teeth figure prominently as outlining around the curved portion (left half) of the asymmetrical motif on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191). (Fig. 1) Western Plateau and the Kutenai painted teeth as borders in parfleche motifs. It is plausible that such artistic conventions emerged as shared ideas as distinct groups interacted.

Torrence commented related that radical asymmetry is a predominant feature of Apache painting, both in geometric forms and figures, and that asymmetry is certainly present on all three Pectol Shields, and is ever present on Plains shields. He also observed, and the author agreed, that certain aspects are characteristic of Apache pigments as well and painting itself. The solid coloration of painted designs is striking-the density of color, and the precision of execution. The pigments were obviously well prepared, and applied with care. The color is smooth, evenly spread-- not splotchy or caked, as it is in much Puebloan painting. (Figs. 3, 6, 7, 8) Design concepts are fully fleshed out- evidence of a firmly rooted artistic tradition.

Quadrants of color and the orientation of motifs into quadrants, as on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191), and conceivably even Shield III (CARE 11)-- as well as on other shields with firm Apache documentation, seem to involve directional themes, at times the semi-cardinal directions. (Fig. 1b, 17, 18) The arrangement of motifs into quadrants is observed even on Apache *medicine shirts*-painted buckskins. (Figs. 14, 15, 16) Also see Bourke, 1970)

The inverted triangular form on Pectol Shield III (CARE 11) can read as a quadrant configuration. It is identical to the reverse side of some Crow Indian shields. Note the two triangles formed by excising the epidermis on the back of Pectol Shield III (CARE 11). (Fig. 5) The removal of epidermis to create patterns was widely practiced by Plains Indians on the backside of shields.

Torrence observed that on Pectol Shield I (CARE 12), the overall pattern of dots, the “countless circles” is an Apache sensibility. (Figs. 1, Pueblo sensibility is large, broad forms organized horizontally. This shield (Pectol I, CARE 12) is vertical. In Pueblo painting there is a top and a bottom. The orientation relates to the landscape—the earth and sky. It is more notably organized. It has a pictorial structure. Apache sensibility is celestial and visionary.

Torrence: “Black dashes on Pectol Shields I (CARE 12) and II (CARE 191) seem almost by the same hand— a distinct pictorial convention, a way of defining a line. (Fig. 1) If not the same hand, they are in close proximity in time and / or cultural group. These guys were all sitting around together! The red curved dashes at the base of the each tapered bar or feather on the ‘tail’ [Pectol Shield II] make a definite visual distinction on each form. It can argue that they form are tail feathers, whichever way they are oriented, but especially off to the side. This reminds me of a ‘sun skirt’ on a Pueblo shield— streamers of light when the sun goes behind a cloud. (Spinden, 1931: 12) (Fig. 19) However, the orientation of the “bird tail” on Pectol Shield II (CARE 191) is not toward the bottom [of the shield]. This is the classic radiating form of tail feathers in a sense that they are opposite the curving form to their left. The overall sensibility of the [Pectol] shields does not seem Puebloan. No. III (CARE 11) particularly looks Plains.”

[End conversation with Torrence.]

At first glance it might be suggested that the triangular motif with flaring bars of color of Pectol Shield III (CARE 11) (Fig. 1c) might show a relationship to the familiar Pueblo “sun skirt.” (Fig. 19) However, the motif encompasses approximately only an eighth of the surface—far less than the usual sun skirt motif. More importantly, the orientation is in the opposite direction is in the opposite direction, and the analogous flair of bars on Pueblo shields.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF OTHER PAINTED LEATHER OBJECTS FROM UTAH

In our article, *LATE PREHISTORIC PAINTED RAWHIDE and LEATHER ARTIFACTS from UTAH*, Pamela Miller (Assistant Director, Curator of Archaeology, and Instructor of Anthropology and Museum Studies at the College of Eastern Utah Prehistoric Museum in Price, Utah) and the author of this paper illustrated nine objects. We discussed their physical characteristics, relationship to each other, and the possibilities of their tribal attribution. (Lanford and Miller, 2000:38 – 47) (Figs. 20, 21, 22, 23) The two buffalo robes and a painted parfleche were found together in a single cache in Nine-Mile Canyon, near Price, Utah. (Figs. 20, 22, 23) show strong features of Apache hide painting, particularly the parfleche. Compare all with Figures 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18. The motifs painted on the parfleche are unmistakably Apache is overall character and execution. As well, the distinctiveness of the painting of the Nine-Mile Canyon Parfleche extends to the burden strap found by Ephraim Pectol, as well as the burden strap

data  
see p. 40  
1999

from the Sitterud Bundle. (Fig. 20.) Note only are the colors virtually identical, but the flavor of the motifs are strongly reminiscent of Apache painting in general, and of each other in particular. The fact that the Pectol Burden Strap was found in close proximity to where Ephraim Pectol discovered the Three Pectol Shields supports the probable presence, and possible occupation of Apache peoples in the Torrey, Utah vicinity. In addition, it is significant to note that among other things, this parfleche contain a quantity of porcupine quills dyed yellow and light green. If indeed this bundle is of Apache origin, the presence of the porcupine quills gives evidence to the fact that they practiced the ubiquitous Plains and Plateau art forms of utilizing quills in many techniques to elaborate the material culture, this primarily on tanned leather articles. See Promontory Moccasins, below.

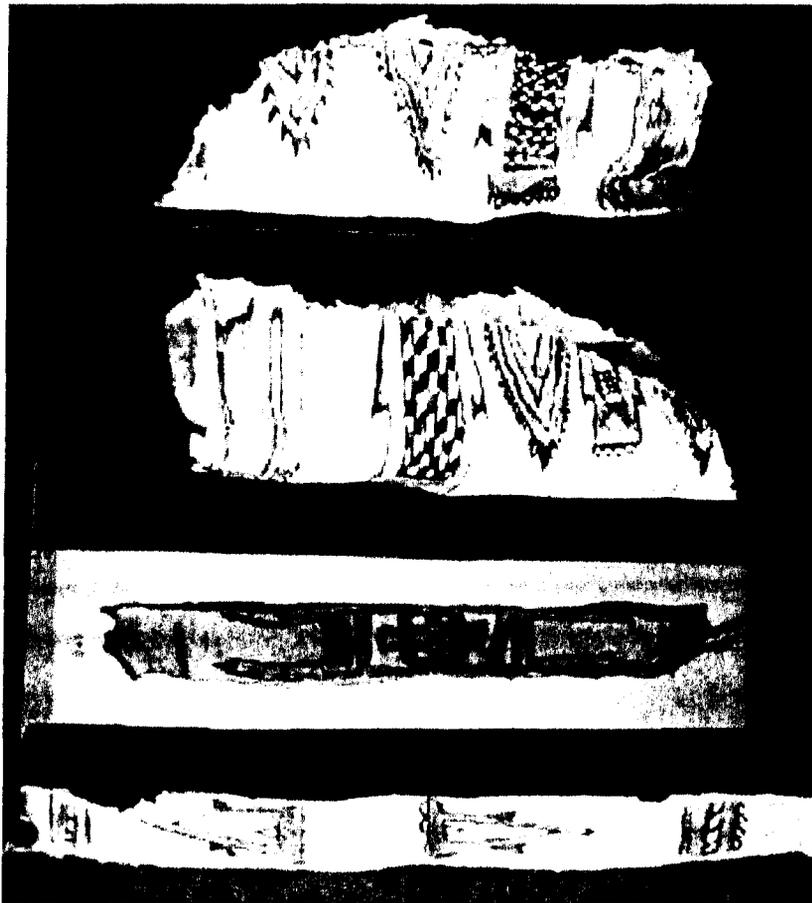


FIGURE 20. Top to bottom, parfleche from Nine-Mile Canyon Bundle, burden strap found by Ephraim Pectol near Torrey, Utah, Sitterud Bundle burden strap from near Castledale, Utah.

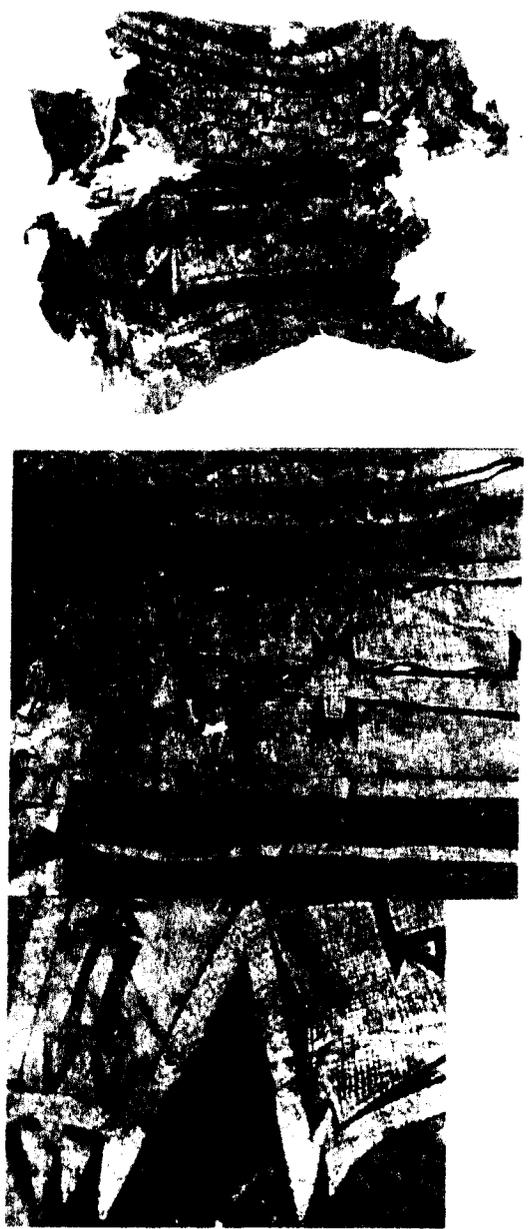


FIGURE 21. Buffalo Robe found on Gordon Creek, near Price, Utah. Top to bottom: overview, two details.

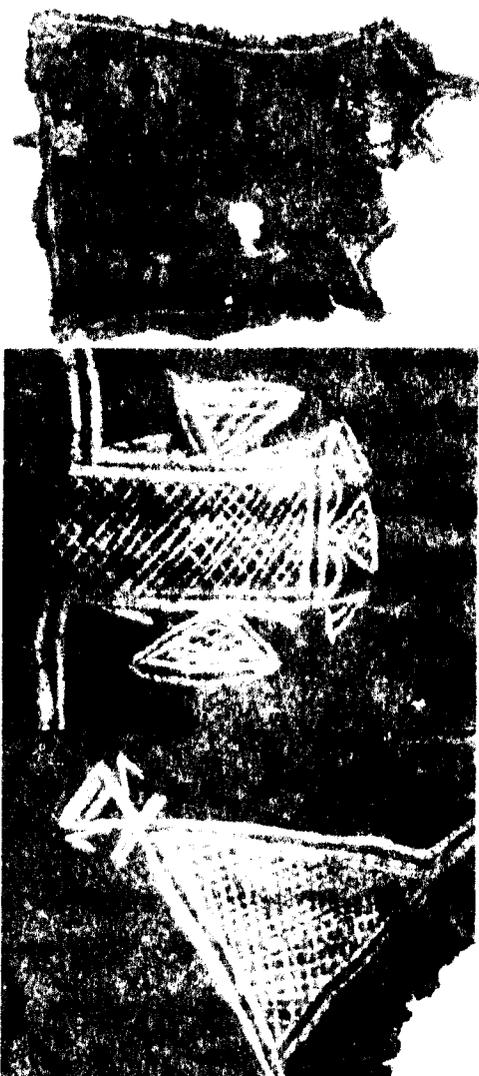


FIGURE 22. Nine-Mile Canyon Buffalo Robe No. 1. To bottom: overview, two details.



FIGURE 23. Nine-Mile Canyon Buffalo Robe No. II.

#### COMPARISON WITH SHIELDS IN ROCK ART

Discussed above is the criticalness of orienting the Pectol Shields correctly to view their painted symbols, as well as the manner in which they possibly relate to cultural aspects of the original owners. However, explicit understanding and reliable interpretation of the latter consideration will ever remain illusive and largely speculative. In comparison to shields from more southwesterly, non-Apache groups (Arizona and New Mexico), the motifs on Pectol Shields I and III (CARE 12 and 11) in particular are arranged along a vertical axis. As difficult as it is to ascribe linguistic group, or cultural or tribal affiliation to shields depicted in rock art in general (including those in the respective Figures in this essay, as well as at least seven of the shields in Fig 24), the prevalence of vertical orientation and grid-like patterning of designs may indicate a regional trait that extends throughout the Plains, Mountain regions, and Great Basin, but that is lacking in the Southwest.

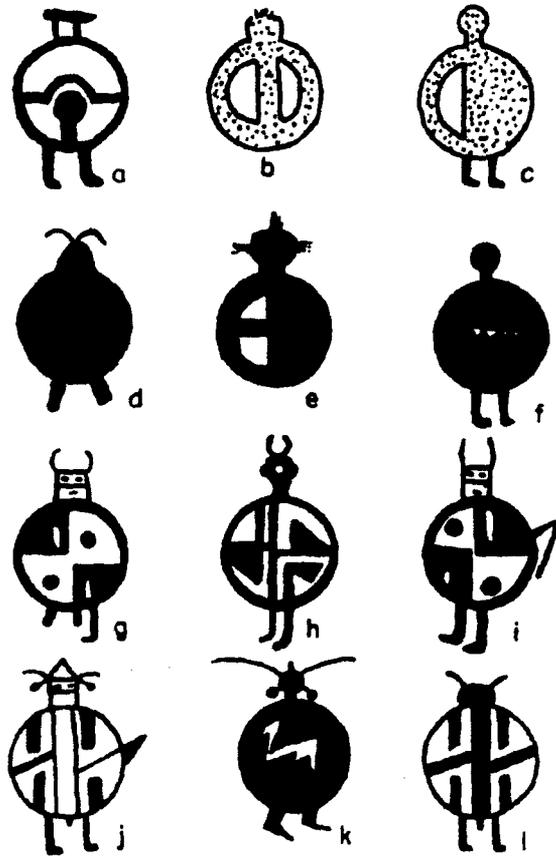
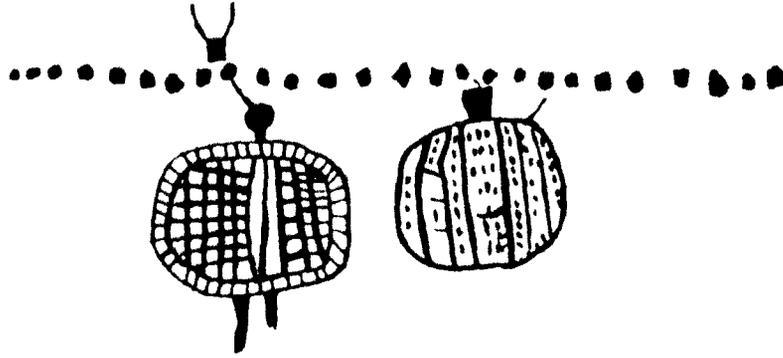


FIGURE 31 Shield-bearing figures from the mouth of White Canyon. Source: Wormington 1955, figs. 64, d-1 and 65, a-c.

FIGURE 24, Shield-bearing figures from White Canyon in Montana, after Schaafsma (1971: ).

\* LaSals  
Montana

\* The similarity of the grid pattern of dots or diminutive elements on the two shields depicted in rock art in Figs 25, 26, and 28 to the grid of dots on Pectol Shield I (CARE 12) is clearly recognizable. Again, a regional trait possibly plays a role in these three, as well as in other examples. The shield in Fig. 26, from a rock art site at Weatherman Draw, south-central Montana, displays a broad grid of dots covering the entire surface of the shield, although the rows appear visually to be horizontal. This visual effect possibly resulted from an accident of execution—the order in which the artist proceeded in pecking the individual dots into the stone surface in horizontal rows. However, the overall effect is virtually identical to the shields covered entirely with dots



**FIGURE 55** Painted shield bearers (42Sa1506) Salt Creek. Source: Charles B. Boogher photo.

FIGURE 25. Shield-bearing figures from rock art in the La Sal Mountains, Utah, after Schaafsma (1971: \_).



**FIGURE 26.** Shield image in Weatherman Draw, Montana; after Conner (1985: fig. 11).

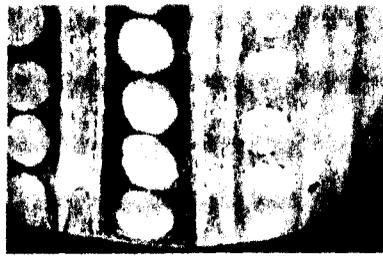
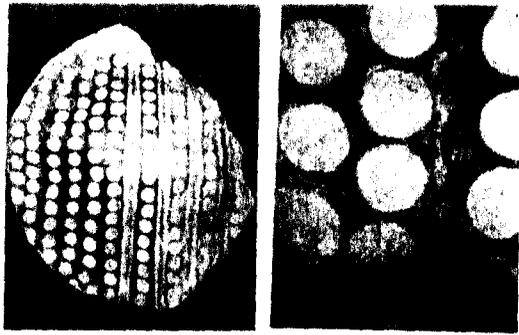


FIGURE 27. Pecten Shield No. 1 (cat. no. CARE12).

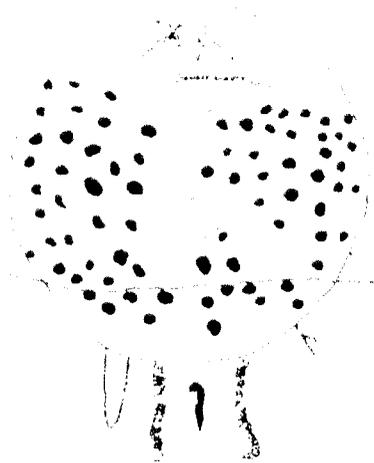


FIGURE 28. Shield-bearing figure, Valley of the Shields, Montana, after Loendorf (1990:49).

Another rock art shield in Weatherman Draw, Montana, is somewhat analogous in the ample use of dots. ON this example, a row of dots follows the perimeter. (Fig. 29) A historic Apache shield cover in the American Museum of Natural History, NY displays in effect the exact same pattern. (Fig. 30) It is important to consider that while concrete evidence of diffusion is lacking, given the myriad examples of the shield object type in the contiguous regions, it is conceivable that these artistic traits indeed existed in common.

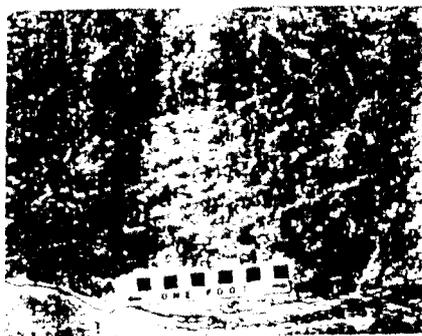


FIGURE 29. Shield image in Weatherman Draw, Montana, after Conner (1985: fig. 12)

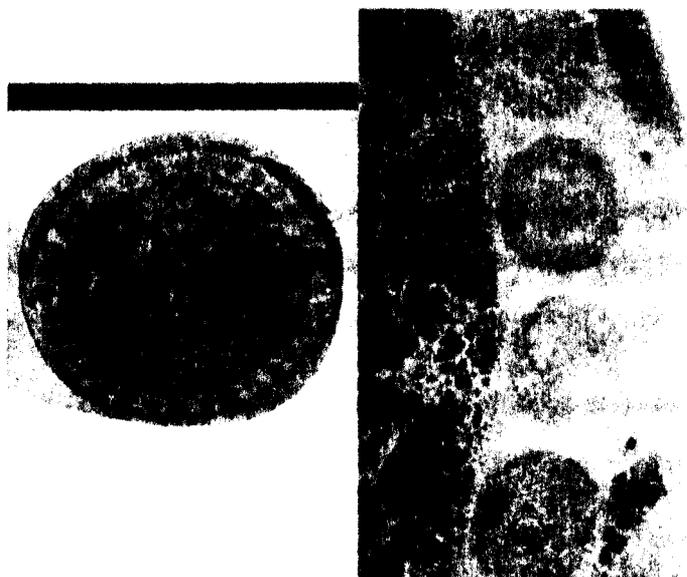


FIGURE 30. Apache shield cover, AMNH, cat. no. 50.1-8311.

## THE DOT MOTIF ON OTHER FORMS

By extension, the painting of dots over the entire surface of objects was practiced in a number of situations among historic Plains Indians: the human face and body, horses, warshirts, leggings, moccasins, pouches, and tipi covers. While any possible connection between these and the project at hand is uncertain, the incidence is worthy of note, and underscores the prevalence of repeated dot motifs in arts on the Plains and adjacent areas outside the Southwest.

The Pectol Shields are so similar in overall features that they were undoubtedly made by the same group, very likely in the general locale. The probability of the Pectol Shields' origination in the area where discovered is demonstrated below. It is well established that various groups pursuing the buffalo as a primary means of livelihood inhabited the region, and they left behind for discovery numerous examples of painted and unpainted objects made of buffalo hide in the region. On the whole, the Pectol Shields exhibit esthetic sensibility common to the Plains and Montane regions, dissimilar from imagery with more southwesterly origins. In more than a hundred examples of shields in rock art from the Southwest the author has found virtually nothing that parallels the overall character of Pectol Shield I (CARE 12) in particular, and very little in Shields II (CARE 191) and III (CARE 11).

## ASYMMETRY OF DESIGN

As introduced above in the discussion with Gaylord Torrence, the asymmetry of design is seen repeatedly in Plains Indian arts, yet is atypical of Southwestern arts. Remembering that Athabascan peoples migrated from sub-arctic regions to the plains and western mountains, some continuing into New Mexico and Arizona, plausibly explains in part the frequency with which radical asymmetry occurs in Apache geometric and figural painting on leather (Figs. 14, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 23, 31, 32) Not only do the two painted buffalo robes, and the small, elaborately painted parfleche from the Nine-Mile Canyon bundle exhibit pronounced asymmetry of design (Figs. 22, 23, 20), but explicit asymmetry is manifest in the Pectol Shields. Asymmetry is most dramatic in Shields I and II (CARE 12 and CARE 191) (Figs. 27, 31) but it is arguable that the main triangular motif on Shield III (CARE 11) displays asymmetry in its placement. (Fig. 32) Note the similar upward orientation of the triangular motifs in this Pectol Shield with that in Figure 33.

The asymmetry of Shield I (CARE 12) is not immediately discernible. The middle (vertical) strip is the one furthest to the right. Like the vertical red ocher strips, it is bordered on each side by a narrow green band. (Fig. 27)

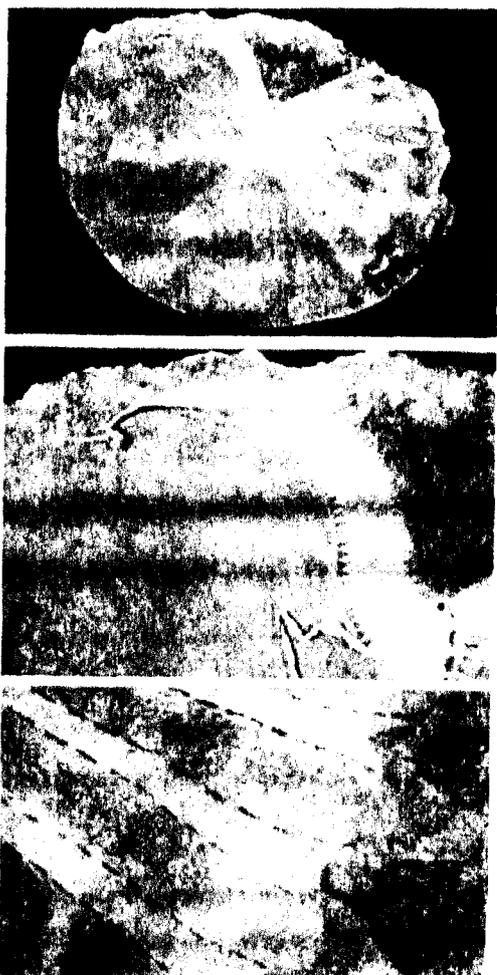


FIGURE 31, Pectol Shield II (cat. no. CARE 191)

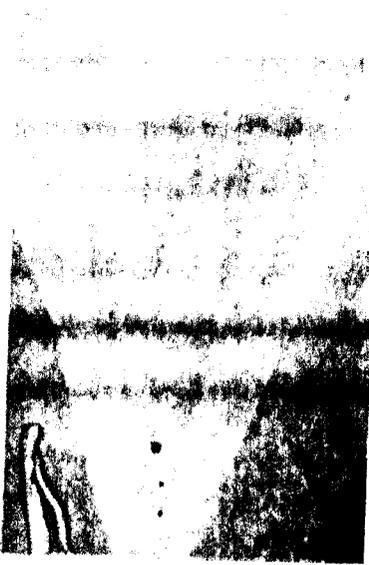


FIGURE 32. Pectoral Shield III (cat. no. CARE 11).



FIGURE 33. Shield-bearing figure at Ellison's Rock, Montana, after Conner (1985: fig. 15)

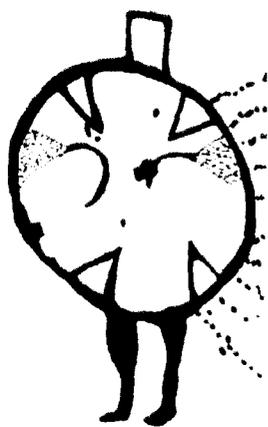


FIGURE 34. Shield-bearing figure, from Ferris ( ).

## NAVAJO SHIELDS

Mention of the characteristics of Navajo shields is important. According to Wright, (1976:12), "Navajos tended to paint their shields black or use pictures of war-related objects such as the bow and arrow or the mountain lion. Other favored designs were the sun and moon, lightning, hands, stars, bead paws or the Big Snake." According to Kluckhohn (1971:369) the Navajos refused to use buffalo hide for making shields!



FIGURE 35. Navajo Shield by Navajo Johnny in 1962, Western Archaeological and Conservation Center, cat. no. NAVA 447.

## BISON PRESENCE IN UTAH

Numerous objects of buffalo hide, some elaborately painted with designs, were found during the 20th century in central Utah emphasize the fact that their makers were peoples who had close association with bison. Rather than being intrusive articles brought into the region from elsewhere, these artifacts were likely manufactured the in general region where found. That this number of technologically and artistically related objects was discovered by happenstance is in and of itself extraordinary. Undoubtedly they represent a mere fraction of a percentage of all like types of objects produced through the centuries in

the respective region, but that have disintegrated or yet go undiscovered. The particular objects introduced above include three buffalo robes, a parfleche (rawhide packing case), two burden straps, and the three shields discovered by Ephraim Pectol. Two of the buffalo robes and the parfleche were found in association with each other. In addition to these painted examples dating to the same general time period (radiocarbon dates A. D. 1551 - A. D. 1750), a number of undecorated leather objects have also been found.

★ Supporting the probability that these objects most likely pertain to local material culture, rather than being imported from elsewhere, is the fact that herds of bison (North American "buffalo," or *Bison bison*) were present in Utah during the period in which the Pectol Shields and other objects of bison hide were made (according to radio carbon dating results). Gunnerson (1974: 135) states that around 1500 herds of North American "buffalo" (*Bison bison*) began to peak in population, and that continually increasing bison density on the High Plains is supported by subsequent overflow into peripheral areas.

In conversations with the author in the 1970's, Milford G. Chandler supplied additional supportive of the fact that buffalo were in the parklands and valleys of Utah, at least until the mid 19th century. Ute people, and Harry Burgess, an agent to the Ute, and subsequently the Pawnees (called *Puks Puhut* "Red Hair" by the latter), related to Mr. Chandler that a type of buffalo robe characterized by extra long and silky hair were region specific. Sioux friends told Mr. Chandler that they sought after such robes, having first been made aware of them during the years of intertribal warfare.

#### PROMONTORY POINT MOCCASINS

Of incalculable significance in the study of late prehistoric people of the Great Basin, are more than a hundred single moccasins discovered early in the 20<sup>th</sup> century at Promontory Point, a peninsula jutting into Great Salt Lake from the northern shore. Many are of the moccasins are made of buffalo hide with the hair attached to the leather. That the hair is turned inward indicates that these were for winter wear. Coupled with numbers of other objects made of buffalo hide, some of which discussed herein, the importance of bison in the economies of the late pre-contact peoples is apparent. The earliest know example of porcupine quillwork is on the vamp of a single moccasin from Promontory Point.

#### VARIOUS APACHE GROUPS

The existence of a number of Apache groups over a widespread area in the Western Plains and Mountains in early contact times underscores the difficulty of determining of which modern group or groups might count among its members the present day descendents of those who made the Pectol Shields. These include the modern Apache groups (also listed elsewhere in this essay): Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Chiricahua, San Carlos, and White Mountain Apaches. Throughout his book, *A History of*

*New Mexican Plains Indian Relations*. Kenner (1969) gives mention of early Apache bands, frequently alluding to the complicatedness of tracing late pre-contact and the earliest post-contact bands of Apaches alluded to in the literature. The Carlana, Cuartelejo, Lipan, Paloma, and Faraon are but some of the Apache groups named in early written accounts. Kenner states, "The Faraon Apaches, found along the Canadian in 1715 by a Spanish expedition and mentioned by La Harpe in 1719 as living west of the Taovayas, were soon afterward set upon by the Comanches. Although there are no contemporary accounts of their defeat, Teodoro de Croix stated in 1781 that sometime earlier, a portion of the Mescalero Apaches had been forced to flee 'from their old pueblos of El Norte,' almost certainly a reference to the Faraones." (Kenner, 1969:34)

In addition to the complexity of tracing Apache groups to the present, as well as distinguishing between the specific tribes who practiced what might be called "area art forms," we must look also at the fact that borrowing and mutual influence in material culture was a given fact of cultural development and evolution. The author discussed the phenomenon of similar motifs exhibited in painted Apache, Comanche and even Ute parfleches, although we agreed that the Apache were at the center of the art style. (Personal communication with the author, August 3, 2001.) (Figs. The latter two tribes shared with the Apaches, residential and / or migratory areas through the Great Basin, at least during some of the so-existence.

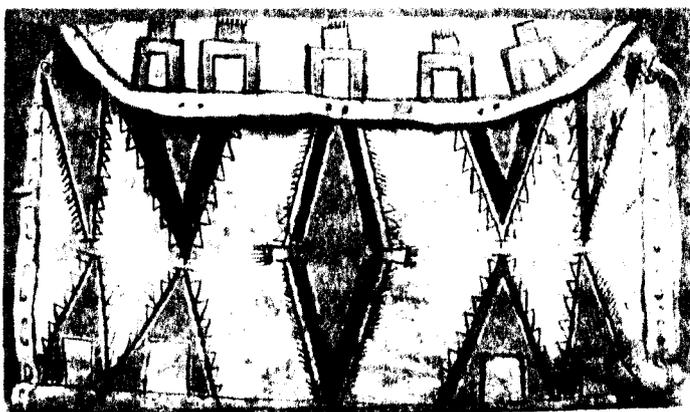


FIGURE 36. Comanche parfleche, after Torrence, AMNH cat. no. 50.1-4291.

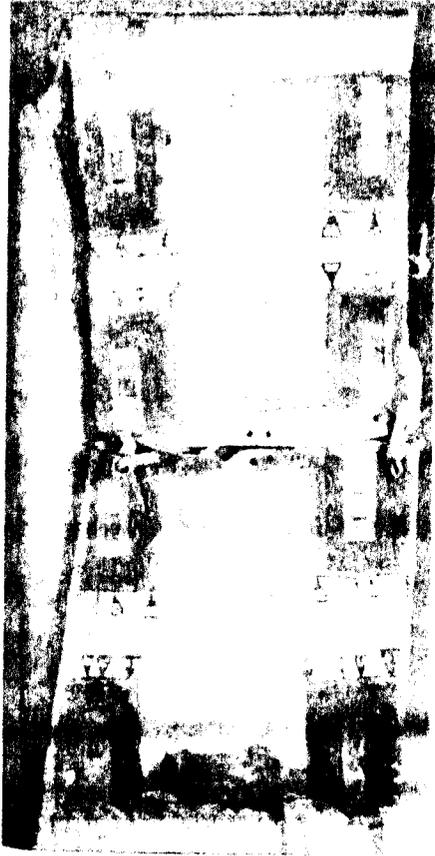


FIGURE 37. Ute parfleche, after Torrence, AMNH cat. no. 50-1304

## CONCLUSION

In the introductory paragraph of this essay it is stated that early on a strong initial suspicion that the makers of the three Pectol Shields were Apachean. Investigation of early groups inhabiting the area furnished evidence that the presence of Apachean peoples (among others) was certain during the era in which the Shields were manufactured. Close examination was made of the Pectol Shields to determine their correct orientation for viewing. Likewise, close examination was given the technique of painting employed by their maker(s). Comparative analysis was done between a number of other painted, late pre-contact rawhide and leather artifacts from Utah. In particular, the comparison of the painted features of the Nine-Mile Canyon parfleche with later historic Apache parfleches furnished weighty evidence that a yet unidentified Apachean group manufactured not only this particular parfleche, but also the two painted buffalo robes (and other contents) of the Nine-Mile Canyon Bundle in which the parfleche was found. Historic Pueblo and Navajo shields and painted objects were compared—symbols as well as painting techniques. Comparative analysis with shield motifs in rock art, and with historic examples was undertaken.

The designation of "Apachean" is decided upon prompted by the difficult and uncertainty of designating a present-day group or groups who might be the direct descendents of whomever created the Pectol Shields. It is the determination of the author that the makers were indeed Apachean—Athabaskan speakers, who by the respective point in history had diverged from their Athabaskan-speaking cousins, the Navajo. Given in part the examples of their material culture represented by the painted rawhide and leather objects considered to be Apachean, these people were recognizably distinct enough from the Navajo to be considered a separate cultural group. Despite considerable comparative analysis of similar material culture objects of other groups from the region, the investigative trail has led to an Apachean designation for the Pectol Shields.

*2nd possible  
Navajo speaking  
in 1700s -  
early 1800s?*

## CONSULTATION

Throughout the research for this essay, the author has discussed aspects with a number of colleagues, including:

- Allen Chronister, ethnologist, Helena, Montana.
  - Larry Belitz, ethnologist, artist, Hot Springs, South Dakota.
  - Milford G. Chandler, ethnologist (now deceased).
  - Winfield Coleman, ethnologist, San Francisco, California
  - Mike Cowdrey, ethnographer, San Luis Obispo, California.
  - Joseph Engelhard, mammalogist, Harbor Springs, Michigan.
  - Kay Fowler, Professor of Anthropology, University of Nevada, Reno.
  - Riku Hamalainen, researcher, Dept. of Comparative Religion, U. of Helsinki, Finland.
  - Larry Loendorf, archaeologist
  - Pamela Miller- Assistant Director and Curator of Archaeology, and Instructor of Anthropology and Museum Studies at the College of Eastern Utah Prehistoric Museum, Price, Utah.
    - Dr. Imre Nagy, ethnologist, Director of Science, Ferenc Mora Museum, Szeged, Hungary.
    - 
    - Dr. Colin Taylor, ethnologist, author, Hastings, England.
  - Gaylord Torrence, author, exhibit curator; Professor of Art, Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa; August 3, 2001.
- Barton Wright, ethnologist, author.

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Wright, Barton, *PUEBLO SHIELDS*, Northland Press, 1976.

Wroth, William, ed., *UTE INDIAN ARTS AND CULTURE: From Prehistory to the New Millennium*, Taylor Museum of the Colorado Springs Fine Arts Center, 2000.

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Wyman, Leland C., editor, *BEAUTYWAY: A Navajo Ceremonial*, Bollingen Series  
LIII, Pantheon Books, NY, 1957.

Young, Jane M., *SIGNS FROM THE ANCESTORS: Zuni Cultural Symbolism and  
Perceptions of Rock Art*, University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque, 1988.

BENSON LEE LANFORD

PROFESSIONAL RESUME

(September 1, 2001)

482 Lit Way Ashland,  
Oregon 97520

EXAMPLES OF ADVISORY EXPERIENCE

AMERICAN INDIAN ART MAGAZINE  
Bata Shoe Museum Foundation, Toronto, Canada  
Museum of Mankind, London, England  
Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming  
Cranbrook Institute of Science, Bloomfield Hills, Michigan  
Detroit Historical Society, Detroit, Michigan  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Los Angeles, California  
Flint Institute of Arts, Flint, Michigan  
Gilcrease Museum, Tulsa, Oklahoma  
Hastings Museum, Hastings, England  
Museum of the Great Plains, Lawton, Oklahoma  
National Cowboy Hall of Fame, Oklahoma City  
Oklahoma State Historical Society  
Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon  
Prehistoric Museum, Price, Utah  
Southwest Museum, Los Angeles, California  
United States National Park Service  
Yosemite Museum, Yosemite National Park, California

SELECTION OF ARTICLES IN PRINT

*Late Prehistoric Painted Rawhide and Leather Artifacts From Utah*, co-authored with Pamela Miller, *AMERICAN INDIAN ART MAGAZINE*, Scottsdale, Summer 2000.

Three articles published in *SPIRIT OF INDIAN: Trade Goods, The North American Indian Tipi, Indian Moccasins*, published in Japanese by World Photo Press, Tokyo, January 2000.

*Richard Alvin Pohrt: Master Collector of the American Indian Frontier*, *THE WORLD OF TRIBAL ARTS MAGAZINE*, San Francisco and Paris, spring 1999.

*The History of Collecting American Indian Art* (parts I and II), *THE WORLD OF TRIBAL ARTS MAGAZINE*, issues 4 & 5, San Francisco and Paris, 1994-95.

*Indian Made Conversions: Recycled Objects*, published 1992 in *ARTIFACTS / ARTIFAKES*, papers of the 1984 Plains Indian Seminar, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, WY.

Total of 40 articles in print, including eleven on moccasin construction and identification.

## EXAMPLES OF PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

- History Advisor and Dialogue Coach for television movie *MR. HORN* (U. S. Army scout), starring actors David Carradine, and Karen Black, Lorimar Productions, Inc., Los Angeles, 1978.
- Speaker and guide to prehistoric and historic sites and museums in New Mexico, Boston Museum of Science study group. Fall 1991.
- Videotaped interview discussing North American Indian art fakes and reproductions for CBS *Good Morning America*, aired spring, 1992.
- Videotaped interview for *THE BEAD MOVEMENT*, Impromptu Productions, aired on National Public Television, in fall 1997.
- Judge for Southwestern Association on Indian Affairs ("SWAIA"), Santa Fe Indian Market, 1992, 1995.
- Coordinator and translator for ten Fellows of the Kellogg Institute to Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, July 1993.
- Faculty member Southwest Institute, University of New Mexico, 1994, and 1995.
- Speaker, *Traditional Contemporary Plains Indian Arts*, European Association of American Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland, March 1996.
- Attendee for three years Eastern Woodland Indian Conference, and presenter: *The Magnificence of Historic Miami Indian Art*, 1998.
- Moderator for five years, and twelve papers presented since 1973, annual Plains Indian Seminar, Buffalo Bill Historical Center, Cody, Wyoming.
- Attendee, research advisor at international conference on historic textiles, University of Leeds, England, June 2000.
- Lectures presented on historic North American Indian material culture include: Eiteljorg Museum, Flint Art Museum, Gilcrease Museum, New Orleans Museum of Arts, Southwest Museum; University of New Mexico, University of Tennessee, University of Western Oregon, International Embroidery Conference, Recursos de Santa Fe, the Bead Societies of Albuquerque and Portland; frequent national / international conferences.
- Appraiser and cataloguer of historic American Indian arts and material culture for numerous institutions, inc.: Buffalo Bill Historical Center – Plains Indian Museum, Cranbrook Institute of Science, Detroit Historical Society, Federal Bureau of Investigation, Eiteljorg Museum, Museum of the Great Plains, Portland Art Museum, National Cowboy Hall of Fame, Southwest Museum.
- Advisor: TUALITY GIANTS, educational video on the giant sequoias in Oregon, current.
- Consultant for American Indian Department, Christie's (international auction house), New York / Los Angeles, current.

## CURRENT AND FUTURE PROJECTS

Manuscripts in preparation for publication:

- *THE PAMPLIN LEDGER*, co-author or book on historic Cheyenne ledger drawings, to be published early 2002.
- *FRY BREAD GOES WITH EVERYTHING*, a collection of American Indian recipes.
- Catalog of exemplary North American Indian art and material culture in international private and institutional collections
- Ribbonwork and Beadwork Patterns;
- Misconceptions About American Indian material culture.
- What to Do / What Not to Do In Museum Displays.
- Founder of a new annual conference on historic and traditional North American Indian arts and material culture; first conference Sept. 2001, Great Falls, Montana.

## CURRENT PROFESSIONAL AFFLIATION

- Editorial reviewer, *AMERICAN INDIAN ART MAGAZINE*
- Member Native American Art Studies Association

## EDUCATION AND PERSONAL EXPERIENCE

B. A. degree, University of the Americas Cholula, Mexico (formerly located in Mexico, D. F.). Teaching Certificate, University of Michigan. Seventy postgraduate hours of study: Universities of Michigan, and New Mexico.

Language Skills: Fluent in English and Spanish; conversant in Polish; familiar with French, Russian, Italian, German, Lakota. Extensive domestic and international travel (41 countries), including many to research collections of North American Indian material culture. Travel experience: Four years residence in Mexico City between 1960 and 1965.

Social and professional relationship with various groups of American Indian people since childhood. Extensive research, speaking and publishing experience relating to North American Indians. Curator of personal research facility containing approximately 60,000 slides, and 5000 historic images of historic American Indian arts and material culture. Frequently sought as a consultant by American Indian groups, institutions, collectors, publishers, and scholars.