The Political Power of Museums: A Case Study on the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art

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The Political Power of Museums:
A Case Study on the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art

An Honors Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Honor Studies in History

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# Contents

Acknowledgements i

Introduction 1

Chapter 1  History of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, 1920s to 1950s 16

Chapter 2  Museum of Spanish Colonial Art: Continuing the Spanish Colonial Arts Society Legacy 31

Chapter 3  Spanish Market: An Avenue for Hispano Artists 58

Chapter 4  Tourism and Santa Fe: Outside Influences on Museum Goals 69

Conclusion 81

Appendix 85

Bibliography 88
In 2020, in the wake of multiple examples of police brutality against African Americans that highlighted systematic racism in our society, protesters fought back against the public glorification of racist histories by tearing down statues of Confederate generals. People are no longer willing to accept public depictions of history without question, leading to movements similar to this one increasing in recent years. These movements call attention to how museums and monuments represent society and history, examining the impact these have on individuals. It is critical that the museum field reevaluate its history, messaging, and influence on society at this time. Museums hold an esteemed place in culture that grants validity to the objects and history held within them based solely on the inherent authority ascribed to them as institutions. Carol Duncan has described the content of museums as “secular truth” that is given “the status of objective or universal knowledge.”1 Based on what is collected by and represented within a museum, an institution makes certain ideological statements about history, art, and the people those derive from, using its cultural power to classify and represent.2 The public then accepts these ideological statements as objective knowledge because of the museum’s cultural power. This makes the analysis of what museums portray incredibly important given the extent of people’s belief that these institutions hold the power to determine authoritative truth concerning art, history, and society.

Some museums have attempted to distance themselves from this lofty position by creating an environment that invites questioning and further exploration by the individual,

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situating themselves as forums rather than a temple.\textsuperscript{3} However, even these museums have difficulty shaking the previous associations individuals have concerning the institutional nature of museums and their belonging within that institution.\textsuperscript{4} In the late 1970s, museums underwent a shift from collecting and displaying according to the beliefs of the dominant nations to instead existing as educational tools for the general public.\textsuperscript{5} From this period of change came the belief that museums could be more pluralistic institutions, representative of diverse voices.\textsuperscript{6} Beginning in the 1990s, many museums touted their postcolonial status in the wake of their inclusion of and collaboration with traditionally outsider communities.\textsuperscript{7} Robin Boast argues that, despite this change appearing to create more diverse and representative museum collections and displays, the actual power remains within the firm control of the intellectual elite.\textsuperscript{8} Despite this contradiction inherent in the power systems at play, society now expects modern museums to take on an active role in bettering society and “to take sides in the struggle over identity” that arise in political and social contexts.\textsuperscript{9}

This dynamic of the supposedly representative museum that must balance its inherent power and the need for inclusion and collaboration creates new difficulties for the museum field in presenting histories that the general public will consume and accept as truth. This thesis examines the complications that occur at museums as they face these challenges and attempt to represent marginalized communities that have been historically excluded from museum spaces. It

\textsuperscript{3} Duncan F. Cameron, “The Museum, a Temple or the Forum,” in Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift, ed. by Gail Anderson, (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2004), 61-73.
\textsuperscript{4} Duncan, Civilizing Rituals, 4.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid, 57.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid, 56.
\textsuperscript{8} Ibid, 58.
further questions whether museums can be tools for marginalized communities to assert their identity and goals within museums’ institutional history of white superiority and imperialism. The case study is the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (MoSCA) in Santa Fe, New Mexico. MoSCA presents itself as a site for Hispano empowerment through artistic expression of the traditional Spanish Colonial art style that emphasizes the Spanish colonial heritage of Hispanos in New Mexico. However, I argue that it falls short of being a truly representative tool for the Hispano community in practice because of a lack of shared authority with the community.

The museum is a branch of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society (SCAS), which was founded in 1925 by a group of Anglo artists and writers interested in the revival of Spanish Colonial art in the Santa Fe Hispano community.10 Elizabeth Boyd White revived the society in the 1950s and began to expand its collection by reactivating the society’s market and encouraging the production of religious arts in the Hispano community.11 In 1998, the society began planning to create a museum to house its collections, which opened to the public in July of 2002 as the only museum whose sole purpose is displaying Spanish Colonial style art.12 The museum serves as the physical expression of the society’s goals of preserving the art style with its collection of historical and contemporary Spanish Colonial art created by Hispano artists. The society compliments its museum work, and expands its collection, through the biannual Spanish Market held in Santa Fe each year.13 At the market, Hispano artists produce various art pieces in traditional categories, following standards set by the society for what is allowable in each.14

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12 Ibid.
14 Ibid.
Traditional Spanish Market occurs on the last weekend of July, with Winter Market happening in early December.\textsuperscript{15} Presently, there are about 200 artists who participate making art across nineteen categories.\textsuperscript{16}

MoSCA provides a particularly rich source of inquiry because of the complex cultural and ethnic dynamics in place in Santa Fe, which has been referred to as the “myth of Santa Fe” by Chris Wilson.\textsuperscript{17} Wilson theorizes that the many traditions and ethnic identities that have been prescribed for the city by the government and members of the community are a half-truth meant to provide a coherent and idealized vision of “tricultural harmony” to tourists.\textsuperscript{18} This myth is incredibly appealing to many tourists and residents alike, however it disguises the tensions inherent to the city because of its history as the capital of Spanish colonies in New Mexico and the mistreatment of the Pueblo Indians that occurred as a result.\textsuperscript{19} This dynamic was further complicated when New Mexico became a U.S. territory and many Anglo Americans moved to the area, becoming the new elite class that controlled most of the land and legal systems.\textsuperscript{20} These new Anglo elites looked down upon the Hispano population who were accustomed to being the elites.\textsuperscript{21} SCAS fits within this intricate history because it extols the virtues of Spanish Colonial art, which is an essential way in which Hispano identity is expressed by emphasizing Spanish colonial ancestry through artistic mediums.\textsuperscript{22} However, this emphasis also disregards, and

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{17} Chris Wilson, \textit{The Myth of Santa Fe: Creating a Modern Regional Tradition}, (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997), 8.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{20} Ibid, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
sometimes praises, the violent history of colonialism and the malicious treatment of Pueblo Indians. SCAS also represents the larger trend in Santa Fe of the Anglo community of outsider elites, beginning with an influx of artists and writers drawn to create an art colony in Santa Fe in the 1920s, claiming cultural authority over the individuals who have cultural and ethnic ties to this heritage. They asserted their “responsibility for defining and protecting the region’s cultural heritage” because of their intellectual awareness of the city’s traditions and art styles. The earliest membership rosters of SCAS were filled with these Anglo intellectuals involved in the art colony environment of Santa Fe. Its founders, Mary Austin and Frank Applegate, were both Anglos known by the Santa Fe arts community for their academic knowledge and scholarship on Spanish Colonial art. Therefore, MoSCA is not just a museum representing a marginalized community under the direction of Anglo authority. It is also part of a larger narrative of colonial era relationships and their continued impact on museum display and society, as well as the ways in which individuals search for meaning within and outside of their overlapping communities. An examination of MoSCA allows for analysis of the importance of expressing identity in museums, whether catered for community empowerment of those whose identity it represents, an elite crafting a romantic portrayal of that community for their own enjoyment, or for consumption by tourists for the combined benefit of both the community and elites.

23 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
27 Pierce and Weigle, Spanish New Mexico, 94.
The ethnic distinctions used in this thesis, most prominently Hispano, Anglo, and Pueblo, are based in the specific terminology preferred by individuals of these groups in New Mexico. Latinos in the state have historically adopted the Spanish nomenclature of Spanish American or Hispano as a linguistic reminder of their descendancy from colonial Spaniards. This was a method of “symbolic production” by Hispanics through their perceived “need for a competitive political nomenclature” within the social and political situation of New Mexico. The usage of “Hispano” remained prominent despite changing opinions surrounding ethnic nomenclature that have led to the adoption of the labels “Chicano,” “Hispanic,” and “Latino” at various points in time. In materials produced by SCAS and MoSCA, the terms Hispanic or Hispano are consistently used to describe Latinx individuals. As such, within this work, the term Hispano will be given priority and used to identify Latinx individuals of New Mexico who identify as Hispano or descended from colonial Spaniards.

Just as associations with ultimate authority haunt museums, the formation of museums rooted in imperialism and colonialism continues to affect modern institutional practices and public perceptions of museums. Museums began as ideological tools for the expression of political power by nations involved in imperialism that sought to claim national and racial superiority. Their power came from their ability to control, order, and classify objects in a manner that identified these imperial nations as the peak of progress. The history of the museum in the form that it exists today, as a public institution that holds objects for observation

29 Ibid.
30 Ibid, 164, 166.
31 Ibid, 178.
33 Ibid.
by the general public, began in the late 18th century.\textsuperscript{34} Governments at this time placed high regard on the improvement of the cultural wellbeing of their citizens to express their enlightened governance.\textsuperscript{35} While civilizing their populations through libraries, lectures, art galleries, and museums, they were also using these forms of culture to exert their power to the people of their country and other countries and make claims about the superiority of the people of their nation over the primitive, conquered other.\textsuperscript{36} In the 19th century, nations began to organize exhibitions to assert a narrative of linear progress moved forward by the nation and culminating in the nation and its people as the triumphant end point.\textsuperscript{37} The narrative contrasted those outside the nation as more primitive and less advanced than those inside the nation.\textsuperscript{38} Through the organization of collections, white imperialist nations presented themselves as the evolved conquerors superior to the primitive conquered.\textsuperscript{39} This history places museums into a system of white supremacy that continues to affect them in the present day, as the practices established during this period continue to have a firm grasp on the methods of modern museums despite attempts to create representative spaces.\textsuperscript{40}

These attempts are often carried out in museums using the language of a contact zone, which now in the museum field connotates “inclusionist programs in exhibitions, shared curatorship, and use of collections,” through which museums can become “a space for collaboration, discussion, and conflict resolution.”\textsuperscript{41} However, a contact zone as it was first

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{34} Ibid, 19.
\item \textsuperscript{35} Ibid, 18.
\item \textsuperscript{36} Ibid, 19, 79.
\item \textsuperscript{37} Ibid, 67.
\item \textsuperscript{38} Ibid.
\item \textsuperscript{39} Ibid, 79.
\item \textsuperscript{40} Peggy McGlone and Sebastian Smee, “Coronavirus shutdowns and charges of white supremacy: American art museums are in crisis,” The Washington Post, October 12, 2020, American art museums are in crisis, facing pandemic losses and charges of racism - The Washington Post; Eleanor Foster and Kylie Message, “What the Museum Does Not Say: Museums and Contested Histories,”
\item \textsuperscript{41} Boast, “Neocolonial Collaboration,” 56, 60.
\end{itemize}
defined by Mary Louise Pratt instead refers to the spaces where “cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism,” and therefore is filled with the conflict and tension that museums often wish to disguise in their collecting and display.\textsuperscript{42} Despite museums attempting to create contact zones that allow for greater representation of those traditionally left out of the museum environment, they remain tethered to their past as instruments of Western imperialism and civilization. They are “not really sites of reciprocity,” and instead are “asymmetric spaces of appropriation.”\textsuperscript{43} Museums in their most basic form continue two of their most important colonial features, to collect and exhibit.\textsuperscript{44} Boast argues that museums are now being used to achieve neoliberal goals using neocolonial methods because despite some collaborations with traditionally outsider communities, the power that comes from owning and displaying still remains within the hands of the institution.\textsuperscript{45} She further claims that because of the very structure of the museum institution and its role as the collector and displayer, the museum will always hold the power over those communities it represents.\textsuperscript{46}

I began researching MoSCA after learning about the Spanish Market and its connection to the larger Hispano community in Santa Fe, seeing it as a way for Hispano artists to create in art styles traditional to them. The museum presented itself on its website and promotional materials as an expression of Hispano identity that relied on emphasizing the Spanish colonial heritage of the community in the face of discrimination by Anglo Americans to amplify their position in society and increase pride in their community. It appeared to be the ideal contact

\textsuperscript{43} Boast, “Neocolonial Collaboration,” 63.
\textsuperscript{44} Ibid, 65.
\textsuperscript{45} Ibid, 66.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
zone, a site where the Hispano community could express themselves and their identity through artistic creation within a space that had traditionally been inaccessible to them and unwilling to portray their history and art for its value and ingenuity.

I understood it as the museum counterpart to the Santa Fe Fiesta. Sarah Bronwen Horton has argued that the Fiesta is an expression of Hispano cultural power that translates to social and political power through its glorification of the Spanish reconquest of New Mexico leading to the peace established between the cultures present in the area. This was carried out by the Hispano community in response to encroachment and economic domination by Anglos beginning in the 1880s, as well as to counter the stereotypes Anglos had of them and claim their connection to a shared European heritage of power and colonialism. This declaration of Hispanicness as a claim to Spanish colonial ancestry would be articulated through many cultural and public history avenues that repudiated the Pueblo Indians, extolling the history and the figures who had dealt violently and maliciously with their ancestors.

Horton also asserts that although the fiesta began as a celebration led by Anglos, the Hispano community reappropriated the festivities as their own ideological tool to claim their status and power. I expected to find that a similar process had occurred at MoSCA and within the larger society because of the advertised continuation of community traditions and Hispano involvement in the museum. I planned to connect this trend of asserting Hispano identity to Spanish colonial ancestry in the museum to the ways in which nations used museums as ideological tools for the expression of their political power, arguing that ethnic communities

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48 Lovato, Santa Fe Hispanic Culture, 22, 31; Gonzales, “‘History Hits the Heart,’” 209-210.
49 Gonzales, “‘History Hits the Heart,’” 209-210.
50 Horton, The Santa Fe Fiesta, Reinvented, 10.
could similarly use museums as vehicles for their political and social purposes. However, with
deeper research and time spent at MoSCA, I realized that it, like many modern museums that
attempt to portray the history and art of marginalized communities, had failed to create a more
diverse and representative museum because it did not share the authority of the institution with
members of the Hispano community. This is most evident from the fact that both the society and
the museum have never had directors of Hispano identity, and very few of their employees have
been Hispano. Because of this lack of shared authority of the space, it raises questions about
whether the museum is successful as an avenue for Hispano expression or as a site of community
connection building. This begs more research on whether museums representing marginalized
communities can ever be tools for those communities to express their identity and assert their
goals because of the history of museums as institutions of white superiority and imperial
justification. I will delve into this further by examining the history of SCAS and the mission,
activities, and exhibits of MoSCA as a case study for the larger discussion of museums that
portray the art and history of communities who fall outside of what those who held institutional
power have historically deemed worthy of inclusion in the museum setting.

I begin by outlining the history of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society to provide the
context of the organization behind the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art. This history highlights
the Anglo involvement in the so-called “revival” of Spanish Colonial arts in Santa Fe, as well as
Anglo establishment of and control over SCAS. Beginning with the original founders of SCAS,
specifically Mary Austin and Frank Applegate, and tracing the society’s evolution into its
renewal in the 1950s and expansion in the 1990s, I explore Anglo sentiments towards Hispanics
and Spanish Colonial art and the motivations behind creating an organization dedicated to its

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51 David Rasch, Interview with Author, June 10, 2021.
continuation. I examined scholarly works on the arts by Mary Austin, Frank Applegate, and Elizabeth Boyd White to gain insight into their individual opinions. I gathered a general understanding of public opinion of the arts in Santa Fe through the lens of articles in *The New Mexican* spanning from the society’s establishment in the 1920s through the 1990s when plans for a SCAS museum began to take hold.

I then turn towards early plans for and creation of the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art. I highlight attitudes and motivations of those involved in SCAS to turn their society collections into a physical site for display and interpretation. I also evaluate the goals the society had for the museum and the ways they carried that out from the planning stages to the actual implementation. This section analyzes society and museum newsletters, as well as initial strategies and plans the museum had for itself, supplemented by its Museum Assessment Program completed soon after its opening. I then compare this to the actual workings of the museum from day to day based on my own observations at the museum and interviews with employees. These observations come from the week I spent at MoSCA in July 2021, during which I conducted research in their collections, archives, and library, and was in conversation with museum staff, as well as contact that occurred other times over emails and calls. This comparison highlights the dynamic between the stated intention of the museum to be a site of empowerment and celebration of Hispano art and the difficulties that arose in creating that space once the society built the museum and it operated for an extended period. These difficulties directly stem from the impact of the society’s history on the continuation of the organization through the museum.

This leads into the examination and analysis of how the museum operates in the present day. Using museum literature produced for advertising and educational purposes, the actual
exhibit spaces, and interviews with employees, I analyze how the museum creates an academic appreciation for Spanish Colonial art, but fails to create a cultural understanding and appreciation for the Hispano traditions and community that produces the art. By doing so, the museum falls short of creating a site for community empowerment and expression for Hispanics, despite making claims to its success in these categories. I argue that this comes from a lack of understanding of community wants and needs due to the absence of shared authority with the Hispano community.

I then turn to the Spanish Market, another branch of SCAS’s operations where Hispano artists create Spanish Colonial artworks, compete for awards in specific categories, and sell their art to individuals, art dealers, and MoSCA. While still existing within the guidelines that SCAS sets for them, Hispano artists are able to express themselves through their art at Spanish Market. They use it for their economic development and have also been able to assert their agency more actively through contention with SCAS on standards and types of art allowed. Through interviews with Hispano artists who participate in Spanish Market, I show that they view the market as a more accessible avenue for their own expression and empowerment than the museum, which they are less likely to interact with.

I compliment these threads with a discussion of how the society and museum fit into the larger narrative of Santa Fe and the myth of tri-cultural harmony that permeates the daily lives of Santa Feans and the touristic enterprise that economically and culturally powers the city. The influence of tourism on the production of culture is incredibly important to recognize in Santa Fe, and in the specific case of MoSCA, because of the need to be able to claim cultural authority and authenticity to appeal to the vast audience that visits Santa Fe museums and cultural institutions. MoSCA, like many of the museums in Santa Fe, has an audience that is largely
tourists. Those tourists are excited by the idea that they are visiting a museum with active local Hispano involvement, so MoSCA is encouraged to continue this narrative.

In my conclusion, I turn to what this analysis means for museums representing minority communities at large. I particularly examine how motivations and intentions are not enough to carry out a truly representative and empowering display. Museums must take active steps towards achieving this type of space, and every museum will have gaps that it must continue to work towards correcting. I do not believe museums are a lost cause, but the institutional field must continue to dismantle the power structures in place from the times of imperialism and colonialism and expand the accessibility of its collections and spaces. If someone feels they could never see themselves in a museum, they will be unwilling or unable to access the potential a museum could hold for them. It is the museum field’s job moving forward to truly open these spaces to every person, in their exhibit spaces, in their offices, and in their boards.
History of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, 1920s to 1950s

The 1920s in Santa Fe found artists and art enthusiasts flocking to Santa Fe for its retreat-like environment and airy landscapes. They would arrive first as tourists, drawn by the supposedly romantic Southwest landscape and increased access provided by trains. These artists found in New Mexico, especially in Santa Fe and Taos where they established thriving art colonies, a sense of nostalgia from the “exotic, pristine world that assumed shape and meaning in contrast to the urban industrial world they tried to escape.” This nostalgia was not just towards the landscape, but was inherently tied to the people living within the landscape, the Pueblo Indians and Hispanos. Therefore, these artists were searching for, and ascribing, authenticity to the environment and individuals within it based on their visual perception of the “regional visual semiotic” which included adobe buildings, mountainous backdrops and indigenous individuals.

The artists created an elite class of individuals within the Santa Fe community that can be referred to by Lawrence Moses’ term amenity migrant, meaning a person who was originally a tourist and then decided to stay for a longer period of time. They are important to recognize as their own sector within the community because they would become the key characters within the promotion and management of tourism that would depend on the art and culture of the Pueblo Indians and the Hispano descendants of Spanish conquistadores. They also therefore had the most reason to push for the prevention of changes to the environment and life styles of those native to the area, while being the very force that would potentially change those things by

53 Ibid, 110.
55 Ibid, 110-111.
56 Ibid, 113.
57 Ibid.
influencing what was most beneficial to produce or what narrative was considered most 
authentic.58 These Anglo elites, whether artists, businessmen, or another occupation, were the 
individuals Hispanos were trying to influence with their adoption of the terms “Spanish 
American” or “Hispano” as a way to contest the negative views Anglos had of them.59 In doing 
so, they were able to assert their equal status to Anglos while also entering into the narrative of a 
“historic Spanish culture” that the Anglos romanticized.60

This was the environment in which the Society for Spanish Colonial Art (SCAS) was 
created. Frank Applegate and Mary Austin, the original founders of SCAS, could both be 
categorized as amenity migrants who were part of the Anglo artist elite class. Mary Austin, a 
writer by profession, first visited New Mexico at the invitation of Mabel Dodge Luhan and found it compelling enough that she returned to live there until her death.61 Austin’s interest in the art style came from her work with the Carnegie Foundation, who hired her in 1918 to survey the 
Hispano population in Taos County.62 Frank Applegate, a painter and sculptor, first traveled to 
Santa Fe for the Fiesta and also became enamored with the environment and decided to move 
there.63 Applegate was passionate about defending the art of Pueblo Indians and the Hispano 
community and got his authority from the fact that he had collected so many ethnically produced 
objects.64 According to Austin, their shared interest in Spanish Colonial arts was instilled with a 
“profound regret for their disappearance,” demonstrating that they saw a need for revival they

58 Ibid.
60 Ibid.
61 Mary Austin, Earth Horizon, (Santa Fe, NM: Sunstone Press, 2007), iii.
62 Marta Weigle, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society,” in Hispanic Arts and 
Ethnohistory in the Southwest, ed. by Marta Weigle (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Ancient City Press, 1983), 183.
aplegate/biography.
64 Weigle, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society,” 183.; Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, 
250.
felt qualified to carry out.\textsuperscript{65} They were further inspired by a recognition of the “capacity for handicraft, of a fine and satisfying quality,” in the Hispano artists they would go to for restoration and repairs, however this was “overlaid by modern American neglect,” that they believed they could get rid of.\textsuperscript{66} They were compelled to preserve the art of the Hispanics in Santa Fe and sought to create a society that would keep that art from leaving New Mexico, which they established in 1925.\textsuperscript{67}

Under the instructions of Applegate, who acted as the society’s first curator, the society began to collect Spanish Colonial art that was then exhibited in the Old Palace of the Governors by the Historical Society.\textsuperscript{68} The first pieces were purchased with money given by the financial backer Blanche Ferry Hooker from New York City, NY, while much of the later collections would come from donations from elite members of Santa Fe society interested in the arts, such as Applegate himself and Mary Cabot Wheelwright.\textsuperscript{69} The society also began to offer monetary prizes to Hispano individuals who would make art that “conformed most exactly to the old models,” starting an exhibit during the Santa Fe Fiesta that would evolve into the now biannual Spanish Market.\textsuperscript{70} They created a shop named The Spanish Arts in Sena Plaza in 1930 to sell Spanish Colonial art year round, however it quickly declined and closed in 1933.\textsuperscript{71} They fulfilled their goals of education by partnering with schools to fund and encourage art among Hispano students, even providing artworks to The Spanish Arts shop for a commission.\textsuperscript{72} The society

\textsuperscript{65} Marta Weigle, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society,” 183.
\textsuperscript{66} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{68} Marta Weigle, “The First Twenty-Five Years of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society,” 184.
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid, 183-184, 192.
\textsuperscript{70} Ibid, 183.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid, 188, 192.
\textsuperscript{72} Ibid, 190.
entered a period of dormancy in the late 1930s following the death of Applegate in 1931 and Austin in 1934 and would not be reactivated until the 1950s.\textsuperscript{73} In 1952, E. Boyd, considered an academic expert on Spanish colonial art and the curator of the Spanish colonial art department at the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe, decided to reactivate the society.\textsuperscript{74} The Spanish Market was also reactivated in 1965 to give artists an avenue to sell their work.\textsuperscript{75} The society continued its efforts into the 1990s, always hoping to have a permanent space for their collections to be exhibited, as for the majority of its existence, its collections were stored at the Museum of New Mexico’s Museum of International Folk Art in Santa Fe.\textsuperscript{76} These hopes would develop into the creation of the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art.

Austin and Applegate’s early sentiments about the Spanish Colonial art style are telling of how the society would develop in its approach to the art and how it would interact with Hispano artists. Their interest in starting the society and reviving the tradition of Spanish Colonial art would largely end up emphasizing an academic appreciation of the work, recognizing the handicap as Austin stated, while still looking down on the actual Hispano artists, community, and culture that created the art. Additionally, the society, and therefore the supposed revival of the art style, was principally controlled by Anglo individuals who acquired credibility through academic or social standing, often ignoring the fact that the Hispano art tradition had continued and was continuing without their influence. These attitudes permeated the society at its founding, at its revival, and continues to impact the way the Museum of Spanish

\textsuperscript{73} Ibid, 192, 195-196.
\textsuperscript{74} Claudia Larcombe, “E. Boyd: A Biographical Sketch,” in Hispanic Arts and Ethnohistory in the Southwest, ed. by Marta Weigle, (Santa Fe: Ancient City Press, 1983), 9.
\textsuperscript{75} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{76} Pierce and Weigle, Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Volume Two, 97.
Colonial Arts operates, where Anglo control remains the norm and there is an academic appreciation of the artwork without an appreciation for the Hispano community and its voices.

The Anglo control of the society, and therefore the Anglo claim to being the driving force behind the so-called “revival” of Spanish Colonial art, is present not only in the founders but also throughout the original Board of Trustees. These members included many influential individuals in Santa Fe society that made up the art colony community of Santa Fe whose authority derived from their ability to collect and catalog the art and culture of the Pueblo Indians and Hispanics. Two of these well known and influential members were John Gaw Meem, renowned for his knowledge of the architectural history of the region, and Mary Cabot Wheelwright, a self-taught anthropologist who had extensive collections of Hispano art, as well as a large enough collection of Navajo objects to establish the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian. This shows the pervasive belief within these Anglo individuals that they could claim authority over the artistic and cultural traditions of the Hispano community because of their academic awareness of and personal interest in the collection of its art and culture, as these were their only credentials in deciding to champion this “revival.”

Their purpose, as stated in the 1929 Certificate of Incorporation, further expresses these attitudes. They assert that the society is meant:

To encourage and promote generally in New Mexico and elsewhere Spanish Colonial Art; to preserve and revive the Spanish Colonial art and interest therein; to collect, preserve and restore Spanish Colonial art of every character, to

77 Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, 250.
perpetuate and disseminate Spanish Colonial art in all its phases and manifestations… to educate the public generally and the members of this corporation especially in the importance of Spanish Colonial art in the civilization of New Mexico… to promote, conduct and maintain a school or schools for the teaching of Spanish Colonial art and its development… to provide for and cause the delivering and holding of lectures, exhibitions, public meetings, entertainments, classes and conferences calculated directly or indirectly to cause interest in or the advancement of Spanish Colonial art.\textsuperscript{79}

Many of their aims with the society are noble and culturally significant ones, such as the desire to encourage and promote the art style through school programs and exhibitions.

However, in the context of it being an Anglo-led organization, filled with amenity migrants who are creating the very instances for change that they desire to counteract, some of the language is ill-advised and even patronizing. Their belief that they have to be the ones to preserve, revive, and restore the artistic tradition is arrogant and ignores Hispanos already doing this work.

There were Hispano artists participating in their artistic tradition at this time and there were also Hispano-led societies performing similar functions for the community. The Espanola Group was composed of elite Hispanas who “organized for the purpose of studying Spanish colonial arts” as a cultural and social activity.\textsuperscript{80} They purchased equipment to begin studying and making weaving and embroidery works, beginning with Colcha embroidery.\textsuperscript{81} The Sociedad Folklorica, an organization composed of three

\textsuperscript{79} State Corporation Commission of New Mexico, from Certificate of Incorporation No. 15923, October 29, 1929.
\textsuperscript{80} “Espanola Group to Study Spanish Colonial Arts,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 14 Apr 1934, 2.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid.
hundred Spanish speaking individuals, was also active in Santa Fe. They shared their cultural traditions with Santa Fe and actively engaged with the Hispano community by participating in the Fiesta through plays and dances and providing costumes for all involved with the festivities. Many of the aims that SCAS stated in their Certificate of Incorporation and which they then carried out, such as continued education through public lectures, which Applegate would often give, were also being performed by these other groups. The Sociedad Folklorica would sponsor lectures on Spanish colonial art led by Hispano artists, such as Gilberto Espinosa who spoke on the production of santos. The Spanish Colonial Arts Society was aware of these other societies and actions by the Hispano community to assert itself in the domain of its own cultural expression. At one meeting, one of the original board members, Alice Corbin Henderson, affiliating SCAS “with interested Societies of the local Spanish people,” however no collaboration with these societies occurred.

These Hispano-led societies were formed after SCAS, with the Espanola Group being established in 1934 and the Sociedad Folklorica being established in 1935. Therefore, it could be harsh to judge SCAS’ actions solely on their founding period when these types of organizations had not been established. However, its actions moving forward continued the trends and attitudes of its founding, keeping Anglos firmly in control and not involving these other Hispano-led societies in their activities and

83 Ibid.
84 “Applegate Talk on Spanish Art,” The New Mexican, 15 Nov 1930, 2.
85 “Priceless Old Santos Illustrate Gilberto Espinosa’s Talk Tonight at Old Palace,” The New Mexican, 21 Feb 1936, 3.
collecting. Because they did not prioritize this collaboration after these organizations were established, it can be inferred that it would not have been prioritized at the society’s inception either. This sort of shift from Anglo to Hispano control could have been possible, as it did occur in other key expressions of Hispano identity in Santa Fe, specifically the Santa Fe Fiesta which began as an Anglo-led celebration that was taken over by Hispanics to assert their position in Santa Fe society. After its initial founding period, the society was dormant until reactivated by E. Boyd in 1952 and its member composition, interests, and actions remained similar to those of the initial society.

This 1952 revival was again led by an Anglo with an academic understanding of the artistic tradition. An artist and art historian, E. Boyd came to be known as “the internationally recognized authority on the Spanish colonial art of New Mexico” by first developing an interest in Santa Fe from a visit to the city in 1929 and then working for the Federal Art Project of the Works Progress Administration in 1936 to research and make a study titled Portfolio of Spanish Colonial Design in New Mexico. Her specific interest in the collection of Spanish colonial art came from fear that “valuable pieces are constantly being sold out of the district, and others destroyed by fire, water, theft, and neglect.” The revitalized society included newly interested individuals as well as previous members, which allowed for the attitudes of the society at its founding to continue to have a hold on the society as it moved forward. It was also largely tied to the establishment of a Spanish colonial art department at the Museum of New Mexico due to the donation of the personal collection of Cady Wells, a department that would be headed by

90 Larcombe, “E. Boyd,” 3-5.
91 Ibid, 7.
92 Ibid, 9.
Besides minor changes to the bylaws of the society “to modernize the administration” in 1953, the official language of the society remained the same in its reactivated form. The 1977 Articles of Amendment to the Certificate of Incorporation of the Spanish Colonial Art Society listed an identical version of the purposes of the organization to the 1929 Certificate of Incorporation, demonstrating that its interests and motivations had remained the same across these years of its activity.

Similar to how Hispano-led activities were occurring during the society’s initial iteration, Hispano artistic creation and cultural expression had continued during the period of the society’s dormancy and beyond into the period of its revival. The repeated column “Among Artists in New Mexico” found in the newspaper *The New Mexican* indicates that art was flourishing without the aid of the society. An example of this from April 15th, 1951, lists the work of Gilbert Espinosa, who is said to be “an authority on the Spanish Colonial history of the state,” which is especially significant since this was the year before the society would be reactivated. Additionally, there were still Hispano-led societies active during this period, including the Sociedad Folklorica which continued to organize and participate in Fiesta activities to celebrate their ancestry and culture. Thus, the Anglo-controlled claim to needing to revive the society, and therefore encourage and restore the artistic tradition, was not based in an actual absence of the art and cultural traditions but instead in a desire to assert their authority and importance within the artistic and social sphere of Santa Fe.

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93 Letter from Arthur A. Peters to Witter Bynner, December 11, 1952, Santa Fe, NM.
95 State Corporation Commission of New Mexico, from Amendment to Certificate of Incorporation No. 15923, June 16, 1977.
This period of SCAS’ existence did mark a slight change in their attitude towards the
Hispano community. Although it again did not collaborate with Hispano-led societies, it did have
more Hispano individuals as members and seemed to recognize more value within the Hispano
artists. One of these Hispano members was David Ortega, who cared for the shrine Oratorio San
Buenaventura in Chimayo, New Mexico, believed to have been built by his ancestors in 1743,
with money provided by SCAS.98 The greater respect given to Hispano artists in this period can
be observed in The New Mexican article “Carvings by Gallegos Displayed At Palace,” where the
Hispano artist Gallegos is credited by name and effusively praised for the exhibit of his forty-
eight carvings.99 However, despite these small changes, there was still an emphasis on their
Anglo influence and aid being what allowed the art and culture to thrive, such as the large
amount of credit that was given to Boyd for her efforts as an Anglo preserving traditions that she
had only an academic connection to, not an ethnic one. Additionally, the control remained firmly
in the hand of the Anglo elites and artists, a trend that permeates the history, as well as modern
aspects, of the society and museum.

This belief that they had to retain control is based in the patronizing attitude society
members had of the Hispano community and artists from its founding to its revival. This can
clearly be seen in the writings of Austin and Applegate, who expressed an aesthetic appreciation
for Spanish colonial art and even an academic interest in the techniques, materials, and quality of
the artwork, but who consistently spoke of Hispanics in a condescending manner. As the founders
of the society, this outlook on the Hispano community would impact the views of society
members as well as the public that the society interacted with. It also would have kept Hispano

99 “Carvings by Gallegos Displayed at Palace,” The New Mexican, 10 May 1953, 12.
individuals from feeling welcome to participate as equal members, ensuring that the superior mindset of SCAS would continue.

In Austin’s writing, it is very clear that she thinks importantly of herself in the continuation of the existence of the tradition of Spanish colonial art. The idea that the art and culture was being destroyed, or disappearing entirely from existence, permeates her discussion of her role in its revival, stating that the society was created for “the rebuilding of that shattered culture.”

She does recognize the quality of the art, stating that the furniture, santos, and bultos they made, influenced by Spain and their interactions with Pueblo Indians, were beautiful, however she also claims that “the hundred years of American influence had broken them down and they had not learned to make much else.” In discussions of the Fiesta, she attributes Hispano’s interest and increased role in it to Anglo artists such as herself who “persuaded the natives,” taking away their agency and involvement in the public celebration of their own cultural practices. In doing so, she both integrated herself and other society members into the continuation of the tradition while also distancing them from the actual Hispano culture and individuals. Furthermore, she asserted that she “set the revival of the Spanish colonial arts in motion,” and credited herself with the creation of the naming of the style as Spanish Colonial art and with popularizing the term by placing pressure on the newspaper *The New Mexican* to continue using it.

Austin and Applegate were close friends and shared many opinions about the Hispano art and people, which first compelled them to discuss establishing the society. They often

100 Austin, *Earth Horizon*, 357-359.
101 Ibid, 358.
102 Ibid.
104 Ibid, 357.
collaborated on work together related to arts in the Southwest, including on Applegate’s book, *Native Tales of New Mexico*, which Austin wrote the introduction for.\(^{105}\) Applegate’s choice of language within the book, which is comprised of folktales of Spanish colonial New Mexico, tends to look down upon Hispanics based on negative stereotypes common for the time. He described Hispanics as “rustic descendants of the Spanish-Colonials,” asserting that their importance comes from their ancestry, while identifying that they had diminished in stature over the years they had been in the United States.\(^{106}\) Any time modern Hispanics are mentioned throughout the book, Applegate emphasizes that they are descended from the Spanish conquistadores. In detailing the characteristics of the stories in the book, he states that they give their patron saints found in many of the tales “provincial attributes in keeping with their own folk-life beliefs which have been induced by their environment,” showing the tendency to describe them as more simple in their cultural expressions.\(^{107}\) He devotes many chapters to stories related to buried treasure and gold, and in doing so presents a stereotype of Hispanics to readers. The first of these entitled “Dead Men Tell No Tales” starts by saying that “Spaniards have always had famous noses for scenting out hidden treasure and this instinct they have transmitted to all their descendants, even to those of the present day in New Mexico” thus associating Hispanics with stereotypes of scavenging and greediness.\(^{108}\) In another entitled “The Buried Treasure of Cochiti” he states that the desire to find buried treasure is “found most often among naïve and primitive peoples,” and furthermore, that all Hispanics expect to do so because

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^{106} Ibid, 28.  
^{107} Ibid, 51.  
^{108} Ibid, 93.
of “their firm belief in witchcraft and enchantments,” making them seem less developed or civilized than those without their beliefs.  

These narratives about the Hispano community and artists persisted in the minds of other society members too and therefore entered into their interactions with Hispano artists as well as with the general public and tourists visiting Santa Fe hoping to acquire authentic works by native peoples. Helen McCrossen who, along with her husband Preston, ran the society shop, The Spanish Arts, believed wholeheartedly that she had to help stop the decline of Spanish colonial art occurring because Hispanics had been “corrupted by contact with an alien civilization and cheap, machine-made articles.”

This would be done by the society giving Hispanics examples of “authentic” works to aid in “restoring to the Spanish Americans something of their former expressiveness.” As one of the main operators of The Spanish Arts, where Hispano artists would bring their work to be sold to the public, it is evident that McCrossen’s opinions towards Hispanics and the lack of agency she attributed to them in the expression of their own artistic traditions would have influenced the ways Hispanics saw themselves in their interactions with the society and the ways the public saw Hispanics and their artwork. With Hispanics, it establishes the relationship that should be one of equals between artist and art dealer instead as the dynamic of a parental figure guiding a young child unaware of the world or their place in it. It looks down upon them as incapable of continuing on their own cultural heritage, which was evidently not the reality of the situation given the existence of active artists and Hispano-led cultural societies regardless of SCAS’ operational status. Hispano artists in the 1930s expressed feeling this

111 Ibid.
condescension towards them in movements to revive and sponsor their art.\textsuperscript{112} With tourists, it presents the Hispano art as a curio item rather than a piece with value based on its inherent artistic worth because it implies that Hispanics are on a lower level of culture since they apparently need their own artistic traditions taught to them by Anglos.

The changes that occurred in how the society interacted with Hispano artists and incorporated more Hispano members during its revival period are similarly reflected in a slight change in attitude towards the Hispano community during this period by its foremost leader Boyd. Boyd’s appreciation for Spanish colonial art became grounded in scholarly research the more she delved into its collection and preservation.\textsuperscript{113} She stated that her interest in the style stemmed from “its artistic appeal and… that it is the one single school of art that is completely indigenous to the United States… with the exception of Indian art.”\textsuperscript{114} She published a book near the end of her life detailing all she had learned in her research of Spanish colonial art and titled it \textit{Popular Arts of Spanish New Mexico}, specifically avoiding the word folk in the title because she hated the associations the word had.\textsuperscript{115} She is quoted as saying “folk, folk, folk: nasty old German word – I hate it. ‘Popular’ is from the Latin… and Latin is the source of Spanish,” demonstrating her high regard for the arts and language of Hispanics because of its association with a classical past.\textsuperscript{116} However, despite this scholarly respect that also appears to have extended to a greater respect for the Hispano people, her interactions with Hispano artists could still lean towards patronizing. In an account of her life work, she is praised for showing Hispanics pieces from the society’s collection, telling them how to make it, and pushing them to make art

\textsuperscript{112} Deutsch, \textit{No Separate Refuge}, 195.
\textsuperscript{113} Larcombe, “E. Boyd,” 7.
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid, 8.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid, 11.
\textsuperscript{116} Ibid.
in the same way.\textsuperscript{117} The account further emphasizes her devotion to Spanish colonial art’s continuation by detailing how a Hispano artist from Santa Fe who had made santos for many years told her he was no longer going to do so and she simply said “no” and therefore he continued to make santos.\textsuperscript{118} These interactions with Hispano artists are presented as being incredible deeds that Boyd did that championed the revival of Hispano art in Santa Fe; however, they read more as out of touch with the Hispano community, worried solely about the art and not the people producing the art and what they want or need when her position as an Anglo academic outside of the community is considered. It also still contains the belittling tendencies present in the original iteration of the society and continues the idea that without Anglos to teach them, the Hispano community’s traditions would disappear, which again was not true as artistic production and tradition-sharing activities were happening outside of Boyd and SCAS at this time.

The Anglo-held idea that they needed to be the ones to revive Spanish colonial art and the emphasis on an academic appreciation of the art while having a condescending attitude towards the Hispano community were consistently recurring threads in the history of SCAS from its inception in the 1920s to its revival in the 1950s and onward. These attitudes did not change as the society began to plan for its future physical location in the form of a museum to house its steadily increasing collections. Although the society had intentions for this museum to be a celebration of Hispano art and culture, because these were the underlying beliefs of the society’s existence, it would be plagued with similar issues surrounding Anglo domination of the museum and an academic appreciation that did not extend to the artists and community.

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid, 9.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
Museum of Spanish Colonial Art: Continuing the Spanish Colonial Arts Society Legacy

On July 23, 1998, The New Mexican reported that an anonymous donor had offered SCAS 2.6 acres of land on which to build a museum.119 On June 19, 2000, a groundbreaking ceremony began construction on the Spanish Colonial Arts Society Museum.120 Finally, on July 21, 2002, the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art (Figure 1) celebrated its grand opening with five days of festivities.121 This four year process resulted in the realization of a long-held dream of SCAS, to have a physical site to “collect, preserve, and exhibit the Spanish Colonial art of New Mexico and beyond, and educate the public about its related cultures and living traditions.”122 The society approached the museum with the noble goal of being a site of celebration for Hispano art and culture. However, as the museum continued operating, it was not able to carry this out due to the precedent the outlook of the society had set. Like the society, the museum was largely Anglo controlled. This lack of shared authority with the Hispano community meant that the museum was only able to establish an academic appreciation for Hispano art, instead of a well-rounded appreciation and understanding of the culture, artists, and community.

The members of SCAS had always desired to have a museum to house and display their ever-expanding collections. The 1929 Certificate of Incorporation detailed part of the purpose of SCAS to be to “acquire real estate or personal property for the housing of collections of Spanish Colonial art,” demonstrating that a physical location was a priority for the society from the beginning of its existence.123 They believed that such a site would allow them to better carry out

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121 “Museum of Spanish Colonial Art Grand Opening!” Chispas!, vol. 1, no. 7.
123 State Corporation Commission of New Mexico, from Certificate of Incorporation No. 15923, October 29, 1929, 2.
the other aims of the society to “encourage and promote… preserve and revive” the Spanish colonial art style. However, it would take the society seventy-five years to finally open the museum, and their collections continued to grow over this period. During this time, SCAS-owned works resided first in an exhibition in the Palace of the Governors and then in the Museum of New Mexico’s Museum of International Folk Art (MoIFA) on a long-term loan that began in 1952. The materials would be used to make up many exhibits at MoIFA, especially within its Hispanic Heritage Wing that opened in July 1989. Despite the visibility the collections were receiving at MoIFA, SCAS still wanted to establish a museum of its own that would be “the only one in the United States exclusively devoted to the Spanish colonial art and material culture of New Mexico and the world.”

Serious discussions surrounding the establishment of the museum began within the society in 1998 after a donation of 2.6 acres of land along Camino Lejo, a road that passes by what is locally referred to as Museum Hill, where the Wheelwright Museum of the American Indian and MoIFA are located, was offered to SCAS. The society accepted the donation and moved forward with campaign efforts that same year with the donation of a 5,000 square foot John Gaw Meem-designed home. Eric Enfield and his firm Architectural Alliance were hired to adapt the home into a museum gallery and gift shop, as well as add on a museum library, office spaces, and a 6,400 square foot collections storage and conservation center (Figure 2).

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124 Ibid, 1.
125 Carmella Padilla and Donna Pierce, Conexiones: Connections in Spanish Colonial Art, (Santa Fe, New Mexico: Museum of Spanish Colonial Art, 2002), 4.; Pierce and Weigle, Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Volume Two, 100.
126 Pierce and Weigle, Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Volume Two, 102.
The museum held its grand opening on Sunday, July 21, 2002 with a ribbon-cutting ceremony for members and free admission for the public.\textsuperscript{131} The first week of the museum’s operation was filled with activities to fulfill the society’s original purpose of promoting Spanish colonial art, with book signings of the museum’s inaugural exhibition book \textit{Conexiones: Connections in Spanish Colonial Art}, lectures by an art historian, a curator, and a Hispana artist free to the public, and free admission to the museum all week long.\textsuperscript{132}

This first week of activities that seemed to promise good engagement between the museum and community flourished out of the encouraging attitudes and goals of those involved with the museum’s establishment. Society members, the board of directors, and the executive director Stuart Ashman all had a positive outlook on their ability to create a museum “where Hispanics from New Mexico and all over the country can learn about and enjoy their history,” while also being “something that’s part of this community” of Santa Fe.\textsuperscript{133} Their goal was clearly to create a space that celebrated Hispano art and served as a place of empowerment for Hispano culture and the community.

Ashman himself was at the forefront of bringing this energy to the project in all of his statements regarding the museum. In a newspaper article announcing his assuming of the position of executive director, he is quoted as saying that “the material that this organization collects and plans to exhibit and study is the heart and soul of New Mexico.”\textsuperscript{134} In another interview regarding the museum, he expressed that connecting to the Hispano community was integral to the museum’s operation and “that the Hispanic community of Santa Fe and New

\textsuperscript{131} “Museum of Spanish Colonial Art Grand Opening!” \textit{Chispas!}, vol. 1, no. 7.
\textsuperscript{132} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{134} “Museum Director Resigns to Head Spanish Arts Society,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 20 Jun 2000, 1, 2.
Mexico is going to be very proud of” the museum.\textsuperscript{135} He underscores the importance of the museum’s existence as an institution devoted solely to Hispanics, especially in Santa Fe “where there are currently ten museums, but none exclusively devoted to the art and culture of the first European settlers of the region and of the United States.”\textsuperscript{136} He states his belief that the museum “exudes quality and reverence for the artistic heritage we represent,” in its architecture and exhibits.\textsuperscript{137}

The long-range plan for MoSCA, developed in 2001, demonstrates that Ashman’s attitude extended to the rest of the board of directors and staff, establishing a combined effort to create a museum that served as a site of connection, tradition-bearing, and empowerment. The plan was described as the “visionary and strategic thinking of the Spanish Colonial Arts Society and the staff of the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art,” that would direct museum efforts and operations over the next five to ten years.\textsuperscript{138} It highlights that through its “exhibitions, publications, research opportunities, and educational programs” MoS\textsuperscript{C}A would work to be “a premier, internationally respected institution and… a place that warmly welcomes visitors into the heart of the culture.”\textsuperscript{139} It identifies the mission of the museum to be aligned with that of the society, which it is a branch of, which “collects, preserves, and exhibits the Spanish colonial art of New Mexico and beyond, and educates the public about its related cultures and living traditions.”\textsuperscript{140} Within this mission statement is the acknowledgement that there are “related cultures and living traditions” to what the society has collected and is now choosing to display.

\textsuperscript{136} Ashman, “Of Culture and Community,” xiii.
\textsuperscript{137} Ibid, xiv.
\textsuperscript{139} Ibid, 4.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, 6.
which is a nod to the Hispano community and its culture.\footnote{Ibid.} The museum’s vision is that MoSCA “offers a welcome into the life and heart of Hispanic culture, preserving and honoring traditional Spanish colonial art forms as expressed in New Mexico and around the world, and celebrating the continuing evolution of this aesthetic.”\footnote{Ibid.} This vision statement is far-reaching and shows that those involved with the museum’s creation saw it as an opportunity to spread a deeper understanding of Hispano art and culture that extended beyond an academic appreciation of the art and into an awareness of the life and community of Hispanos in Santa Fe and New Mexico. It recognizes that space must be allowed for the art style to evolve if they wish to claim that the museum represents the living traditions of Spanish colonial art. It also steers clear of patronizing language regarding the display of these art forms, hoping to preserve and honor the art instead of stating that they are reviving or protecting it, which indicates a loss of the tradition or the inability of Hispanos to protect their artistic traditions themselves. In its mandate it further expresses this idea in more detail, stating that:

\begin{quote}
As a world-class institution dedicated to the heart and soul of a traditional local culture, this Museum distinguishes itself as a place that reflects the life and spirit of the people. It is a place dedicated to connecting cultures and welcoming the community with warmth and generosity, more like a hearth than an institution. The measure of its success will be in the sense of spirit that lives and grows within its walls and in the pride around these art forms that is passed on to future generations.\footnote{Ibid.}
\end{quote}
Therefore, in the document meant to guide them as museum moving forward for its first decade of operation, the museum board of directors and staff expressed their desire to have a cultural connection to the community instead of an academic appreciation of the art. They identified that the people of the community are the most important aspect of the museum’s operation. Earlier in the mandate they specifically mention that they will do this by including local Hispano artists as partners in the museum’s actions and programs, as well as by adding “contemporary expressions from throughout the Spanish speaking world… in exhibit programs.”

In this plan, MoSCA found six goals to be of key importance moving forward, five of which were related to normal operations of museums. One of them however directly related to this desire for community, which was the goal to “reflect the life and heart of the culture.” They hoped to do this through a “commitment to stay attuned to the spirit of the people and culture whose artistic heritage it represents.” Furthermore they wanted the museum to:

Be different in that local people and people of Hispanic heritage from around the world will experience a sense of familiarity and welcome, feeling for the first time that “this is our museum.” While the Museum will have the highest professional standards, it will also embody the spirit that has always been central to Spanish Market and the cultural traditions from which this art and the Spanish Colonial Arts Society were born. The feeling of entering the Museum will be one of welcome and home-like warmth.

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144 Ibid.
145 Ibid, 11.
146 Ibid.
147 Ibid.
They outlined objectives that would break this large goal down into hopefully attainable pieces, including to “develop creative, accessible programming and publications that reflect Hispanic culture,” to “engage individuals on all levels, so that Museum personnel (volunteers, board members, docents) reflect the cultural composition of the community,” and to “establish a program/process to obtain input from community members about programming and exhibits.”148

This plan was solely for the consumption of those within the organization, however the museum presented a similar face to the public in its marketing materials and advertisements. In a museum pamphlet produced to be handed out to visitors when MoSCA initially opened, the museum presented itself as the continuer and bearer of the Spanish colonial art tradition. The pamphlet starts by identifying the “four-hundred-year legacy” the museum has continued beginning with the first European settlers of the United States and leading up to present day Santa Fe.149 It describes itself as “a living manifestation of tradition” through its acquisitions from Spanish Market and its educational programs.150 This statement was accompanied with images of historical pieces, art and artists at Spanish Market, and young Hispanos taking part in making art in these programs. Therefore, as visitors entered the space, they were primed to view the museum as a site of living art and culture intimately connected to the Hispano community of the past and present.

Early efforts by the museum to establish this connection were geared towards encouraging youth and family engagement with the museum by placing emphasis on educational programs and youth-friendly activities. Each of the society newsletters, Chispas!, included a section detailing education news that shared about schools and community centers where

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148 Ibid.
149 “Preserving the Past and Preparing the Future,” Museum of Spanish Colonial Art Pamphlet.
150 Ibid.
children had been taught Spanish colonial arts by Spanish Market artists with money and organization efforts from the society. These efforts continued into the museum, where a new program was established for school children to visit the museum to complete an activity and then tour the galleries to see examples of the works they were taught to make.\textsuperscript{151} The museum also encouraged youth involvement in the galleries with a specific exhibit space dedicated to displaying the art of young Hispanos produced in Youth Market.\textsuperscript{152} In this gallery, there was also a spot for children to make their own artwork, as well as a rack of costumes for all visitors to try on and get involved with the history and culture they were seeing.\textsuperscript{153} These sorts of outreach efforts were supplemented by tours, lectures, and artist demonstrations aimed at older crowds as well.

A year after the museum’s opening, one reviewer, Robert Nott of \textit{The New Mexican}, did enjoy his time there, and recorded that another visitor also did as they found it “so inspirational.”\textsuperscript{154} The museum called to mind “a sacred sanctuary, a place for self-reflection, meditation, and maybe even prayer” for Nott, while also providing “a step back into Spanish colonial history” and “a venue to celebrate contemporary artists who continue to keep the art of the period alive.”\textsuperscript{155} Although he noted that exhibit text was often lacking enough information for his taste, he did recognize “a sense of spirit” in MoSCA, a sentiment that would have pleased those involved with long-range planning for the museum.\textsuperscript{156}

\textsuperscript{151} Museum of Spanish Colonial Art Education Programs, April 2003-May 2004.
\textsuperscript{152} Padilla and Pierce, \textit{Conexiones}, 14.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{156} Ibid, 72.
Although things appeared promising for the museum early on in its efforts to reflect the culture and community resulting from engagement with Hispanics, this goal was potentially too ambitious for the museum. MoSCA was not able to develop a sustained cultural appreciation of the Hispano community, an issue that could stem from the lack of Hispano control in the museum. This was a precedent set by SCAS and can be connected to the continuation of the society’s attitude and approaches towards Hispanics in the museum. The museum entrusting less authority to the Hispano community could result in a lack of understanding of community wants and needs on MoSCA’s part. This results in a museum that foregrounds an academic appreciation of Spanish colonial art but fails to create appreciation for the Hispano artists and culture, the “living traditions” the mission statement says they highlight. This will be suggested by connecting the history of the society to the museum’s existence and operations, as well as by analyzing my own observations while at MoSCA. Although my time at MoSCA was limited, my observations are made up of glaring absences that were able to be noticed in the museum and its operations during my short time there and in follow up interviews with staff and Hispano artists. To further solidify these claims, a more expansive compilation and analysis of Hispano community members’ opinions about MoSCA would be necessary.

A museum’s “choice of whom to hire and whom to listen to retains for them the cultural power to cast the terms of discourse about people and history,” therefore, Anglo power in and control of the museum can most effectively be shown through the percentage of Anglo versus Hispano staff.157 According to David Rasch, the deputy director of MoSCA at the time I interviewed him in 2021 and the conservator and collections manager at the time of the

museum’s initial development and early years of operation, in the first five years of the museum’s development, there were only ever two Hispano-identified individuals employed to produce content for exhibits or other museum materials.\(^{158}\) The first is Carmella Padilla who was an exhibition writer and coordinator from 2000 to 2002 and helped produce the inaugural exhibit and accompanying exhibit guidebook.\(^{159}\) The second is Nicolasa Chavez who was a curatorial assistant from 2001 to 2003.\(^{160}\) Besides these two women, there were only eleven other Hispanics identified as employees of MoSCA, all as either security, facilities manager, or museum store staff.\(^{161}\) Over these five years, MoSCA employed a total of thirty-two individuals, thirteen of which were Hispanic, meaning that they made up forty percent of total staff hired.\(^ {162}\) Over these five years, MoSCA employed 14 individuals in roles related to work that would produce content or programming for the museum, which I am regarding as including curators, collections, and programming related jobs, 2 of which were Hispanic.\(^{163}\) This means that two percent of individuals making decisions about the museum’s messaging in exhibits, publications, and programs for these first five years were active members of the community that the museum represented the “living traditions” of. This number would continue to stay relatively low, as when interviewing Rasch, he could recall only three Hispano staff members in more recent years, in the roles of education programmer, facilities manager, and museum store employee.\(^{164}\) Most sobering however is the fact that there has never been a Hispano identifying executive director of

\(^{158}\) David Rasch, Interview with Author, June 10, 2021.
\(^{159}\) Ibid.; “Staff,” *Chispas!* vol. 1, no. 1.; “Staff,” *Chispas!* vol. 1, no. 8.
\(^{160}\) Ibid.; “New Curatorial Assistant Joins MoSCA Staff,” *Chispas!* vol. 1, no. 4.
\(^{162}\) Ibid.
\(^{163}\) Ibid.
\(^{164}\) David Rasch, Interview with Author, June 10, 2021.
MoSCA or a Hispano identifying director of Spanish Market.\textsuperscript{165} The all-Anglo executive directors of MoSCA have been Bud Redding, Stuart Ashman, William Field, and currently, Jennifer Berkley.\textsuperscript{166}

This becomes a major issue in a museum like MoSCA that presents itself as a tool for the community to have a space to celebrate and embrace their artistic traditions and culture. To have the sort of contact zone that modern museums strive for, meaning having “inclusionist, collaborative programs,” that make the cultures and people represented actually a part of the process and welcome in museum spaces, there must be “active collaboration and a sharing of authority.”\textsuperscript{167} This is integral to any museum, especially a museum that seeks to make individuals in traditionally outsider groups feel at home and as if the space is their own to inhabit and express themselves through. It is what Harold Skramstad would describe as “connectedness” in his Model for Success outlined in his article “An Agenda for Museums in the Twenty-First Century.”\textsuperscript{168} This connectedness is described as “the process of a close, continuous, long-term connection between an organization and audience,” in order to create trust between the museum and community and which he argues hinges on governance and staff composition.\textsuperscript{169} MoSCA’s intention was to make the Hispano community enter the museum and think to themselves, “this is our museum,” however, because they did not have sustained and majority Hispano voices contributing to discussions and decisions, they would not be aware of what logistically needed to

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{167} Boast, “Neocolonial Collaboration,” 56, 67.
\textsuperscript{169} Ibid.
be done to make this a reality long-term.\textsuperscript{170} Therefore, representing Hispano art and the artistic traditions of Spanish colonial art in a beautiful historic home (Figure 3) were not enough to create the welcoming, home-like feeling MoSCA staff expected the museum to evoke for the Hispano community.

This relationship between the society’s past of being Anglo controlled and developing an academic appreciation for Spanish colonial art but patronizing the Hispano artists and community impacted not only leadership statistics of MoSCA but permeated the entire institution, from the employees’ approaches to the collections and very structure of the physical museum. Boast claims that museums remain as “asymmetric spaces of appropriation… where the Others come to perform for us, not with us” because of their colonial roots.\textsuperscript{171} Similar to this statement, MoSCA remained a site of Anglo control over the portrayal of the art of Hispanos, therefore not being able to have a cultural appreciation for the Hispano community, because of the historical roots of SCAS’s Anglo-dominated narrative control on the values of Spanish Colonial art.

This connection between the society and museum can be seen directly in the fact that in establishing the long-term plan of the museum, MoSCA’s mission statement was determined to be the same as SCAS’, that “the Spanish Colonial Arts Society collects, preserves, and exhibits the Spanish colonial art of New Mexico and beyond.”\textsuperscript{172} This ideological connection is carried out by the art found in the museum being composed of society collections that had been acquired since the society was established in 1925 and continuing throughout its active years. This is an incredible expression of power that was controlled by the largely elite Anglo society. The

\textsuperscript{170} Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 7.
\textsuperscript{171} Boast, “Neocolonial Collaboration,” 63, 65.
\textsuperscript{172} Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 6.
The majority of SCAS collections were donated by or bought from wealthy Anglo patrons, beginning with the society’s largest acquisition to date in 1931 from Alta B. Applegate, widow of Frank Applegate, who sold his personal collection of bultos, retablos, altar piece, and Creation panel to the society. Mary Cabot Wheelwright was an early society member who donated many pieces, including wood carvings and colchas. In 1939, Dr. Harry P. Mera’s collection of textiles, considered to be “one of the most comprehensive collections of its kind,” was acquired. Another influential society member, John Gaw Meem, donated a collection of textiles in 1962 that included thirty-two blankets and two floor coverings from the 1930s. Donations continued, including into 2000, the year that Gerald Peters, an influential art dealer in Santa Fe with his own gallery, donated three pieces valued at a total of $150,000.

At the time of the museum’s establishment, the society had already collected 2,500 pieces, to which they would add another 500 pieces before their opening (Figure 4). Society collections would make up eighty-three percent of the total museum collections at the time of its opening, meaning that the Anglo society’s tastes concerning Spanish Colonial art were making up the majority of MoSCA’s exhibits. Gordon Ambach has argued that “merely by collecting or choosing to place an object on view, museum staffs were… attributing importance to it within the museum’s subject matter,” and in the case of MoSCA, this attribution of importance was determined without the input of the Hispano community about what best represented their own artistic traditions. In the society members’ desire to find the most ‘authentic’ art, “they fail to

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175 Padilla and Pierce, Conexiones, 5.  
177 “Peters Donates to Spanish Arts Museum,” The New Mexican, 02 Jun 2000, 16.  
portray the real cultures from which these real objects derive,” resulting in the museum losing the spirit of the community it sought to exude.\textsuperscript{180} What a collection is composed of affects the operations of a museum and what the institution is capable of doing with those collections. Because the collections were composed by elite Anglos and not the Hispano community, “not only the selection of material but also the priorities for its presentation tended to be the value systems of the…upper-middle-class elite.”\textsuperscript{181} MoSCA’s collections being intimately tied to the Anglo selection of what was deemed worthy of collecting and valuable enough to display disconnects the museum from the Hispano community and removes Hispano authority and agency even further.

Beyond the collections, the very architecture and structure of the museum building continues this link between the society’s history and founding members and the existence and operation of MoSCA. The galleries in the museum are named after important society members, including the main gallery which is named after E. Boyd.\textsuperscript{182} The John Gaw Meem house, donated to hold the museum galleries, was described as a continuation of Meem’s active participation in the society and substantial gifts of the society, despite not being donated directly from Meem.\textsuperscript{183} The architect tasked with adapting the house, Eric Enfield, stated his desire to keep the house as close to the original as possible, adding details in the style Meem would to retain the air of authenticity around the building.\textsuperscript{184} In doing so, he was attempting to also retain “Meem’s example of creating buildings that promote community ideals,” demonstrating the

\textsuperscript{180} Michael M. Ames, “Museums in the Age of Deconstruction,” in Reinventing the Museum: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives on the Paradigm Shift, ed. by Gail Anderson (Walnut Creek, CA: Altamira Press, 2004), 86-87.
\textsuperscript{181} Cameron, “The Museum, a Temple or the Forum,” 66.
\textsuperscript{182} Ashman, “Of Culture and Community,” xiv.
\textsuperscript{183} Ibid, xii.
\textsuperscript{184} “Designing History,” Chispas!, vol. 1, no. 1, 4.
believe that they were continuing the ideals of early society members in their building of the museum.

This praise of society members was a mindset that permeated the museum’s founding. At the museum groundbreaking, which also served as a 75-year anniversary celebration for SCAS, MoSCA was framed as the completion of Mary Austin and Frank Applegate’s goal that began in 1925 when they founded the society. In the message from the director in the society newsletter released to celebrate the grand opening of MoSCA, Ashman specifically calls to mind the society founders “whose vision created the Spanish Colonial Arts Society in 1925.” In the museum’s inaugural exhibition book Conexiones: Connections in Spanish Colonial Art, this trend continues. This book is especially important to analyze because it is the publication of the first exhibit ever displayed at MoSCA and by “extending the museum’s interpretation” can serve “as long-term ambassadors for the museum.” In discussion of the museum in the chapter titled “Visions Realized,” Donna Pierce, one of the curators of “Conexiones,” describes how her conversations with a society member recounting “visions of the early SCAS supporters re-created the romantic days of the early Santa Fe Art Colony.” This language of referring to the founders in idealized terms, existing within a nostalgia-laced vision, shows that curators constructing exhibits for the museum were deeply intertwined in the glamorization of the society’s history. This would have made them incapable or unwilling to address early issues of SCAS involving claims about ‘reviving’ Spanish colonial art. It is logical that those involved with MoSCA would think highly of the society and its founders, as the society was ultimately the reason the museum existed. I am not arguing that they should have not spoken in this way,

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186 “The Dream is About to Come True!,” Chispas!, vol. 1, no. 7, 5.
187 Alexander, Alexander, and Decker, Museums in Motion, 291.
188 Pierce and Padilla, Conexiones, 2.
although I personally believe there should have been more critical examination of SCAS by staff and in exhibits, but instead demonstrating that the society’s history was important to the museum, and therefore this history would impact MoSCA’s operations.

Pierce’s statement quoted above demonstrates the overall attitude towards the society and its founders that is expressed in Conexiones, and therefore most likely also expressed in the physical exhibit version presented at the museum. This is most evident in the fact that there is a section titled “The Collectors” that discusses the importance of the SCAS members that collected Spanish colonial art that was then either donated to or purchased by the society.\(^{189}\) Furthermore, this three-page long section comes before the section titled “The Artworks and Their Creators” that is given an equal amount of pages and still begins by acknowledging “the vision of the early founders” in creating the collections of artworks to be described.\(^{190}\) The book also demonstrates that the language that the society and its founders had used to describe Spanish colonial art, as being a tradition that was at risk of dying out without their intervention, made its way into the initial exhibit of MoSCA as well. E. Boyd is said to have “set out to resurrect these pieces,” referring to the “many pieces of traditional Hispano art… available in New Mexico… often in poor condition.”\(^{191}\) This description comes in a section titled “Resurrection” to continue the narrative that insinuates that traditional Hispano art would have died without the Anglo society’s efforts.\(^{192}\)

At the end of the chapter, Pierce explicitly connects the inaugural exhibit to the society and its early members, stating that their visions have “come to fruition as their wish to rescue,

\(^{189}\) Ibid, 5.
\(^{190}\) Ibid, 9.
\(^{191}\) Ibid, 7.
\(^{192}\) Ibid.
protect and share the collections with the public is granted.”

Claiming that the art needed to be rescued and protected is the continuation of the patronizing language of SCAS into the exhibits of MoSCA. Implicit in this statement are who and what the art needed to be rescued and protected from, the Hispanic community and their use of their art for things not deemed important enough to the Anglo-dominated society. Therefore, it is clear that MoSCA continued the mindset of the society that Spanish colonial art has artistic value that can be academically appreciated, but the Hispanic artists and community are less worthy of admiration. By demeaning the Hispanic community through statements like this, and through the very motivation for the society’s existence, MoSCA ensures that its mindset and approach to Hispanics will never allow for a full appreciation and understanding of their culture. This guarantees that Hispanics will continue to feel like outsiders at the museum because the authority of Anglos in this history has never been critically examined or addressed.

This dynamic could be described as creating “a historical ambivalence” for the Hispanic community towards the museum that continues because it “is deeply rooted in the landscape” of SCAS and MoSCA. This description comes from Amy Lonetree’s statements about the Mille Lacs Indian Museum (MLIM) in Minnesota in her book Decolonizing Museums: Representing Native America in National and Tribal Museums, where she establishes a set of criteria which a museum must meet to be considered a site of decolonization. Lonetree admires much of what the museum is able to do with its exhibits and involvement of the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe in their development, however, does not regard it as a decolonized museum. This is because the Mille Lacs Band does not have administrative or financial control, both of which stay with the

193 Ibid, 15.
Minnesota Historical Society (MHS) who acquired the land and artifacts from a donation from the Ayers, white traders who exploited the land and Mille Lacs Ojibwe people. Therefore, despite involvement from the community in developing the exhibits, the relationship between the Mille Lacs Band and the museum remained as an expression of colonialism and it could not be a site of decolonization. Lonetree’s criteria for achieving a decolonizing museum is:

Honoring Indigenous knowledge and worldviews, challenging the stereotypical representations of Native people produced in the past, serving as sites of “knowledge making and remembering” for their own communities and the general public, and discussing the hard truths of colonization in exhibitions in an effort to promote healing and understanding.

Although these conditions are directly related to museums with Indigenous artifacts and history, the sentiments expressed can allow for an analysis of any museum representing a minority or traditionally outsider community. It can be adapted to mean honoring the community’s knowledge and worldviews, allowing for their voices to be given the utmost significance in all aspects of the museum, including staffing and governance. It can be understood that the museum should critically examine the community’s history, including ways that it has been harmed or harmed others through stereotypes or violence. It also shows that there must be a support of the continuation of that community and its artistic and cultural expression in a way that foregrounds their control of the situation. Therefore, the MLIM and Lonetree’s analysis of it within her decolonizing framework, serves as a fruitful comparison to MoSCA to

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197 Ibid, 69.
analyze ways the museum failed to achieve its goal to “reflect the life and heart of the culture” laid out in its long-term planning strategy.\(^{198}\)

Despite not labelling it decolonized, Lonetree still regarded MLIM as “a significant sight of Indigenous self-representation.”\(^ {199}\) This is largely because of the involvement that Mille Lacs Band members had in the development of the museum’s new exhibits and the way their voices were given priority throughout the museum. MHS “collaborated with the Mille Lacs Band of Ojibwe on all phases of the museum’s development,” to create a narrative in the exhibition to “emphasize Mille Lacs Ojibwe survivance.”\(^ {200}\) The historical society did this by creating an advisory board of tribal members to establish meaning for the community within the museum, which they realized was necessary because before the redoing of the exhibition, the community did not come to the museum.\(^ {201}\) Within the exhibits, Mille Lacs Ojibwe voices are literally given priority in that they speak for themselves in “an authoritative first-person voice” in exhibit text as well as through audios and videos played in the galleries.\(^ {202}\) Additionally, they are given priority in their interpretations of history and artifacts, with secondary commentators, including curators and collectors, placed on a lower level of importance.\(^ {203}\) Another important foregrounding of the Mille Lacs Ojibwe community is that all exhibition text in the galleries is presented in both English and their language, Ojibwe.\(^ {204}\)

This can be compared to Hispano involvement with MoSCA from its development and into its continued operation up to the present day. From the percentage of Hispano staff

\(^{198}\) Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 11.
\(^{199}\) Lonetree, *Decolonizing Museums*, 30.
\(^{200}\) Ibid, 28, 35.
\(^{201}\) Ibid, 38-39.
\(^{202}\) Ibid, 49-50.
\(^{203}\) Ibid, 52.
\(^{204}\) Ibid, 50.
previously given, it is evident that there were not enough Hispanics in decision-making roles at MoSCA for the Hispano community’s knowledge and voice to be given prominence in the museum. This is one of the first setbacks for MoSCA in achieving its goal of reflecting the life and culture because they failed to fulfill their objective to “engage individuals on all levels, so that Museum personnel… reflect the cultural composition of the community.” In his article “What is a Museum?” Theodore Low recognizes that “separated from its social content a museum is meaningless to anyone but its curator,” resulting in minimal sustained community involvement. Therefore, without initial, majority Hispano input on museum decisions, MoSCA could not make a welcome, home-like environment in the museum for the Hispano community.

Furthermore, MoSCA does not privilege the voices and perspectives of Hispanics within its galleries either. There are no statements from Hispano artists to accompany their artwork in the exhibits, despite the long-term goals mandate stating the MoSCA’s intention to include these artists’ voices as “partners” in the museum. This sharply contrasts with the first-person narrative found at MLIM. Additionally, the mandate describes plans to place “contemporary expressions from throughout the Spanish speaking world” in exhibits and programs, however MoSCA gallery text does not feature this in the present. Not only does it not feature Spanish phrases, but there is also no Spanish text in the gallery, compared to MLIM’s use of both English and the community’s native language throughout. This is another setback in MoSCA’s goal, as not having interpretative materials, publications, or programming in the native language of many

205 Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 11.
208 Ibid.
in the Hispano community directly contradicts the objective to “develop… accessible programming and publications that reflect Hispanic culture.”

MILM and MoSCA are also good to compare because they both failed to meet Lonetree’s criteria in one specific area that had detrimental effects on both institutions. This was the failure of the community itself being able to have complete authority in the representation of its culture. Therefore, it would be helpful to examine the impact of a fully decolonizing museum with authority vested in the community by looking at one area that MoSCA has struggled with by discussing Lonetree’s analysis of the educational programming at The Ziibiwing Center of Anishinabe Culture and Lifeways in Michigan. The Ziibiwing Center is the only museum that Lonetree identifies as being a fully decolonizing museum because of its ability to engage “the theoretical concepts of historical trauma and historical unresolved grief to begin the healing process for Native people,” all while being completely controlled by the Saginaw Chippewa community. She describes the cultural education programs as “a safe place for community members to learn about their culture, identity, language, and history” without fear of being judged or blamed for not already having this knowledge. This allows the center to be “a site of community revitalization, knowledge making, and cultural sovereignty,” similar to what MoSCA hoped to be for the Hispano community. The key difference between The Zibbiwing Center and MoSCA is who has control of these educational programs. Because The Zibbiwing Center is owned, operated, and completely under the authority of the Saginaw Chippewa Indian Tribe, the sharing of knowledge about their history and culture is a community-strengthening act. It is an act of power and sovereignty that members of the tribe continue their traditions of their own

209 Ibid, 11.
210 Lonetree, Decolonizing Museums, 125.
211 Ibid, 152, 155.
212 Ibid, 153.
impetus and free from outsider input. Compared to MoSCA, where educational programs are organized by Anglo educational directors who work underneath Anglo executive directors, there is a lack of community agency created from the missing authority of the Hispanics in the museum-community relationship. The museum had beneficial educational programs, lectures, and artist demonstrations in its early years that would seem to indicate the beginning of a beneficial relationship with the Hispano community. However, because it was happening in the historically Anglo-controlled institution of a museum, and in MoSCA’s specific case also Anglo-controlled, it enacted Boast’s observation that “dialogue and collaboration are foregrounded, but the ultimate suppression of oppositional discourse is always effected” in museum attempts at contact zones where necessary changes in authority have not been addressed.\textsuperscript{213} The Anglo control of the organization establishes a patronizing relationship in this sharing of artistic traditions that reaches back to the Anglo founders of SCAS believing they needed to be the ones to educate the Hispanic community on Spanish Colonial art.

These failures to meet these objectives and therefore their goal of being a community site for Hispanics is evidence of the reasons MoSCA was unable to create an environment that allowed the Hispano community to say, “this is our museum,” and to utilize it as such.\textsuperscript{214} However, evidence for the Hispano community’s lack of engagement is harder to gauge, especially when MoSCA wishes to continue to present itself as connected to the community. This specific dynamic will be further discussed in the upcoming section on tourism’s impact on MoSCA and Santa Fe. When I attempted to get information on attendance at programming, such as sign-in sheets for sponsored lectures, I was told that type of information was not gathered by

\textsuperscript{213} Boast, “Neocolonial Collaboration,” 64.
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid.
the museum, contradicting my personal knowledge of these records existence.\textsuperscript{215} Instead, I will be evaluating Hispano community engagement in terms of Hispano artists’ statements regarding the museum, as well as staff members’ comments about their audience engagement.

The audience for the museum was described as “the local population; visitors to the area; a more specialized subset of artists working in traditional Spanish techniques” in MoSCA’s Institutional Assessment Report, written April 25, 2005, and conducted by the American Association of Museums (AAM) as part of MoSCA’s attempts to become an accredited museum.\textsuperscript{216} The local population would include the general Hispano community, while the subset of artists would directly refer to Hispano artists, most likely involved with other society activities such as Spanish Market, and visitors to the area indicates tourists. Despite indicating that key portions of their audience should be part of the Hispano community, it appears that this is not who actually visits in day-to-day operations of the museum. The Spanish Market artists I spoke with, Vicente Telles and Arthur Lopez, both stated that they rarely visit MoSCA, only going for exhibit opening celebrations when their pieces are part of that new exhibit.\textsuperscript{217} In our conversations, there appeared to be a lack of connection between them as Hispanos and the museum. Their interactions with MoSCA were limited to those necessary to be a part of Spanish Market and be courteous when their pieces were exhibited. They did not go for regular visits to see the collections and exhibits or to participate in programming the museum offered.

When I interviewed Rasch, deputy director at the time of our conversations, about the general audience of the museum and its programs, he gave similar indicators that there was not

\textsuperscript{215} Email with Jennifer; Conversation with Dr. Erickson.  
\textsuperscript{217} Vicente Telles, Interview with Author, 7/9/21; Arthur Lopez, Interview with Author, 6/28/21.
as much Hispano involvement as MoSCA had hoped in its early years or that it has continued to advertise it has on its website and promotional materials.\textsuperscript{218} When I asked about specific numbers of Anglo versus Hispano visitors based on information collected from individuals when they came to the museum or participated in programs, Rasch stated that the museum did not collect that information. However, based on his own observations, he believed the majority of visitors were Anglo tourists, especially leaning towards an older age demographic.

These statements, as well as those of Telles and Lopez, are corroborated by attendance and financial struggles the museum began facing from the early years of its operation. These issues had begun by 2005 when the museum was reviewed by the AAM and MoSCA had low attendance and consistent budget deficits.\textsuperscript{219} MoSCA had identified that they were trying to reach the “Hispanic population both as a potential audience and a potential source of funding,” however, the monetary issues continued, indicating that the museum was unsuccessful.\textsuperscript{220} The lack of Hispano community investment in MoSCA is even clearer financially when considering the COVID-19 pandemic and its effect on museums and other cultural institutions. This period of time has shown that organizations need communities to be deeply invested in their goals and continued existence to be able to sustain periods of closure and continued uncertainty through the community’s financial support. The impact of COVID-19 was felt intensely at MoSCA, where all but two employees were let go because of financial constrictions.\textsuperscript{221} Jennifer Berkley, the executive director, and David Rasch, the deputy director, were the only employees who were able to continue working. The financial effects were felt so heavily at MoSCA because their audience was largely tourist-based, and when people were unable to travel and visit, MoSCA

\textsuperscript{218} David Rasch, Interview with Author, 6/10/2021.
\textsuperscript{219} Butler, Institutional Assessment Report, 6.
\textsuperscript{220} Ibid, 13.
\textsuperscript{221} David Rasch, Interview with Author, 6/8/2021.
found itself without a base of financial support. This indicates that MoSCA was not an organization that the Hispano community felt tied to enough that it would want to rally around the museum and support it financially during this time. Therefore, these factors indicate that MoSCA was not a site of cultural expression and empowerment for the Hispano community.

This analysis can be finished by turning attention to specific cases where MoSCA had success in moving beyond an academic appreciation for Spanish colonial art and created a cultural appreciation for the Hispano community when it broke the tradition set for it by the history of SCAS and gave positions of authority to Hispanos. The first concerns the educational programs carried out under the Hispana education director Rasch had previously worked with before she was let go due to financial restrictions caused by COVID-19. Rasch discussed how she would focus heavily on educational programs targeted at youth Hispanics, which he speculated she was passionate about passing on the knowledge because she had two young sons. This would include bringing resources to schools and community centers, engaging youth visitors at the museum, and facilitating activities for young Hispanos to learn about techniques for creating art in the Spanish colonial style, evidence of which can still be seen in photographs on the museum’s website. When asked about educational programs for the future, Rasch said that he would be in charge of organizing and leading all programming moving forward. Because his specific background was in art history and conservation, he said he was planning programming surrounding these features of Spanish colonial art that would be marketed towards an older audience, most likely the Anglo tourists visiting the museum once restrictions lifted. This shows the significant difference that a Hispano staff member can make, especially in an area like programming, where community interaction most often begins for museums. On a small-scale,

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this educational director was able to create community connections with Hispano youth because of her intimate understanding of their shared interests and desires.

Another example involves the work of Carmella Padilla, an exhibition writer and coordinator for the inaugural exhibit, “Conexiones,” as well as an author and the editor of the print version of the exhibit, Conexiones. Padilla also helped write part of SCAS’ “museum on paper,” Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Collection that was published in 1996 before the museum was in the works to share the full range of the society’s collections with a broader audience.223 Her chapters titled “Revival Period Arts and Artists,” “Spanish Market,” and “Contemporary Masters of Traditional Hispanic Arts,” all provide a much more in-depth look at the Hispano artists creating the collections that the two volumes are about than any of the other authors’ chapters. In discussing the revival period that aligned with the beginning of the society and the establishment of the Spanish Market, she does not spend time praising the founders, but instead devotes pages to Hispano artists who participated in these early markets.224 These artists include Celso Gallegos, Jose Dolores Lopez, George Lopez, Patrocinio Barela, and Juan Sanchez, whose names and extensive bibliographic information are all accompanied by photographs of the artists and their individual works of art.225 Her chapter on the Spanish Market identifies all of the winners from 1965 to 1994, as well as recognizes specific advancements and achievements in the art, accompanied by photographs of winning art pieces and Hispanos participating in the market.226 In her chapter on contemporary masters she again thoroughly highlights Hispano artists, this time focusing on thirteen individuals of diverse artistic

223 Pierce and Weigle, Spanish New Mexico: The Spanish Colonial Arts Society Volume Two, 98.
226 Ibid, 53.
techniques.\textsuperscript{227} This is supplemented with photographs of the artists with their works pictured besides them, as well as an additional ten pages of other exemplary works of contemporary Spanish colonial art.\textsuperscript{228} Throughout these artists’ descriptions, there is an emphasis on their personal connection to the art as Hispanos and their motivations to produce the art because of their family traditions and religious beliefs.

This incredible level of detail about the Hispano artists producing the Spanish Colonial art would not be continued in the exhibits of MoSCA. In my own visits to MoSCA to view the exhibits, I found very little biographical information about the artists next to their art. This contrasts not only to Padilla’s chapters, but also to many other art museums, where the norm is to have some amount of biographical information on the artists who made each work of art. Padilla was able to capture not just the base level information about the artists, but also the cultural significance of their art to them as Hispanos. Through her personal connection to the community, she established an instance of the spirit and warmth that MoSCA sought to exemplify but fell short of. These cases demonstrate that a sharing of authority with Hispanics would have allowed for the flourishing of the museum into a space of cultural understanding, tradition-bearing, and community building, if only MoSCA had been able to firmly separate itself from the approaches and ways of thinking of SCAS that continued from its founding.

\textsuperscript{227} Ibid, 67-81.  
\textsuperscript{228} Ibid, 82-91.
Spanish Market: An Avenue for Hispano Artists

In 1926, Mary Austin wrote a letter published in The New Mexican where she announced a prize competition for the creation of Spanish colonial arts and crafts by New Mexicans of Spanish descent.\textsuperscript{229} She described her motivations as seeing “the native resources of the state… practically unworked,” and which she believed could be used to gain “financial returns” for Hispanos and “the respect and admiration of the world outside.”\textsuperscript{230} Austin noted that “work of equal value remains with the Spanish speaking population, and could, with very little encouragement become a pleasant and profitable activity among them,” so with the financial backing of Mrs. Elon Hooker and Miss Mary Wheelwright, she put forth calls to establish a competition to encourage such production.\textsuperscript{231} This competition would continue in years to come and develop into the tradition that exists today as the annual Spanish Market, another one of the branches of SCAS as an institution.

This sponsorship of the arts “to offer prizes for new work that conformed most exactly to the old models” based on “a list of examples of such crafts as might be profitable to revive” marked the beginning of SCAS, under its initial name the Society for the Revival of the Spanish-Colonial Arts.\textsuperscript{232} This was an Anglo assertion of what was acceptable and what would be profitable for Hispano artists since it was the pronouncement of standards created by the Anglo artists and elites who formed the early society.\textsuperscript{233} It was also these same Anglo artists and elites who were offering the cash prizes that would be awarded and judging which pieces deserved

\textsuperscript{229} “Mrs. Austin Announces Prizes for Spanish-Colonial Work,” The New Mexican, 18 May 1926, 2.
\textsuperscript{230} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{231} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{232} Weigle, The First Twenty-Five Years, 183
\textsuperscript{233} Ibid.
these prizes based on extensive criteria.\textsuperscript{234} These criteria included that the items be produced by “native born descendants of Spanish Colonial families in New Mexico,” that they had to be made during the life of the artist but not too recently, and that they must be “genuine Spanish Colonial,” meaning they are “of the kind and style as used in Spanish Colonial times,” and “not be new American materials or designs.”\textsuperscript{235} Additionally, favor was given to art with a “faithfulness to the ancient patterns and materials,” showing the society’s commitment to the traditions they sought to establish as the most significant parts of the Spanish Colonial style.\textsuperscript{236} The society recognized that the Spanish Market was “an important vehicle of Anglo patronage,” highlighting the role they claimed for themselves in reviving the Spanish colonial artistic tradition through economic support of the art.\textsuperscript{237}

SCAS continued to assert the importance of Spanish Market in maintaining the Spanish colonial art tradition within the Hispano community throughout its history and does so still today. A flyer from the 1990s describes the Traditional Spanish Market as “the oldest and largest market in the United States for Hispanic folk artists working in traditional arts and crafts,” where “a screening committee ensures artistic excellence and authenticity.”\textsuperscript{238} It claims that Spanish Market, and SCAS by extension, “contributed significantly to the revival and preservation of the Spanish colonial arts in New Mexico,” placing the market as an influential force in the continuation of the Hispano art tradition. They further this statement by associating the market not just with the art style, but with the community itself, when it says that “today’s Markets are contemporary expressions of a living heritage,” the success of which “celebrates the vitality of a

\textsuperscript{234} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{235} “Spanish Arts, Crafts Awards are Announced by Committee,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 02 Jun 1926, 2.  
\textsuperscript{236} Ibid.  
\textsuperscript{237} Weigle, \textit{The First Twenty-Five Years}, 188.  
\textsuperscript{238} “Background Information,” Spanish Colonial Arts Society, Inc., 1990s.
people who, from many diverse influences, have crafted their own strong identity.”  

These are similar to the claims made by MoSCA, which also presents itself as a tool for the expression of Hispano identity through past and present artworks. Spanish Market therefore falls into the same pitfalls as MoSCA, with Anglo leadership declaring itself to be the driving force behind keeping a supposedly dying tradition alive. However, despite the lack of explicit Hispano power over the event, Spanish Market is in fact a tool of Hispano community expression and identity because Hispano artists have more agency within this branch of SCAS.

Spanish Market has much more engagement from the Hispano community than MoSCA does. The consistently large number of Hispano artists who participate in market each year is evidence of this. In the present day, there are approximately two hundred artists who participate in the eighteen traditional art categories, as well as youth artists who are mentored by adult artists. 

Additionally, Hispano artists feel more connected to the Spanish Market environment than they do the museum. They visit the museum for specific exhibit openings where their art is featured, however are not likely to visit the museum for enjoyment or to participate in events. 

In contrast, they actively participate in and contribute to Spanish Market, making it the expression of their community and identity that SCAS desired MoSCA to also be.

It has become a space for this expression because of the agency that Hispano artists are able to claim within the institution. This agency derives from the fact that Hispano artists have their own motivations that drive them to participate in market events. Whether that be religion, the continuation of family traditions and cultural expression, financial gain, or a combination of

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239 Ibid.
these factors, it is a choice the artists make for themselves. They seek out engagement with Spanish Market, and that is what separates it from MoSCA and its absence of Hispano community engagement despite parallels in their history that could have resulted in a lack of expression through Spanish Market as well.

These motivations are incredibly important to Hispano artists and are what keeps them engaged and invested in Spanish Market. The most obvious motivation for participating is economic because as a market the primary focus of the event is for artists to display and sell their art. This art is most often sold to those considered outsiders, tourists, who are largely Anglo.\textsuperscript{242} Edward Gonzales, an artist of paintings and illustrations, recognizes that “for most artists, it’s their primary source of income," and in his specific case, he sells more during market than any other time of the year.\textsuperscript{243} Particularly important to many artists is the purchase of their pieces by museums, which is often denoted at market by the artist placing the business card of the person who bought the piece for a museum next to their artwork.\textsuperscript{244} Kalb describes this practice and all sales made by Hispano artists at market as exhibits of “economic and artistic success as well as… affiliations with cultural institutions” which brings artists more prestige in the art world.\textsuperscript{245} This financial gain through the market is an act of power by Hispano artists because they are the ones determining the worth of their art and benefiting from its consumption by consumers. As sculptor Pedro Romero puts it, customers “deal with the artists directly,” which establishes their agency and authority within the market environment.\textsuperscript{246} Although some Hispano artists create their art as expressions of their religion and culture, they recognize that the individuals

\textsuperscript{244} Kalb, \textit{Crafting Devotions}, 25.
\textsuperscript{245} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{246} “Contemporary Hispanic Market,” \textit{The New Mexican}, Jul 26, 1996, 63.
purchasing the art often do not have these connections to the pieces and view them as art based on “visual worthiness.” This creates tensions between creating art for the patron versus for their own connection to tradition. However, they navigate these different facets of creating for and displaying at Spanish Market because of their commitment to the art and the benefits it brings themselves and their community.

For other Hispano artists, the creation of their artwork is directly connected to their religion and the expression of their Catholic faith. They view their pieces as devotional acts of worship and prayer that brings themselves and others closer to God. For santera Anita Romero Jones, this connection between her art and faith derives from the “divine inspiration” she receives when creating her santos. She describes how many santeros “have a preference for one saint” that compels them to carve works of that particular figure because of their connection to them. She reflects on her favorite, Our Lady of Guadalupe, by stating, “I’ve never been really able to describe my feelings for her…. I just fell in love with her the first time I saw her,” making clear the deep emotional attachment she feels towards the figures she carves. For Arlene Cisneros Sena and Roberto Montoya, who collaborated on an altar screen installed at St. Francis Cathedral, many of their pieces expressed their faith and religious devotion. In discussing the altar screen of the life of St. Joseph that they were commissioned to create, they reflect on the saints that have always been present in their lives, which led them to work as

247 Kalb, Crafting Devotion, 28-31, 38.
248 Ibid, 38.
251 Ibid.
252 Ibid.
artists, painting and carving these figures. Montoya discussed the particular joy he felt in having art in a church since he can see it when he goes to Mass.

Another major motivation for many Hispano artists that often overlaps with religious devotion is that their work as artists is part of a continuing family tradition. Romero Jones connects these two motivations, as she sees her work as reflecting both religion and the traditions of her family. Her family was filled with well-known artists in the Spanish colonial style, including her parents Senaida and Emilio Romero, known for their tinwork, her sister Marie Romero Cash, and her daughters Donna Wright de Romero and Leslie Turner de Romero. Sena links these motivations in an intrinsic way, as the continuation of the artistic tradition and the continuation of her family’s religious faith are tied together in her mind. She found passing on the practice of making art to her children equally important to passing on the traditions of Lenten meals and Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve.

This familial tradition is sustained through the youth artists who get involved with market and receive a santero as a mentor. They are often the “children, grandchildren, nieces, and nephews of santeros,” showing how the Hispano community does in fact use Spanish Market as a way to pass on knowledge of their artistic traditions. Beyond family connections, there is also a sense of continuing the cultural traditions of the entire Hispano community among the artists. This is evident in the work of Cordelia Coronado, who has a studio where she teaches weaving classes that are open to the public. Although she learned from her parents and has

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254 Ibid, 7.
255 Ibid.
257 Ibid, 61, 62.
259 Ibid.
260 “At Spanish Market, It’s the Year of Youth,” The New Mexican, 28 Jul 1996, 2.
ensured that the weaving tradition will continue in her family by teaching her own daughters and grandchildren, she also finds it important to teach those beyond her family the Spanish colonial weaving tradition.262

Particularly interesting to this phenomenon of sustaining family involvement in Spanish colonial art is the way Hispana artists have experienced these traditions. Certain artistic categories, such as the carving of santos, have historically been considered a male space that female artists could not participate in. However, as time has passed, and traditions have been as well, some Hispanics have asserted their place within these spaces in dramatic ways. Gloria López Córdova is one such artist. In 2000, she received the Governor’s Award for Excellence in the Arts for her woodcarving.263 She was the first Hispana santera from her village, as the village’s artistic tradition of woodcarving had been open only to men.264 This was a tradition that was established by the men in her family, specifically her grandfather, who participated in the earliest Spanish Markets.265 Although all members of the family were involved in working on the art, including Córdova who sanded pieces as a young child, only the men could do the carving.266 However Córdova wanted to be the one carving, so she began by making a carving of San Isidro, which she remembers being scolded for because she was “rebelling against tradition.”267 She continued to carve, eventually entering her works in Spanish Market and receiving ample recognition, including by many museums who purchased her artwork.268 She even received the José Dolores López Memorial Award that was named after her grandfather for one of her bultos

262 Ibid.
264 Ibid.
265 Ibid.
266 Ibid.
267 Ibid.
268 Ibid.
in 1997.\textsuperscript{269} Therefore, for female artists at market, the motivation to continue family traditions by participating in Spanish Market can also be interlaced with the desire to express the power and cultural importance of Hispanas.

Similar to how their personal reasoning for participating in market allows for greater agency, the Hispano community’s ability to exert their authority and make changes within Spanish Market operations also gives them more agency than they have in MoSCA, making the market a better avenue for their cultural expression. Beginning in the 1970s, Spanish Market artists began to fight back against the format of Spanish Market, where Anglo officials set the standards for their art in attempts to dictate their artistic expression.\textsuperscript{270} One disgruntled artist, Nino Padilla, expressed his anger for the “poor arrangement” of Spanish Market, as well as for the “racist fashion” of its administration.\textsuperscript{271} In a letter to \textit{The New Mexican}, he details the specific issue he has with “another ethnic group dictating to me what is traditional in my culture,” and the fact that there are only four classes for awards which he argues do not cover the full scope of Spanish colonial art.\textsuperscript{272} After this time, it was increasingly common for Spanish Market artists to question the authority of SCAS in deciding what was considered traditional art, and furthermore in deciding why only traditional art was allowed to be displayed.\textsuperscript{273} This led to the establishment of the Contemporary Hispanic Market, held in conjunction with the Traditional Spanish Market hosted by SCAS, but separate from SCAS administration.\textsuperscript{274} It was started in 1985 by activist and artist Oscar Romero, who saw a need for a space dedicated to the “exciting work that didn’t

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{270} “Indian Market Called ‘racist,’” \textit{The New Mexican}, 04 Sep 1970, 8.
\textsuperscript{271} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{272} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{273} “Is SCAS a Protector or Dictator?” \textit{The New Mexican}, 25 Jul 1996, 53.
\end{footnotesize}
fit into any of the categories in Spanish Market,” and the encouragement of contemporary art creation among Hispanos.\textsuperscript{275}

Contemporary Hispanic Market is held on Lincoln Avenue, a location given to them by SCAS to share during the weekend of Spanish Market, which fulfilled Romero’s dream of having “traditional and contemporary art side by side.”\textsuperscript{276} However, in 1999 SCAS voted to ask the Contemporary Hispanic Market to move from Lincoln Avenue on the weekend of Traditional Spanish Market after its twelve year existence there to make room for the growth of Traditional Spanish Market.\textsuperscript{277} This was met with great resistance from many artists, as well as residents of Santa Fe, who found the combination of the markets a key aspect of the experience.\textsuperscript{278} One article in \textit{The New Mexican} particularly noted the bad timing of the vote given SCAS’ new efforts to begin raising money for the future museum and the “bad karma” that would result from the decision.\textsuperscript{279} Hispano artists more directly asserted their dissatisfaction by creating a petition to be delivered to the mayor and members of city council stating that “to revoke the use of Lincoln Avenue for Contemporary Hispanic Market is inequitable and divisive.”\textsuperscript{280} These efforts led by Hispano artists resulted in a reversal of this vote, and Contemporary Hispanic Market continues to be held on Lincoln Avenue, demonstrating the agency of Hispano artists in their interactions with SCAS related to market events.\textsuperscript{281}

The use of the term “Hispanic” in the market’s title also reflects a more widespread approach to Latinx nomenclature of the time then the term “Spanish” that SCAS continued to

\begin{footnotes}
\item[Ibid.\textsuperscript{275}]
\item[Ibid, 92.\textsuperscript{276}]
\item[“Unity is the Strength of Spanish Markets,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 19 Mar 1999, 44.\textsuperscript{277}]
\item[Ibid.; “Artistic Dictatorship,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 10 Apr 1999, 5.\textsuperscript{278}]
\item[Ibid.\textsuperscript{279}]
\item[“Artists Petition for Space at Spanish Market,” \textit{The New Mexican}, 25 Jul 1999, 9.\textsuperscript{280}]
\item[Kalb, \textit{Crafting Devotions}, 22.\textsuperscript{281}]
\end{footnotes}
use. In the 1980s, Latinx individuals, such as Mexican Americans who formerly promoted the use of Chicano, a term that was unable to gain significant traction in New Mexico, adopted the term “Hispanic” to consolidate professional and political power among multiple Latin American populations in the U.S. As such, the market’s usage of “Hispanic” reflects an awareness of and concern with modern Latinx issues of the time concerning ethnic expression and its ties to political and social matters. This demonstrates the influence of Hispano agency and control in establishing an institution for their artistic expression, as their personal connection to the community increased the inclusiveness and ideological power of the event. Although this is one expression of Hispano agency at this time, it is not a representation of all Hispanos opinions on the best ethnic terminology to use, as at this same time and continuing to the present, many New Mexicans retain usage of “Spanish American” and “Hispano” instead of identifying as Hispanic or Latinx.

Additionally, other steps were taken by SCAS to integrate the opinions and authority of the Hispano community into Spanish Market in response to Hispano protests. The society established the position of official Artist Liaison to be “the voice of… fellow market artists,” which was further expanded by the 1997 liaison Arlene Cisneros Sena, who decided more than a single artist’s perspective needed to be involved and created the Artist Liaison Committee. These positions are voted on by all of the artists who show at Spanish Market, making it a community assertion of what Hispano artists want from market. SCAS also had the standards for jurying into the market redeveloped with assistance from Spanish Market artists who

283 Ibid.
284 “Vote of Confidence,” Chispas!, vol. 1, no. 4, 5.
285 Ibid.
participated in the categories that they were developing the standards for.\textsuperscript{286} This allowed Hispanic artists to follow guidelines for their artistic traditions that were set by their community instead of by Anglo officials determining what would be considered traditional for the community. These categories were also expanded, now giving Hispanic artists eighteen categories in which to display their art, up from the four that Padilla had complained were not extensive enough to allow for the full expression of Hispanic artistic talent.

These various methods for Hispanic artists to convey their agency by bringing their own motivations and desires to market, as well as questioning the authority of SCAS over their community’s artistic expression create a space where Hispanic art and culture can adequately be represented and respected fully. The Hispanic artists are active participants in market, from the actual event to its organization, which contrasts sharply to their lack of involvement with MoSCA. This Hispanic involvement is the key to the cultural appreciation that Spanish Market facilitates, and MoSCA must follow its example if it wishes to truly establish the community environment it claims to foster.

Tourism and Santa Fe: Outside Influences on Museum Goals

At MoSCA’s founding, museum leadership was well-aware of the cultural dynamic that SCAS’ new museum would be entering into in Santa Fe. Executive director Stuart Ashman noted that “the Museum of Spanish Colonial Art will complete the cultural texture of the Santa Fe museum community and enrich the lives of residents and visitors alike,” as the only museum in the city devoted solely to Hispanics’ art.\(^{287}\) This cultural dynamic that makes it necessary to meet the demands of both “residents and visitors alike” is the major importance of tourism to the city. Tourism in Santa Fe is promoted by an over-arching narrative fostered by the local government, museum officials, and all others involved in the industry that ensures that Santa Fe lives up to its moniker as The City Different.\(^{288}\) This narrative is referred to as the “myth of Santa Fe” by Chris Wilson, where ethnic identities and the traditions that go along with those have been strictly prescribed for the city and its inhabitants by the government and members of the community in order to present a beautiful and cohesive message of “tricultural harmony” among the city’s Anglo, Hispano, and Pueblo citizens to tourists.\(^{289}\)

Santa Fe’s distinctive environment and the promotion of the idea of tricultural harmony can be described according to Edward Bruner’s concept of tourist tales.\(^{290}\) These begin even before the tourist arrives with the pretour narrative, the preconceptions the visitor has about the place, which is incredibly well-known for Santa Fe, with many people having heard it’s a magical place to visit.\(^{291}\) Bruner goes on to note that governments and those involved in the tourism industry often work together to “devise an appropriate story line for the site” in order to

\(^{287}\) Ashman, “Of Culture and Community,” xiii.
\(^{289}\) Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, 8.
\(^{291}\) Ibid.
sell their destination to potential visitors.\textsuperscript{292} This was done in Santa Fe beginning in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century, when a group of individuals involved with the development of the joint Museum of New Mexico-School of American Archaeology in 1909 turned their attention to transforming Santa Fe into a City Beautiful city.\textsuperscript{293} This movement encouraged creating order and beauty in expanding cities.\textsuperscript{294} In Santa Fe, they took a new approach to the movement by combining this concept with the local Pueblo-Spanish revival style, codified during these years as it was officially expanded, to increase tourist interest in the city to help their struggling economy.\textsuperscript{295} Santa Fe began promoting itself as the “City Different,” with romantic, quaint architectural character supplemented by streets renamed after Spanish figures from local history, which helped develop the city’s status as a tourist destination.\textsuperscript{296}

For MoSCA to succeed within the Santa Fe’s cultural cache of museums, it had to model itself in such a way that it fit neatly into the city’s narrative. Additionally, it would have to continue to operate in a way that highlighted its role as an important expression of the Hispano portion of the tri-cultural organization of the city. From MoSCA’s original long-range plan it is evident that the museum sought to be the institution that was clearly devoted to Hispano art and culture within the cultural field of Santa Fe. In its mandate, it emphasizes itself as an “institution dedicated to the heart and soul of a traditional local culture,” which “distinguishes itself as a place that reflects the life and spirit of the people,” demonstrating its desire to be the foremost museum representation of the Hispano community.\textsuperscript{297} This sentiment was echoed in the museum’s vision, which states that MoSCA “offers a welcome into the life and heart of Hispanic

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{292} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{293} Ibid, Myth of Santa Fe, 117, 121.
\textsuperscript{294} Ibid, 122.
\textsuperscript{295} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{296} Ibid, 123.
\textsuperscript{297} Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 7.
\end{footnotes}
culture,” furthering their statements into a promise of hospitality and an opportunity for visitors to have an intimate encounter with Hispano culture.\textsuperscript{298} However even before its opening, the committee organized to develop the strategic plan was aware of issues MoSCA would have in trying “to balance the preservation and evolution of the art form, and the unique challenge of ensuring that the ‘soul’ is retained as the organization grows and changes over time.”\textsuperscript{299} This is a challenge which I have argued MoSCA was unable to overcome, resulting in a museum that has an academic appreciation for Hispano art, but lacks a cultural understanding and commitment to the Hispano community.

Despite this important distinction in the environment of MoSCA, the museum still presents itself, on its website and in promotional materials, as a tool for the expression and empowerment of the Hispano community. In a flyer from the 1990s discussing the history of SCAS to promote its various enterprises, including what would develop into the museum, the language seeks to highlight SCAS’ commitment to the genuineness of their institution. They specifically use the description of “artistic excellence and authenticity” to label the artwork produced for Spanish Market, many pieces of which would be acquired and exhibited in MoSCA.\textsuperscript{300} When individuals visit SCAS’ website, they are greeted with a picture of the museum overlaid with words inviting them to visit to “experience 500 years of art with the Spanish Colonial Arts Society” and the museum’s hours.\textsuperscript{301} This immediately establishes the connection between the society and museum and the history of Spanish colonial arts and its continuation into present day artistic traditions. The organization continues to assert this relationship in its mission statement, which states that the society “collects, preserves, and

\textsuperscript{298} Ibid, 6.
\textsuperscript{299} Ibid, 4.
\textsuperscript{300} “Background Information,” Spanish Colonial Arts Society, 1990s.
exhibits the Spanish Colonial art of New Mexico and beyond, and educates the public about its related cultures and living traditions.”

This mission statement, as previously highlighted, hinges on the association of the society and museum with not only Spanish Colonial art, but also with the “related cultures and living traditions,” meaning the Hispano culture and traditions of the Hispano community that existed historically and continue to exist in the present. It implies an awareness of and expertise in Hispano culture and traditions, which I have demonstrated MoSCA lacks.

This contradiction between the statements and actual operations of the museum raises questions about the motivations of museum and society leadership in continuing a narrative of close connection with Hispanics and authenticity in their cultural portrayal of the Hispano community. The prime motivation for this emphasis is tourism, and the critical nature of fitting within the portrayal of tricultural harmony in Santa Fe. By claiming Hispano involvement and authenticity in the artwork and environment, MoSCA establishes proof of why the institution deserves to exist within the Santa Fe touristic landscape.

MoSCA’s visitor demographic is made up of primarily tourists, therefore their continued organizational and economic success depends on appealing to outsiders coming to Santa Fe to experience the magic of the city and the culture on display in its museums. This touristic dynamic is not unique to MoSCA, and instead permeates all of Santa Fe, which relies heavily on tourism. Hospitality is the second largest industry in the city, after the government, and the arts, shops, nature, food, and museums bring in an average of two million visitors who stay overnight.

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303 Ibid.
304 Rasch, 6/10/2021.
annually. The official travel site for the city boasts of the many awards that Santa Fe has won because of its unique character, including the 2017 World Legacy Award for Sense of Place from National Geographic, which “recognized the city’s commitment to preservation work which has allowed Santa Fe to retain its historic character for today’s traveler,” as well as appearing on many lists for the best places to travel. The specific recognition for preserving the city in such a way that modern visitors can experience the historic character speaks to the large-scale narrative of tricultural harmony that is persists in the food options, the vast array of museums, and down to the very building blocks of the city through the architecture that is required to be in Pueblo Revival style according to government regulation.

It even determines the ways in which court cases are decided, as shown by the case of Livingston v. Ewing. Anglo Paul Livingston sued George Ewing, the Museum of New Mexico director, for the right to sell Pueblo-style jewelry he had made under the portal outside the museum, which the museum mandated was only allowed for Pueblo Indians. The court decided that the museum could culturally discriminate because it was doing so to educate and based this decision on the principles that the museum was meant to “stimulate and protect authentic Indian crafts,” and that the “traditional Portal market of Indians, and only Indians, is an important tourist attraction.” Therefore, the case hinged on determining guidelines for what constituted authenticity in ethnic art and the importance of that authenticity to the tourism

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306 Ibid.  
307 Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, 265-266.  
309 Ibid, 289.
industry. This demonstrates the key importance of highlighting authenticity in art, culture, and ethnicity to cultural institutions throughout Santa Fe, including MoSCA.

This desire to ensure authenticity in the way the people and environment of Santa Fe is perceived is important to recognize and dissect. Edward Bruner has noted that the meaning of authenticity depends on the context it is used in and the beliefs of the person using it and can refer to something “credible and convincing,” something that “not only resembles the original but is a complete and immaculate simulation,” something that “refers to the original, as opposed to a copy,” or something that is “duly authorized, certified, or legally valid.” Santa Fe has sought to create authenticity in all of these ways at some point to establish a picturesque tourist destination. The city expects its cultural institutions to participate in this as shown by the Livingston v. Ewing case. This case demonstrated the city’s vested interest in expressly being perceived as authentic, just as SCAS and MoSCA have shown through their expression of their close connection to the Hispano community and use of the word “authentic” to describe the art at Spanish Market and exhibited at MoSCA.

Lionel Trilling has established the concept that authenticity is something that is stressed only once doubt has been expressed. Beyond the doubt of whether there is perfect tricultural harmony in Santa Fe, which both history and current events can attest to the lack of, as a tourist destination, the city must fight visitor doubts that it is worth their time and resources to travel to Santa Fe. Within the context of Santa Fe’s touristic landscape, MoSCA must fight doubts that they deserve to exist as an institution that is vital in continuing the tricultural harmony narrative. As one of the many activities available to tourists when they reach the city, MoSCA must also

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310 Bruner, Culture on Tour, 149-150.
311 Ibid, 154.
fight visitor doubts about whether the experience will be worth it to them. Because many tourists seek an authentic experience, advertising themselves as such is beneficial to Santa Fe and MoSCA in assuaging these doubts for tourists.

Bruner has written that much of tourism, from the perspective of both the producers and consumers, is taken to be “representations of an authentic culture that were to be accepted as given and to remain essentially unexamined,” but he wishes to acknowledge that in tourism the “performance is constitutive” and therefore involves “contemporary rituals offered in a particular political and touristic context.”

This is what occurs in Santa Fe, where the government officials, cultural institutions, and even locals buy in to and continually reproduce the myth of Santa Fe and tricultural harmony. If tourists accept this interpretation, they are able to relish in a romantic and nostalgic landscape free from evidence of the conflict that was actually part of the history of the city. However, this new constitution of the city’s social and political dynamics ignores the harsh reality of the violence and injustice that exists in its history.

Lisa Maya Knauer and Daniel J. Walkowitz have noted the emerging tendency for governments at many levels “to promote modernist narratives that are celebratory in nature, glossing over imperial adventures… by celebrating the resultant multiculturalism” allowing for the history to be “simplified and condensed into heritage and commoditized for both touristic and internal consumption.” The myth of tricultural harmony does just this. It rests on the idea that the three cultures prominent in Santa Fe, Anglos, Hispanos, and Pueblo Indians, began living in harmony with each other despite early conflicts between them, and that harmony sustains the

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312 Bruner, Culture on Tour, 4.
community in the present, creating the unique blend of experiences tourists encounter in the city. This glosses over the harsh reality of Santa Fe’s history and the injustices that the colonial Spaniards inflicted on the indigenous Pueblo, as well as the later discrimination faced by Hispanics and Pueblo Indians from Anglo Americans who began settling in the area after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which made New Mexico a territory of the United States.

The history that the myth is based on began with the formation of the first Spanish colony in New Mexico in 1598 by Juan de Oñate, known for his cruelty against the Pueblo people. In 1680, the Puebloans revolted and drove the Spanish out of the capital at Santa Fe, but the Spanish returned and forcibly recaptured Santa Fe in 1693. They established a stratified social hierarchy, known as the casta system, that dictated a person’s position based on the amount of pure Spanish blood an individual had, with those of completely pure Spanish blood occupying the highest position and the Pueblo Indians at the bottom. Although the terminology was done away with once Mexico gained independence, the same social positions remained, as Santa Fe was far away from Mexico City and was less impacted by the change in government. Therefore, when the Anglo American population, who viewed Mexicans as inferior, began to increase rapidly in the 1880s, those of Spanish colonial descent wished to emphasize their lineage to express their connection to a European heritage of power and their distinction from the humiliating stereotypes the Anglos had of them. This declaration of Hispano identity as a

314 Wilson, The Myth of Santa Fe, 8.
315 Lovato, Santa Fe Hispanic Culture, 22-23.
316 Ibid, 9-11.
318 Ibid, 16-17.
319 Ibid, 30.
claim to Spanish colonial ancestry would be articulated in many forms that repudiated the Pueblo Indians, extolling the history of their colonizers.\textsuperscript{321} There are many examples of these proclamations by Hispanos through cultural mediums, including attempts to build monuments to Juan de Oñate.\textsuperscript{322}

Although MoSCA uses the Spanish colonial terminology, because there are not and have not consistently been Hispanos in positions of authority, I would not categorize the museum as one of these tools of expressing Hispano power and position. However, it is significant that the museum and society continue to use this language that directly connects them and the art to the colonial period, especially in a time when most museums are attempting to move away from their pasts in colonialism. I would argue that this is MoSCA affirming itself as one of the crucial parts of the myth of Santa Fe, where the narrative of tricultural harmony allows for a glorification of the colonial period. Therefore, MoSCA must continue to play the part of the Spanish institution that aligns itself with the art and culture of the colonial times and the continuing traditions that stem from that period to fit the tourism narrative of Santa Fe.

However, this neatly packaged historical portrayal of shared community is not uncontested in culture and politics, nor in the essentialization of ethnic art styles that results from a simplified version of each culture. Bruner has identified that tourist sites with an overarching narrative often create “monolithic interpretations that are static and ahistorical, that homogenize meaning,” and therefore caution should be used when “assuming that the official version of the site is accepted by all parties.”\textsuperscript{323} The glorification of the colonial period, the ability for Santa Fe officials to designate what is considered authentic, and the effects of strictly categorizing what is

\begin{footnotes}
\item[321] Gonzales, “‘History Hits the Heart,’” 209-210.
\item[322] Ibid, 207.
\item[323] Bruner, Culture on Tour, 12.
\end{footnotes}
authentic are issues that Pueblo and Hispano inhabitants of Santa Fe and larger New Mexico push back against.

As previously mentioned, tricultural harmony rests on the idea that there is a sense of shared, brotherly community between Anglos, Hispanos, and Pueblos based in the historical past of Santa Fe. However, many assertions of Hispano identity in the past have served as direct grievances against Pueblo Indians as the descendants of the indigenous individuals who were violently and maliciously dealt with by Spanish conquistadors.324 These assertions were met with the creation of “Pueblo Pride” a movement of Race Pride that combined the voices and efforts of the nineteen Pueblo nations that lived in central and north New Mexico.325 This organization of the Pueblo nations sought changes in the presentation of the Santa Fe Fiesta, created their own cultural presentations for the celebration of the Quincentenary that demonstrated the struggle of indigenous people in New Mexico, and led protests against a statue commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of Onate arriving in New Mexico that included massive attendance at city council meetings, prayer vigils, and destruction of artists’ cars.326 They were directly contradicting the continuation of the narrative of tricultural harmony that was occurring through these various cultural productions of expressions of Hispano identity rooted in pride in their historical ancestors.

There are also dangers in the decision to base a tourist narrative on the authenticity of depictions of ethnic culture and art when the markers for that authenticity are decided by outside government officials and cultural institutions. The ability to define something as authentic is an

324 Gonzales, “‘History Hits the Heart,’” 209-210.
325 Ibid, 212.
expression of power and often comes from people in positions of power who might disregard the perspectives of the individuals who inhabit the communities, such as leadership at the Museum of New Mexico or at MoSCA. This results in imbalances of power between the institutions who represent ethnic communities and the ethnic communities themselves, like what has occurred at MoSCA. However, it can also have negative impacts on the culture of those ethnic communities as they seek to fit within the categories determined to be authentic, thus losing the ability to transform or evolve like culture normally does. In the case of Pueblo Indians, much of the new jewelry made and displayed outside the Museum of New Mexico in the portal looks incredibly similar because of limitations from what sells well to tourists and what is allowed based on regulations from the museum. This makes the development of the art in style and techniques impossible because of the “persuasive force of the marketplace and external conservatism.” What is considered authentic to SCAS, and therefore is allowed at market and in the museum, are the pieces that evoke the Spanish colonial style that came into favor in the 1920s when the Anglo artists pushed for certain styles and techniques to focus on supposedly reviving. Hispano artists recognize that to SCAS and to many of their potential buyers, this is the art they will support economically, resulting in the creation of artistic traditions based on expectations of these patrons. For many of these Pueblo and Hispano artists, the art they produce for tourists to consume directly from them or through a museum display represents economic development. The authentic experiences that tourists seek out in a “zone of leisure and exoticization” are the sites “of work and cash income” for the artists in which they choose to

328 Ibid.
329 Kalb, Crafting Devotions, 18.
330 Ibid, 38.
331 Bruner, Culture on Tour, 192.
participate in strategic essentialism to allow them to economically benefit from producing their art.\textsuperscript{332}

There are other Pueblo and Hispano artists however who push back against the determination of authenticity by outside forces and produce art that fulfills them outside of the strictures of the traditional expression expected of their ethnic group. Contemporary Hispanic Market is a key example of these efforts by Hispano artists. The market was established in 1985 by Orlando Romero out of a desire to create a space for himself and other Hispano artists like him to promote and display their art without the constraints placed on them by SCAS.\textsuperscript{333} The Contemporary Hispanic Market continues to exist at the same time as Traditional Spanish Market but outside the administrative control of SCAS.\textsuperscript{334} The Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA) Museum of Contemporary Native Arts (MOCNA) in downtown Santa Fe provides a site for the display of artistic production by contemporary Native artists. In conjunction with the IAIA, MOCNA “stewards over 10,000 Contemporary Indigenous artworks,” allowing many Native artists the opportunity to have their contemporary expressions supported and exhibited in the most central Santa Fe location.\textsuperscript{335} These institutions represent attempts to contest the expectations placed on Pueblo and Hispano artists, and the communities at large, to fit within the tourist narrative of Santa Fe, opening opportunities for the city to reevaluate its strict devotion to portraying tricultural harmony and supposedly authentic expressions of culture in its touristic production. MoSCA could potentially learn to fit in a new place within this emerging landscape, reckoning with its own past as part of the complex history of the city.

\textsuperscript{332} Ibid, 192-193.
\textsuperscript{333} Kalb, \textit{Crafting Devotion}, 22.
\textsuperscript{334} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{335} “IAIA Museum of Contemporary Native Arts (MOCNA),” Institute of American Indian Arts, accessed 3/5/2022, \url{https://iaia.edu/mocna/}. 78
Conclusion

This historical approach to charting the attitudes and actions of MoSCA through an analysis of its parent institution SCAS and in comparison to its co-branch Spanish Market, while recognizing outside factors such as tourism, demonstrates the inherent challenges faced by museums representing marginalized communities traditionally excluded from museum spaces. The impact of SCAS’ history on the continuing existence of the society and museum reveals the way an institution’s past impacts its present state. This is not an issue for solely SCAS and MoSCA, but instead permeates the modern museum field. Many museums are seeking to address their role in a colonial and imperial past to establish more accessible and representative spaces through statements and corrective actions. However, this process is mired with obstacles concerning commitment from every aspect of the institution, defensiveness around personal involvement in continuing past systems of exclusion even unconsciously, and maintaining energy towards a process that evolves and remains ongoing in the field.

MoSCA’s operations as a museum representing the Hispano community serve as a marker of where many museums who portray the art, history, or culture of a traditionally outsider communities find themselves in this era of supposedly postcolonial museums. The institutions may present themselves as in touch with community wants and needs, potentially believing that they are filling the niche of providing a community meeting space simply by existing. But existence is not enough, for MoSCA or any other museum at this point. What many museums need at this point is relevance, which Nina Simon articulates in her book *The Art of Relevance*. She describes how cultural institutions must create relevance to engage audiences by
“unlocking meaning and value for diverse people in your community.”

To fully explore this idea, she conceptualizes relevance as a room with doors. Some individuals have keys to those doors, others need things that create those keys for them, such as advertising or a new event designed to draw them in. However, if an individual is able to open the door and then gets into the room and has a mediocre or negative experience, they will not create value and meaning associated with the institution. Therefore, it is the institution’s responsibility to create that for them, not once, but continually and often gradually through positive interactions.

This is especially hard for museums seeking engagement from minority communities that feel their identity is not accepted in that space, which is why Simon’s understanding of relevance as “an exercise in empathy- in understanding what matters to your intended audience” is important. It is another way of expressing the necessity of sharing authority with these communities the museum represents. By sharing authority, encouraging and allowing active involvement from members of the community in all levels of the museum, from greeters to executive directors, the museum will come to understand community wants and needs and the institution’s role in this.

This is a much larger issue in the museum field, representing systematic problems of access to academia, unpaid internships, and museum positions. However, that does not mean there is a lack of community members interested in being involved in community spaces like museums that individual institutions can work to make more accessible and welcoming to them. This is clear from the active Hispano engagement achieved through the Traditional Spanish

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337 Nina Simon, “Start at the Front Door,” in The Art of Relevance, Start at the Front Door - The Art of Relevance.
Market each year. Hispano artists are active in participating in the event, defining the standards set for themselves, and using the event for their own economic, social, and cultural reasons. This sort of engagement is possible for museums if they find the types of exhibits and activities that are relevant to their audiences by actively connecting with those communities and sharing their institutional authority.

These systematic issues, and the overall inaccessibility of museums to minority communities due to alienation, are tied to the historical roots of museums in colonialism and imperialism. The lessons learned from MoSCA’s operations can again be applied to the larger museum field, as it reveals the way personal opinions and biases infiltrate spaces where individuals profess their commitment to leaving such factors behind. The museum’s history as an outgrowth of SCAS that then inherited the attitude and approaches of the society despite intentions by museum staff to create a celebratory community space surrounding Hispano art and culture parallels the ways in which modern museums attempt to create representative and collaborative experiences with minority communities but struggle due to the inherent superiority museums have within that relationship. Those with early involvement with MoSCA had positive intentions to create a warm and welcoming environment that embraced and celebrated Hispanics and their culture. However, MoSCA was an organization rooted in the ideas of SCAS and therefore inherited the issues the society had. They did not address this past in the museum and therefore it continued to impact their employment structure, exhibits, and engagement with the community. Museums must reckon with their past in order to move forward. Museum professionals cannot assume that because they have different beliefs from individuals involved with their institutions in the past that they are not impacted by those beliefs through the systems that were created based on those ideas. These systems are part of the history of MoSCA as a
branch of SCAS, as the Anglo artistic elites determined what iterations of Spanish colonial art were considered worthy of collecting and therefore would eventually be displayed in the museum. These systems are also inherent in the larger museum field, whose history began when imperial nations used them to justify their national and racial superiority.

This can appear to be a bleak determination with an end conclusion that all museums are lost causes, however, that is not what I am advocating for. I believe that museums can truly move forward first with the commitment to shared authority that I have outlined, but also critically with an acknowledgment of this history and a dedication to moving forward, with clear and transparent discussion of what that entails. This idea comes from the work of Lonetree, who outlines the necessity of decolonized museums to clearly address the effects of colonialism on indigenous communities in order to be fully decolonized. Only through this transparent and vocal awareness of the facts of this past, the harm this past has perpetuated, and action being taken to be different in the present, can minority communities begin to feel welcome in the institutional space of the museum field. In the case of MoSCA, this would look like a museum that addresses the history of SCAS with transparency about its founders, their reasoning, and their personal biases. It would also include acknowledging Hispano and Spanish colonial art that was being created outside of their purview during the so-called revival and continuing to the present day. It would involve transparency about past board membership, employment, and volunteers, as well as a guarantee to prioritize the perspectives of Hispanics and Hispano artists in particular in these roles in the future. For the museum field, this type of acknowledgment of the past and commitment to the future is a necessity to achieve collaborative and representative spaces.

These commitments to acknowledging the past and sharing authority with minority communities are a positive theoretical approach that often comes up against obstacles presented
by extenuating circumstances faced by museums when they attempt to put them in practice. This was evident in MoSCA, as the institution sought to create a community space that shared and celebrated Hispano art and culture, however found themselves catering to a largely tourist demographic. This came with different expectations that led to resources of time, money, and energy being put towards appealing to tourism and placing themselves within the narrative of tricultural harmony in Santa Fe instead. These sorts of outside factors, whether expected or not in the museum’s development, can derail institutional goals to create accessible and representative spaces for minority and outsider communities. This highlights the necessity of the museum to be committed on every level and in every aspect to these goals. The museum must decide that these goals are their main focus, remaining intent on their mission statement, vision, and values.

Because MoSCA established in their long-term plan that they desired to connect with the Hispano community and make their museum the “heart and soul of a traditional local culture,” that should have remained their priority, even as it appeared to be more fruitful to appeal to tourists.\(^\text{339}\) This allows the museum to actually create an accessible and representative space for its key audience that will remain committed to the museum just like the museum remains committed to them. In a time where there are many museums for people to visit, this is especially important. Additionally, the COVID-19 pandemic revealed the critical need of museums to have a connection with their community to support them and their continued existence in times of crisis and uncertainty. For places like MoSCA that did not have this connection and commitment to and from their community, they fared poorly, with MoSCA having to let go all of their staff except for one museum manager and the executive director.

\(^{339}\) Herglich, “Making Hispanic History,” 7.
Sharing authority with the Hispano community and acknowledging their institutional past while also making changes to their current actions would allow MoSCA to transform itself into the community space it originally sought to be at the time of its opening. This approach can also be a way forward for all museums, allowing the museum field to become open to a wider variety of people and representative of their various stories and interests. The authoritative position of the museum must be clearly recognized and then broken down at every level of its organization if museums want to effectively be tools of representation, education, and empowerment for their communities. In doing so, the field would be capable of fulfilling their role as active participants in social and political conversations that society desires them to lead, moving beyond their historical burdens to create inviting spaces for all.


87
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