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# Dressing Indian: Appropriation, Identity, and American Design, 1940-1968

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DRESSING INDIAN: APPROPRIATION, IDENTITY, AND AMERICAN DESIGN, 1940 -1968

By

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Bachelor of Arts – History
Northeastern University
January 2011

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the

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## Abstract

This thesis examines the ways the American fashion industry and fashion publications appropriated aspects of Indian cultures as marketing tools from 1940 to 1968 and the ways representations stereotypes created through fashion outlets denoted American and individual, rather than Native, identity. Representational stereotypes created at the turn of the twentieth century provided fashion merchandisers and sellers with a home-grown marketing scheme, while the development of an American fashion industry based on mass-produced, ready-to-wear sportswear led to nation-wide dissemination and use of "Indian" colors, patterns, and designs.

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## Chapter 1: Introduction

On February 28, 2012, the Navajo Nation sued Urban Outfitters Inc. over the company's line of Navajo-branded clothing and accessories. The Navajo Nation maintained that items with the Navajo name not only violated copyright laws but also impacted popular opinions of the Navajo and their products.[1] Urban Outfitters first released "Navajo" merchandise in 2009, including the Navajo Nations Crew Pullover, Obey Navajo Shirt, and the Navajo Print Fabric Wrapped Flask.[2] Despite the lawsuit, company spokesperson Ed Looram stated that Urban Outfitters had no plans to alter its products: "Like many other fashion brands, we interpret trends…the Native American-inspired trend and specifically the term 'Navajo' have been cycling through fashion, fine art and design for the last few years."[3] However, clothing manufacturers used "Navajo" and more broadly, "Indian" as marketing tools throughout the twentieth century. Style and designs labeled Indian came seen as part of American sartorial identity rather than Native American, perpetuating representational stereotypes in the process.

This thesis examines the ways the American fashion industry and fashion publications appropriated aspects of Indian cultures as marketing tools from 1940 to 1968 and the ways representations stereotypes created through fashion outlets denoted American and individual, rather than Native, identity. Representational stereotypes created at the turn of the twentieth century provided fashion merchandisers and sellers with a home-grown marketing scheme, while the development of an American fashion

[1] Felicia Fonseca, "Navajo Nation sues Urban Outfitters over goods," *Native American Times*, March 9, 2012, 1,3
[2] Guillermo Jimenez, "Navajo Should Aim Higher than Court Victory," Fashion Law Center, http://fashionlawcenter.com/?p=960, March 16, 2012
[3] Fonseca, "Navajo Nation Sues Urban Outfitters," 1

industry based on mass-produced, ready-to-wear sportswear led to nation-wide dissemination and use of “Indian” colors, patterns, and designs.

However, the women who bought “Indian” attire were not necessarily attempting to engage in Indian-Play or don costumes.[4] Indian styles during the mid-twentieth century became a way of signifying first, American-ness and second, uniqueness and individuality. Thus, this time period lays the groundwork for the popularity and availability of “Native” clothing as a “cycled trend” and mass produced commodity. This study focuses solely on women’s clothing. While men’s clothing was not static, it changed at a slower rate than women’s, making it less subject to “trends”; subsequently the vast majority of advertising was directed at women rather than men.[5] I examine this phenomenon through the lens of middle and upper class fashion magazines, primarily *Vogue* and *Harper’s Bazaar*, but also *Mademoiselle, Seventeen,* style sections of national newspapers, and mail order catalogs. These sources allowed me to elucidate how the fashion industry understood and interpreted “Indian.” Although they do not provide direct insights into how consumers used the clothing, the pervasiveness of Indian marketing schemes throughout these three decades indicates that the ideas associated with Indian attire resonated with consumers. While this might seem harmless, the ways these ideas came to be associated with specific designs and styles subsequently impacted the way Anglo-Americans considered Native peoples and cultures.

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[4] Philip Deloria documents these activities in great detail from the Revolutionary Era to the present. See Philip Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998)

[5] As sportswear grew it expanded both men’s and women’s wardrobes. However, the impact on women’s clothing was greater because cultural standards allowed them to buy a greater range and number of clothing and accessories. Fashion theorists J.C. Flugel and Valerie Steele have noted that menswear was standardized in the early-nineteenth century. Men were simply not as active in the fashion system as women. See Deirdre Clemente, “Made in Miami: The Development of the Sportswear Industry in South Florida, 1900 – 1960,” *Journal of Social History* 41 (2007): 127-148

. Myths of American identity centered on Indian-ness have developed into a variety of representations and stereotypes. Historian and Native American scholar Nancy Parezo defines representational stereotypes as "rigid clusters of overly simplified social/cultural characteristics, conjoined into a single imagined identity or schematic theory used to label a social group," definitions that are then over generalized to make sense of cultural or social differentiation from self. Stereotypes reflect societal desires, fears, and imaginings that become more "real" than facts. While the study of clothing is often dismissed as superficial or frivolous, the symbolism behind representational stereotypes provided justification for actions against the stereotyped group, including colonizing situations, group conflicts, business dealings, or even justifications for the status quo.[6] Anthropologist Tressa Berman notes that although Native Americans have successfully used the legal system to reverse appropriation of their land and natural resources, the cultural appropriation of objects and ideas is more difficult to identify and guard against.[7] The representations created and perpetrated by the fashion market are thus part of a larger tradition that takes advantage of a cultural group to sell products, in the process creating cultural misunderstandings and misperceptions. Nor have these issues disappeared. Contemporary clothing companies around the world still utilize many of these same

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[6] Nancy Parezo, "The Indian Fashion Show: Manipulating Representations of Native Attire in Museum Exhibits to Fight Stereotypes in 1942 and 1998," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31:3 (2007): 5-48; Parezo, "Stereotypes," in vol. 5 of *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, ed. H. James Birx (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2006), 2127-28; Parezo, "Stereotypes: Persistent Cultural Blindness," *Red Ink* 9:2 (2001): 41-55.

[7] Tressa Berman, "Cultural Appropriation," in *A Companion to the Anthropology of American Indians* ed. Thomas Biolsi, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004). For example, A long standing controversy concerning the use of Native Americans as sport mascots highlights the divisive nature of the issue of representational stereotypes. See Laurel R. Davis-Delano, "Eliminating Native American Mascots: Ingredients for Success," *Journal of Sport & Social Issues* 31:4 (2007): 340 -373; Richard King and Charles Fruehling Springwood, *Team Spirits: The Native American Mascots Controversy* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001)

marketing techniques, demonstrating the necessity of understanding why these practices can be detrimental to real Native peoples.

The development of an American fashion industry and wide-spread dissemination of advertising and stereotypes is directly connected to the development of America as a consumer society. Consuming has been central to the American shared experience.[8] Demographic, economic, and institutional growth in conjunction with technological, intellectual and material changes prompted the transition to a modern consumer society in the half century following 1880. Consumption became a lived ideology, a common sense that shaped the way social and cultural differenced were understand and constructed around the market economy.[9] The consumer culture that developed in the first decades of the twentieth century made consumption, rather than production, the fundamental motif of economic action.[10] During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries

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[8] T.H. Breen argues that as early as the American Revolution material aspiration came to dominate social and economic strategies, which in turn drove the development of increasingly complex economic institutions and a burgeoning material culture that centered on the import of manufacturers from Great Britain. See T.H. Breen, *The Marketplace of Revolution: How Consumer Politics Shaped American Independence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[9] A wide-spread, rationalized system of industrial production and labor controlled by managerial capital, new technologies and goods for household uses, the rise of a national media, including mass-circulation magazines, radio, and film; and new institutions of distribution all contributed to the transformation. See Warren Sussman, *Culture as History: The Transformation of American Society in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Pantheon, 2004) for the standard, if contested, interpretation of "the culture of abundance." Important studies on American business and consumerism include Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley, 1998); Philip Scranton, *Endless Novelty: Specialty Production and American Industrialization, 1865-1925* (Princeton, 1997); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (Washington, D.C., 1989); Richard S. Tedlow, *New and Improved: The Story of Mass Marketing in America* (Boston, 1996). Many scholars are critical and link Americans' thriving consumer culture to political apathy, sustained socioeconomic inequity, and impending ecological disaster. For selected works on America and consumerism, see Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Knopf, 2003), Richard Wightman Fox and T. J. Jackson Lears, *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon, 1983), Daniel Horowitz, *The Morality of Spending: Attitudes Toward the Consumer Society in America, 1875-1940* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1985), Charles McGovern, *Sold America: Consumption and Citizenship, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[10] On the rise of mass culture and its connection with the "second industrial revolution" see William Leuchtenburg, *The Perils of Prosperity, 1914 -1932* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); George Soule, *Prosperity Decode: From War to Depression, 1917-1929* (New York: Rinehart, 1947); George E.

consumption was coded as feminine, making masculine consumption hidden in plain sight. In reality men consumed as much, if not more, than women but marketing for clothing and fashion, long determined to be feminine spheres, tended to be directed towards women.[11]

Increased consumer demands coincided with changes in modes of production. Prior to 1820 most manufacturing served local markets. However, by 1860 the rapidly growing population produced a growing demand for finished goods and apparel, items that could be made quickly and cheaply in factories. In the latter half of the nineteenth century the advent of the department stores and mail order catalogs provided new outlets for textile goods, while the sewing machine made mass manufacturing possible.[12] The consumption of clothing rose dramatically with the advent of mass-produced clothing available in standardized sizes.

Fashion and clothing are forms of multi-directional cultural production, a visual and material system of symbols and meanings that extend to all things produced by peoples.[13] Through fashion and clothing social change can be contemplated, proposed,

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Mowry, *The Urban Nation, 1920-1960* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967); Roland Marchand, *Advertising and the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920 -1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985)

[11] For scholarship on men and consumption see Christopher Breward, *The Hidden Consumer: Masculinities, Fashion, and City Life, 1860-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999); Mark A. Swienicki, “Consuming Brotherhood: Men’s Culture, Style and Recreation as Consumer Culture, 1880-1930,” in *Consumer Society in American History, A Reader*, ed. Lawrence B. Glickman (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), 207-40.

[12] Patricia C. Warner, *When the Girls Came Out to Play: The Birth of American Sportswear* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006), 19-21. The idea of mass-manufactured clothing was not new; during the War of 1812 army uniforms were produced through the coordination of hand sewers. The sewing machine made this process significantly faster and easier. However, initially men’s clothing was more often mass produced due to simpler construction and lines. Women’s outerwear (cloaks, wraps, and coats) as well as underwear were the first machine-made items available. Department stores and mail order catalogs facilitated this process.

[13] A clear definition of what constitutes “fashion” remains elusive, but Malcolm Barnard provides a good explanation of the difference between fashion and clothing; All clothing is adornment, but not all adornments are fashionable, thus while clothing or garments refer to all forms of attire; a definition of what

initiated, or denied, while the study of clothing allows the observation of the expressive aspect of material culture. Clothing functions as a historic operator that reflects changing circumstances as well as a device that creates and constitutes change in cultural terms. Fashion and clothing can express both cultural and individual identities, making them a useful lens for examining issues such as gender, ethnicity, race, and class.[14] More recent studies have gone beyond analysis of garments to look at the business of fashion and its participants. Fashion industries sit at the intersections of commerce, consumers and culture, a process that involves constant negotiation. This paper seeks to contribute to this last category by examining the relationship between the business of American fashion and issues of cultural appropriation.[15]

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is fashionable is constantly in flux. See Malcolm Barnard, *Fashion as Communication* (London: Routledge, 1996), 10-12

[14] Barnard, *Fashion as Communication*; Regina Lee Blaszczyk, ed., *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 1-18. Historians and curators who study fashion have focused on aesthetics, meaning, and use. Historians include Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion: A Cultural History*, (New York: Berg, 1998); Steele, *The Corset: A Cultural History* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2001); Kathy Lee Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998); Peiss, *Zoot Suit: The Enigmatic Career of an Extreme Style* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); Christopher Breward, *The Culture of Fashion: A New History of Fashionable Dress* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1995). A material culture approach has been used by Dilys E. Blum and H. Kristina Haugland, *Best Dressed: Fashion from the Birth of Couture to Today* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1997); Alexandra Palmer, *Couture and Commerce: The Transatlantic Fashion Trade in the 1950s* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2001); and Lou Taylor, *The Study of Dress History* (New York: Palgrave, 2002) to study the cultural significance of clothing through a blend of archival research and analysis of costume collections. Sociologists of culture, such as Diana Crane and Yuniya Kawamura, have studied the social nature of fashion, examining the people, networks, and institutions that make up the "fashion system," as well as debunking the myth of the fashion designer as creative genius. See Crane, *Fashion and Its Social Agendas: Class, Gender, and Identity in Clothing* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) and Kawamura, *Fashion-ology: An Introduction to Fashion Studies* (New York: Berg, 2005). Finally, costume curators, fashion-industry practitioners, and business journalists have examined economic aspects of the fashion industry. Significant works include Claudia B. Kidwell and Margaret C. Christman, *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974) and Nichola White and Ian Griffiths, eds., *The Fashion Business: Theory, Practice, Image* (New York: Berg, 2000).

[15] Key works that examine the business of fashion include Blaszczek, ed., *Producing Fashion*, Susan Porter Benson, *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1986) and Nancy L. Green, *Ready-to-wear and Ready-to-work: A Century of Industry and Immigrants in Paris and New York* (Durham: Duke UP, 1997).

So-called Indian styles and related aesthetics tended to center around the American Southwest as a region and marketing often interchangeably labeled patterns "Southwestern" or "Indian." While this paper is interested in how people geographically separated from the Southwest used Navajo and Indian in marketing, "Indian" attire helped create an aesthetic version of the Southwest heavily based on the presence of Native Americans. This work thus tangentially addresses aspects of the New Western History, a weft of revisionist scholarship categorized by renewed interest in the West and its inhabitants, providing new perspectives on social forces, gender, and peoples of the West.[16] New scholarship regarding interactions between Indians and Whites has examined ways in race and ethnicity shaped identity and impacted United States - Indian relationships, while research on the construction of stereotypes demonstrate popular views of Indians in mass culture, as well as how these images impacted the relationship between Native peoples and U.S. Indian policies.[17] For example, boarding schools and

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[16] Although this paper examines perspectives of people outside of the Southwest, it is indebted to the New Western History and the extensive research that came out of new approaches to the field. Key works include Patricia Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987); Patricia Nelson Limerick, Clyde A. Milner, and Charles E. Rankin *Trails: Toward a New Western History* (Lawrence, Kan.: University of Kansas, 1991); Clyde A. Milner, Carol A. O'Connor, and Martha A. Sandweiss *The Oxford History of the American West* (New York: Oxford UP, 1994); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York: Oxford UP, 1990); Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000); Wilcomb E. Washburn, "Ethnohistory: History 'In the Round,'" *Ethnohistory* 8:1 (1961), 31-48; Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Richard White, *"It's Your Misfortune and None of My Own": A New History of the American West* (Norman: University of Oklahoma, 1993); Donald Worster, *Rivers of Empire: Water, Aridity, and the Growth of the American West* (New York: Oxford UP, 1992).

[17] For selected literature on race, identity and Native Americans, see Joan Ferrante and Prince Browne, Jr., eds. *The Social Construction of Race and Ethnicity in the United States* 2d ed. (Upper Saddle River: Prentice Hall, 2001); Deloria, *Playing Indian*; Raymond D. Fogelson, "Perspectives on Native American Identity" in *Studying Native America: Problems and Prospects*, edited by Russell Thornton (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998); Eva Marie Garroutte, *Real Indians: Identity and the Survival of Native America* (Berkeley: University of California, 2003); Susan Greenbaum, "What's in a Label? Identity Problems of Southern Indian Tribes," *Journal of Ethnic Studies* 19:2 (1991): 107-126; Michael K. Green, *Issues in Native American Cultural Identity* (New York: Peter Lange, 1995); Hazel W. Hertzburg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity: Modern Pan-Indian Movements* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1971);

other American institutions linked outward appearance with inner identity and forced Native children to don Western clothing as part of the "civilizing" process, illustrating the significance of clothing in the process of identity making.[18] However, the role of the American fashion industry played in creating and perpetuating tropes and myths surrounding Native Americans has seldom been explored.

This project first examines how American consumers became familiar with Indian aesthetics prior to 1940 and how these ideas became codified through an interest in distinctly American design. It then asks why Indians of the Southwest became useful tools for the fashion industry and finally looks at the ways Indian-ness was used through design to designate both national and individual identity.

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Bonita Lawrence, *"Real" Indians and Others: Mixed-Blood Urban Native Peoples and Indigenous Nationhood* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2004); Joan Nagel, *American Indian Ethnic Renewal: Red Power and the Resurgence of Identity and Culture* (New York: Oxford UP, 1996); Sophie White, *Wild Frenchmen and Frenchified Indians: Material Culture and Race in Colonial Louisiana* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2012).

[18] The most respected study of federal efforts to acculturate Native people through boarding schools is David Adams Wallace, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1874 -1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995). See also Clifford E. Trafzer, Jean A. Keller, and Lorene Sisquoc, *Boarding School Blues: Revisiting American Indian Educational Experiences* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2006) and Mary Stout, *Native American Boarding Schools* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2012).

## Chapter II: The Aestheticization of the Southwest

The marketing of clothes and styles as Indian in the mid-twentieth century drew upon ideas developed and codified at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century, ideas that constructed the Southwest as an American center of authentic artistic creation. The imaginative construction of the Southwest as an American region was as much about aesthetics as economics or politics, and aesthetic claim staking reflected desires for various forms of authentic experiences.[19] Americans became familiar with Native peoples of the Southwest through a number of outlets that introduced a canon of aesthetics that came to be associated, correctly or not, with Indians as authentic domestic artists. Once commodified, the association of the Southwest with artistic and cultural authenticity fed market forces, making authentic labor and production central features of the region, its' inhabitants, and the goods they produced. This process simultaneously assuaged fears of modernity and symbolized an American national consciousness. During the early twentieth century authenticity became a way of distancing American both from the culture of industrialization and European cultural ideals. Increased interest in Native Americans, then, was based upon newfound notions of authentic labor and products.

The opening of the Southwest turned the region into both the first and last frontier, an escape from the metropolis of the East Coast, an untouched environment in

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[19] Curtis M. Hinsley, Jr., "Authoring Authenticity," *Journal of the Southwest,* 32:4 (1990), 462; T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981).

which to regain health, and a place to capture the imagination.[20] Frederick Jackson Turner's "The Significance of the Frontier in American History", published in 1893, proclaimed America's last frontier, the West, was closed. This theory had a dramatic effect on the ways many Americans viewed their national identity. American struggles with issues of identity at the turn of the twentieth century revealed shifts in cultural anxieties and the ways American conceived national identities.[21] As production methods were standardized, Americans began to feel that they too were mass produced and interchangeable. The anxiety caused by modernity led many Americans to search for more authentic lifestyles as a way of defining a new American identity. Historian Philip Deloria argues that the location of authenticity in the figure of the Other, for Americans, frequently took the form of the Indian cultures.[22] At the turn of the twentieth century Indians took on new significance as guardians of a pre-industrial past that was rapidly slipping away. Federal Indian policy, reform movements, and new academic interest in American Indians helped spread and codify these sentiments. Nostalgia and idealism placed Indians on a pedestal, as the last (and oft proclaimed disappearing) bastion of authentic culture in the United States.

American society prior to the Civil War encouraged minority ethnic groups, who the white, Anglo majority believed deviated from the national norm, should maintain a

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[20] Shelby J. Tisdale, "Railroads, Tourism, and Native Americans in the Greater Southwest," *Journal of the Southwest*, 38:4 (1996), 434

[21] Deloria, *Playing* Indian, 98

[22] For modernity and anti-modernism, see T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920* (New York: Pantheon, 1981); James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); Marianna Torgovnic, *Gone Primitive: Savage Intellectuals, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), Leah Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996). For authenticity, see Lionel Trilling, *Sincerity and Authenticity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972); Lears, *No Place of Grace,* 57; Clifford, *Predicament of Culture*, 4-17; Miles Orvell, *The Real Thing: Imitation and Authenticity in American Culture, 1880 – 1940* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

separate existence. Society, whether in urban metropolises or smaller settlements in the West, was compartmentalized, and minority groups welcomed the opportunity for cultural autonomy.

Federal Indian policies, including the forced confinement of Native peoples on reservations at this time, back up these sentiments. However, the decades following the Civil War demonstrated that most Americans would have to live closer to people different from themselves. New environments required new patterns of social relationships and social values. Policy makers began to modify older divisions between external "savages" and domestic citizens, granting groups partial citizenship that, primarily, served the interest of the ruling majority.[23]

Political and economic expansions of the post-Civil War era undermined ethnic enclaves, leading Americans, especially the white Protestant majority, to attempt to define more precisely the meaning of national citizenship. Of primary concern was how minority cultures could become integral parts of a modern nation. For Indian-American relations, the problem was not how to keep whites away from tribal lands, but how to manage Indians so that American "progress" could continue. Although they now felt they had a special obligation to Indians, Americans continued to condemn Indians for failing to "develop" their lands and become more "civilized."[24]

By 1880 an official policy of assimilation was set into motion, requiring Indians to conform to the stands of the white Protestant majority culture. Total assimilation combined concern for native suffering with faith in the promise of American progress.

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[23] Frederick Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), xx, 12-14; Charles Wilkinson, *Blood Struggle: The Rise of Modern Indian Nations* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 13-15

[24] Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 15

Additionally, membership in a flourishing nation could provide compensation for the dispossession Native peoples had suffered. However, most importantly, the extension of citizenship and other symbols of membership in American society could reaffirm the power of the nation's institutions to mold all people into a common standard; thus the successful assimilation of Indians would reaffirm the dominance of the white Protestant majority. By demonstrating that assimilation was beneficial for Indians, removing them from ignorant "savagery," this policy attempted to prove the virtuous motives of the pioneers had taken the country and promote the colonial narrative of "progress."[25]

The professionalization of the field of ethnography sought to prove theories of progressive civilization and simultaneously increased popular and academic interest in North America's Native peoples.[26] Indian tribes of North American were the most common societies available for ethnographic research for a number of reasons. Firstly, Indians were accessible – militarily defeated and geographically close. Native peoples were still considered "exotic" and their cultures incredibly diverse. However, they were also "safe" subjects for scrutiny. Unlike European immigrants, blacks, or Asians, Indians still lived outside "civilized" society and in 1880 it was unlikely that investigations of Native cultures would offend politically constituencies or disrupt a settled community. Ethnologists subsequently used Indian material culture to demonstrate how cultures evolved over time from "savagery" to "civilization," calling public attention to Indians of the Southwest in the process.

The policy of assimilation thus attempted to move Indians from "outsiders" to "insiders," although without all of the privileges of American citizenship. Rather than

[25] Hoxie, *A Final Promise*, 15
[26] Dilworth, *Imaging Indians in the Southwest*, 14-16

separating Native peoples in reservations, policy makers determined it would better serve the interests of both Americans and Indians to bring Native peoples into fold of the dominant society. Policies included land allotment through legislature, an attempt to institute ownership of private rather than communal property, and reeducation through boarding schools to "civilize" Native Americans.[27] Physical appearance, in particular clothing and hairstyles, were major components in the "civilization" process espoused by boarding schools. As they attempted to mold Indian students into Americans, schools required students to cut their hair and don Western clothing. Many schools took "before and after" pictures to demonstrate the successful transformation from "savage" to "civilized." When students dropped out or ran away, school authorities feared they might "go back to the blanket," referring to the return to tribal ways as symbolized by the wearing of Indian rather than "citizen dress."[28] Dress and personal presentation were thus linked to forms of ethnic and racial identity, as well as definitions of "civilized" and "savage." Additionally, Indian agents and white policy makers considered the acquisition of material goods by Indians to be a sign of racial and class progress. For example, Round Valley Indians in California in the 1880s were considered to be "advancing" because they "wore 'white-man's clothing, spoke English, and conspicuously purchased furniture for their homes."[29] However, attitudes towards Native American cultures shifted

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[27] For government policies towards Indians see Christine Bolt, *American Indian Policy and American Reform: Case Studies of the Campaign to Assimilate the American Indians* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1987); Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise*.

[28] Hazel Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity,* 18; Thomas E. Sheridan, Nancy Parezo, eds., *Paths of Life: American Indians of the Southwest and Northern Mexico* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 109

[29] William J. Bauer, Jr., *We Were All Like Migrant Workers Here: Work, Community, and Memory on California's Round Valley Reservation, 1850 – 1940* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 111.

once again as the aesthetic reform movement of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries called for a move away from industrialization.

To help calm anxieties surrounding immigration and rapid industrialization, Euro-Americans looked to the aesthetic reform movement. Native American art and, by extension, cultures, appealed to a Euro-American desire to move away from the mass culture of ethnically and economically diverse urban populations and towards a preindustrial past. The aesthetic reform movement helped lead to the redefinition of American Indian handicrafts as "art." Due to expeditions of major ethnographic museums, the marketing efforts of Indian traders, and promotional efforts of government employees and social reformers interested in creating a positive image of Indian people, Americans after 1900 had increased opportunities to view Native American Art.[30]

Aesthetic reform movements were fueled by nationalism. Anglo-Americans interested in the ideals of aesthetic reform looked for material culture that was intrinsically "American," from contemporary folk arts of rural population to handicrafts of American forebears. Native arts fell under this same category due to their "preindustrial" nature and their assumed association with America's colonial and pioneer history. Promoters of Indian arts as "American" associated these qualities with "traditional" American values while identifying the natural materials and motifs with the

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[30] Elizabeth Hutchinson, "Handicraft, Native American Art, and Modern Indian Identity," in *Seeing High and Low: Representing Social Conflict in American Visual Culture*, ed. Patricia A. Johnston, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 195. While many historians traditionally date aesthetic interest in indigenous material culture to the 1920s, Native American art was being collected, exhibited, and written about as early as the 1880's. Authors have tended to focus on the 1931 *Exposition of Tribal Arts* and the Museum of Modern Art's *Indian Art of the United States* exhibition of 1941 as key events in the transformation of Native American material culture. See J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971); Janet Catherine Berlo, ed., *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1992); W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Guard: A History of Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995).

landscape of the United States. This nationalistic view of Indian material culture addressed elites' perceived loss of power in the face of rapid immigration and "lowbrow" industrial culture. Interest in handicrafts was further characterized by a primitivism that celebrated white working-class and Native cultures from a position of perceived cultural superiority.[31] Through aesthetics Native peoples and culture became incorporated into ideas about what constituted uniquely American design. Additionally, tourism, a market for Indian products, and their presence museums and department stores helped develop consumer awareness of Southwest Indians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Ethnographic research, demand for authentic forms of material culture, and new forms of transportation encouraged the growth of tourism in the Southwest.[32] Major companies touted the virtues of the Southwest they manufactured a utopia to solve America's problems: a simpler place with simpler people, left out of time and perfect as a respite from modernity.[33] This "ethnic tourism" used the history and culture of Indian peoples as marketing agents and became crucial to the commoditization of the

[31] For reformers, art was both the embodiment of the value of human effort and a means to maintain individual and cultural integrity in the face of industrialization. Hutchinson, "Handicraft, Native American Art, and Modern Indian Identity," 196-197; Lawrence Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990).

[32] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest,* 14-16

[19] Companies such as the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fe Railroad (ATSF) and the Fred Harvey Company were tremendously successful in their use of Indians as a regional attraction. For history of tourism in the United States, see John Sears, *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1989) and Cindy Aron, *Working at Play: A History of Vacations in the United States in the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1999). Key works on the American West include Hal K. Rothman, *Devil's Bargains: Tourism in the Twentieth-Century American West* (Lawrence, KS, 1998), D. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-events in America* (New York: Athenaeum, 1975); E. De Kadt, *Tourism: Passport to Development?* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976); Valene Smith, ed., *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism* (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989); Shelby J. Tisdale, "Railroads, Tourism, and Native Americans in the Greater Southwest," in *Journal of the Southwest*; David M. Wrobel and Patrick T. Long, *Seeing and Being Seen: Tourism in the American West.* (Lawrence, KS, 2001); Marguerite Shaffer, *See America First: Tourism and National Identity, 1880 -1940* (New York, 2001).

Southwest.[34] Additionally, "Imperialist nostalgia," the celebration of cultures by the people who are engaged in a destruction of those cultures that they deem inevitable, encouraged Euro-Americans to see themselves as the rightful caretakers of the relics of the continent's "past" cultures and to think of the value of these relics and cultures in terms of what they offered the dominant culture.[35] Ironically, the romanticization of "traditional" Native cultures and ways of life existed alongside tremendous pressure to assimilate.

Through the people who visited the Southwest and those who viewed advertisements and articles, aesthetic ideals associated with the Southwest and the Native peoples who lived there became incorporated into the canon of American identity. In short, tourism in the Southwest became a deliberately controlled spectacle aimed at constructing a particular image of the region as exciting, exotic, unique, and authentic; the rough and tumble alternative to the controlled cities of the East.[36] The Southwest and Native Americans thus became the American region that embodied the unique, the

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[34] Davydd J. Greenwood, "Culture by the Pound: An Anthropological Perspective on Tourism as Cultural Commodiztization," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism.* 2nd ed. Valene Smith, ed. (Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), pp. 171-85. The use of Indian imagery to sell and endorse goods was not a new phenomenon, as Wild West shows, artwork, illustrations, photography, advertising, and literature throughout the country demonstrated. See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr. "White Conceptions of Indians," In *History of Indian-White Relations* Vol. 4 of *Handbook of North American Indians,* ed. William C. Strurtevant, 522-47. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988); Rayna Green, "The Indian in Popular American Culture." In *History of Indian-White Relations.* Vol. 4 of *Handbook of North American Indians,* edited by William C. Strurtevant, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 522-47; Raymond William Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture.* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

[35] Renato Rosaldo, "Imperialist Nostalgia," *Representations* 26:1 (1989): 107-122; Hutchinson, "Handicraft, Native American Art, and Modern Indian Identity," 199.

[36] Fashion publications ran advertisements for tours consistently and also maintained their own travel agencies. For instance, Condé Nast, publisher of *Vogue*, established its own travel service and regularly published advertisements that instructed travelers to "touch America's oldest history" in the place where "*time is not.*" "Condé Nast Travel Bureau," *Vogue* 65:5 (1925): 27, italics mine.

handmade, the rural, the exotic, and the authentic, while ownership of goods from the Southwest became a way of gaining "cultural capital."[37]

Companies sold goods produced in the Southwest or marketed as such throughout the country, and their presence in department stores helped ensure their popularity. Through the sale of Native textiles and products, department stores combined consumption and fashion with the spectacle of Indians and Indian life.[38] As early as 1909, department stores such as Wanamaker's, Macy's and Bullocks incorporated Indian goods into their window displays. Fashion publications also ran personal and corporate advertisements for Diné weavings and other Indian-made goods, recommending them to their readers as home decorations and gifts.[39] Women unable to travel to the Southwest

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[37]For scholarship on Native American art history, see Janet Catherine Berlo, *The Early Years of Native American Art History*; Shelly Errington, *The Death of Authentic Primitive Art and Other Tales of Progress* (Berkeley: University of California, 1998); Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1990); Elizabeth Hutchinson, *The Indian Craze: Primitivism, Modernism, and Transculturation in American Art, 1890-1915* (Durham: Duke UP, 2009); Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933-1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona, 2009); Molly H. Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art, and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham: Duke UP, 2001); W. Jackson Rushing, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-garde.* Pierre Bourdieu argues that cultural capital can exist in three forms and defines them as "the *embodied* state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the *objectified* state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the trace or realization of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the *institutionalized* state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee." See Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* ed. John G. Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986).

[38] Department stores occupied an intersection of American life as economic powerhouses and a cultural force. They became the nation's leading retailer in the late 19th century by supplying the basic material needs of a rapidly growing country. It ascended between 1880 and 1920 as American society shifted from rural to urban centers and gained some twenty-three million immigrants. The sale of consumer goods sky-rocketed, tripling in the twenty years between 1909 and 1929. Stores combined fashion, art, and style through their displays in an effort to provide "culture" to its shoppers and made the department store into an American institution. See Jan Whitaker, *Service and Style: How the American Department Store Fashioned the Middle Class* (New York: St. Martins Press, 2006), Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, .66; Simon Bronner, "Reading Consumer Culture," in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920,* ed. Simon J. Bronner (New York: W.W.Norton, 1989), 13-54; Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 7-47; Mary Louise Roberts, "Gender, Consumption and Commodity Culture," in *American Historical Review* 3 (June 1998): 817-844; Bsumek, *Indian-Made*, 117-119.

[39] The "Sale and Exchange" section of *Vogue* in 1914 lists "Navajo rugs, blankets, fine baskets, pottery, beadwork, all hand-made by American Indians. Unique for Christmas gifts."

could still be intimately acquainted with the colors, patterns, and aesthetics produced by "authentic" Indian and Diné cultures through the security of their homes, further strengthening the idea that Indian, particularly Navajo, aesthetics and design were sophisticated and appropriate for white American women.[40] By the time a large scale clothing market was in place, women across the country did not need much convincing to purchase Indian inspired attire.

Elements of the aesthetic reform movement that promoted nationalism through American-originated design also influenced clothing in the first two decades of the twentieth-century. Fashion nationalism in the decade prior to World War I was closely related to governmental protectionism in trade, but also the efforts of modern reformers, mainly progressive businessmen associated with some of the nation's most respected publications. These men sought to reshape consumer demands in accordance with national economic interests. However, although domestic production and consumption of ready-made women's clothing increased during this time, the idea and allure of Paris was hard to dispel.[41] The movement ultimately failed to gain large-scale support due to a continued consumer reluctance to completely abandon Paris.[42] Although the American

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[40] Bsumek, *Indian-Made,* 129-134. For growth of interior design, see Candice Volz, "The Modern Look of the Early Twentieth Century House: A Mirror of Changing Lifestyles," in *American Home Life, 1880-1930: A Social History of Places and Spaces,* ed. Jessica Foy and Thomas Schlereth (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Richard Ohmann, *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn-of-the-Century* (London: Verson, 1996, 140-144.

[41] Marlis Schweitzer details this movement, with a particular emphasis on the work of Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal*. See Marlis Schweitzer, "American Fashions for American Women: The Rise and Fall of Fashion Nationalism," in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* ed. Regina Lee Blaszczyk (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 130-149.

[42] Throughout the nineteenth and much of the twentieth century Paris was considered the center of the fashion world. American interest in Parisian fashion dates back to the early nineteenth century. By the early 1890's American socializes travelled annually to Paris to examine new collections and order custom wardrobes. Newspapers, department stores, and American fashion publications fueled this interest. See Valerie Steele, *Paris Fashion*; William R. Leach, *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture* (New York: Pantheon, 1993); Susan Hay, ed., *From Paris to Providence: Fashion,*

fashion campaign at this time was deemed a failure, it sparked early public discussion about the possibility of a distinct American fashion industry and furthered the development of sportswear for everyday use.[43] The movement further demonstrates the extent to which nationalism was a part of fashion and design early in the twentieth century.

M.D.C Crawford, a design and research editor for *Women's Wear*, an influential garment trade paper, as well as a research associate in textiles at the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH), attempted to further developments in American design through a partnership between the garment and textile industries and the AMNH. Crawford strongly supported what he termed "aboriginal American design" found in objects created by American Indians. Crawford argued the "permanent value" of American Indian objects was tied to their American-ness and described them as "so intimately, so unquestionably our own." Although they were slow to catch on, many in the fashion industry and the American public shared Crawford's views. Crawford's efforts provide an early example of the ways textile companies incorporated Indian aesthetics into their designs.[44] His work also established a critical link between Native American products and the adoption of Native American aesthetics as something uniquely American within the textile and fashion industries. When an American industry took shape in the 1930s and 40s, it focused on styles and ideas that were uniquely

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*Art, and the Tirocchi Dressmakers' Shop, 1915 – 1947* (Providence: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 2000).

[43] Schweitzer, "American Fashion for American Women," 130.

[44] M.D.C. Crawford, "Creative Textile Art and the American Museum," in *The American Museum Journal*, 17:4 (1917), pp. 253. Crawford cites the silk industry as being worth $500,000,000 yearly and the ready-to-wear industry as close to a half billion annually.

“American’ in origin, among them Native American designs in sportswear, a clothing style claimed to be best suited to life in the United States.

The American Southwest was thus established as both a literal and figurative destination defined by authentic peoples and goods, no longer hostile combatants but safe attractions. Native Americans, now the “First Americans,” gave American identity to Native peoples whether they wanted it or not.[45] The appropriation of Native culture and design by the American fashion industry in the mid-twentieth century was built upon the establishment of Native peoples of the Southwest as intrinsically American craftspeople and artisans, people intuitively connected to authentic modes of production.[46]

By the 1930s and 1940s, contradictions characterized the relationship between Indians and the emerging American fashion and textile industries; Native aesthetics were timeless and primitive but modern, inherently American while still a symbol of exoticism. Anxieties that surrounded the construction of an American “look” distinct from Europe, started but stalled in the 1910s, came back in full force during the Depression and Second World War. As the movement gained momentum, retailers and merchandisers marketed Indian and Navajo patters as distinctly American design elements for the new American style of clothing, sportswear. While a platform for the mass-production and marketing of fashion did not exist in the 1910s, the convergence of an organized fashion industry, methods of mass-production, a mass market looking to buy, and the introduction of sportswear as a way to bring fashion to the people in the

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[45] A travel brochure for Albuquerque, NM in 1928 advertises the “First Americans” as an attraction and spectacle.

[46] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 3-4. Dilworth argues that American Indians were mythologized in the contexts of ethnology, tourism, reformist strategies such as the Arts and Crafts movement, and modernist art and poetry. The images created in this context spoke to the imagination of their makers rather than actual people and imaged a primitive that was a locus for an idealized version of history, spirituality, and un-alienated labor.

1930s and 1940s created an independent American fashion industry and made it wildly successful. This industry also provided the mode through which the appropriation of Navajo and Indian patterns would become an enduring facet of American fashion. These were not Indian-made woven textiles crafted into clothing, but mass produced textiles made out of highly modern fabrics. However, it was American socio-cultural trends that gave Indian and Navajo clothing significance for the American consuming public. The creation of a national sartorial identity took precedence during World War II and throughout the 1940s, while the end of the decade saw an increased interest in asserting individuality through clothing.

## Chapter III: Sartorial Independence: The Birth of the American Fashion Industry

Historian Philip Deloria argues that, since the American Revolution, Indian-ness provided an impetus and precondition for the assembling of an ultimately inassimilable American identity, while the performance of Indian America-nnes provided a foundation for subsequent pursuits of national identity. As definitions of Indian-ness changed, so too did the ways Americans viewed themselves and the nation.[47] For nineteenth-century Americans, discussions of Native American art and design were used to help accommodate cultural changes in mainstream America, including immigration, industrialization, and concepts of subjectivity. As Americans entered an era of "modernity," the appropriation of elements of Native cultures also became a way for American to establish its past and assert their independence from Europe. These "first Americans" provided a way for American fashion retailers, manufacturers, and marketers to distinguish themselves from Europe through a style that Americans claimed as their own: sportswear. The exploitation of representational stereotypes of Native Americans was thus twofold; as a people with no connections to Europe who lent authenticity and longevity to the American nation and as an aesthetic canon that fit the demands of sportswear.

The American fashion industry changed drastically between 1925 and 1950. The disjointed networks of independent factories, retailers, textile mills, and manufacturers of the 1920s became a highly communicative system, while the introduction of mass production allowed a strong response to new demands, technologies, and production modes. The rise of organizations such as The Fashion Group, Inc, an organization dedicated to establishing professional standards, advance cooperation among those

[47] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 94-106.

designing, manufacturing, promoting, and distributing fashion, and a plethora of trade magazines contributed to an increase in industry cooperation.[48] At the heart of this newly organized industry was sportswear. A style representative of changing social norms, sportswear made fashion available for everyone, from the factory girl to the suburban housewife. This mass-produced style moved Indian and Navajo prints from the province of specialized resort and leisure wear and into the homes of millions, while a growing awareness of fashion meant producers increasingly responded to the demands of consumers.

Rather than focusing on creating high-end couture pieces or made-to-measure versions of American fashion, retailers and design teams instead chose to promote "practical, ready-to-wear fashion." The invasion of sportswear, originally meant not as everyday attire but for specific, non-social occasions, occurred at all levels of society.[49] The Great Depression was instrumental in furthering the popularity of sportswear. With less money came greater informality and attire needed to be function, lasting for multiple seasons. Additionally, sportswear was ideal for mass-production due to clean lines and simple cuts. Mass-produced clothing could be made quickly and cheaply in a variety of materials and price points. The establishment of the American fashion industry depended on the development of sportswear, and the appropriation of "Native" aesthetics and their successful incorporation into American fashion relied upon sportswear's popularity and widespread dissemination. Sportswear and the marketing that accompanied it made

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[48] The By-Laws of the Fashion Group (Article II, Section I) describe the group as "a non-commercial association of women" who were engaged in "fashion work, formed to advance the principles of applied art in industry and to foster good taste in fashion; to encourage the cooperation among those engaged in conceiving, designing, manufacturing, promoting and distributing fashion; and through education and the dissemination of useful information, to inspire a keener interest in fashion industries to the end that those engaged in the field of fashion may better serve themselves and the public at large."
[49] Arnold, *The American Look*, 1-10.

Indian an identifiable marker in clothing, establishing a precedent for the ways stereotypes would be used to market clothing throughout the twentieth century, using the language of tradition to advance modern design.[50]

The Great Depression forced the emerging fashion industry to tighten its procedures and develop new marketing strategies. Fashion was the business of constant change but the economic situations of consumers during the Depression meant rapid changes in styles could no longer be relied upon as selling points, making marketing increasingly important. Competition and an expanding market led retailers and manufacturers to find new ways to appeal to their consumers. Economists and sociologists formed marketing graduate programs at schools such as the Wharton School of Business and Finance (program founded in 1935) and published their findings in *The Journal of Marketing* (1936). Marketing connected ideas to styles so consumers could communicate lifestyle and personality through clothing. Functionality, rather than novelty, became paramount, while patterns and colors offered the visual interest formally held by changes in design.[51] However, fashion marketing was not one-way process. As much as the myth of the all-powerful designer tends to pervade discussions of fashion, consumers held the purse and the industry needed to be "flexible to serve her needs."[52] Thus, American manufacturers and retailers not only made fashions available for the masses, they responded to consumer demands in the types of products they released. It is

[50] "Americans More Practical than Parisians in Dress Designing," *The Daily Californian*, 10/13/1950; Arnold, *The American Look*, 1-3; Patricia Campbell Warner, *When the Girls Came out to Play*, 3-10.
[51] Jack Hardy, *The Clothing Workers: A Study of the Conditions and Struggles in the Needle Trades*, (New York: International, 1935); Arnold, *An American Look*; Anthony J. Badger, *The New Deal: The Depression Years, 1933-40* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1993).
[52] "Fashion Group Luncheon", October 13, 1949, FGI B94, F4

therefore worth nothing that the persistence of Indian and Navajo in marketing speaks to consumer as well as industry interest.

The years leading up to World War II saw increased interest in breaking from European influence, particularly that of Paris, as a way of getting the United States through the Depression. In 1932 *The New York Times* described "A New Americanism," specifically the emergence of patriotisms and promotion of all things American, while, a travel article in *Vogue*'s entitled "America Discovers Itself" declared "No one uses French phrases anymore."[53] New York's fashion industry, the largest in the nation, supported American design in an effort to fight the effects of the Depression. Fashion publications and retail stores promoted American designers by name for the first time, among them Bonny Cashin, Claire McCardell, Clare Potter, and Vera Maxwell. During the late 1930s *Vogue*'s "Americana" issues and department store marketing attempted to create distinct alternatives to European fashions.[54] Sportswear, already a part of American fashion, was touted by retailers and merchandisers as both the answer to uniquely American design and a way for women to adjust their clothing for the Depression Era. While high-end European designers created sportswear early in the twentieth century with a casual aesthetic and modern line, the styles was made-to-measure rather than mass-produced fashions, meaning only wealthy customers could afford them. The budding American industry was able to distinguish itself by creating and selling fashion for both elites and the masses through popularization and nation-wide distribution of mass-produced sportswear.[55] And as the Berkeley Dailey Gazette noted, "There is an elastic quality about the term 'sportswear' that makes it just as appropriate

[53] "America Discovers Itself," *Vogue* 75:6 (1930), 41
[54] Arnold, *The American Look*, 25-30
[55] Arnold, *The American Look*, 28

when applied to the kind of sports clothes shown for fall, as to the simple, utilitarian types which were the forerunners of practical outdoor fashion."[56] For a nation suffering economically, the practicality of sportswear spoke to the desire for fashion that fit specifically American needs. New York styles increasingly focused on "classic" colors and styles that would last for more than one season, drawing on the elements of color coordination and simple, masculine-inspired pieces. American sportswear combined these elements to create interchangeable, lasting wardrobes that could be updated with new colors or styles when possible, befitting the austerity measures of the Depression.

In 1940 an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* on "American clothes, designed by Americans for Americans" described sportswear as "the smartest, most practical and most beautiful designed anywhere in the world" and continued: "Sports clothes symbolize – to us- our declaration of fashion independence…the impetus which sent them (Americans) across the plains in covered wagons battling Indians and privations…will give virility and versatility to our fashion designing."[57] Sportswear linked American traditions of independence, progress, and patriotism to specific forms of clothing. Native Americans, particularly those from the Southwest, fit into this narrative as "original" Americans. Tourism, the aesthetic reform movement, ethnography linked Indians to "authentic" national identity early in the twentieth century. Ideas of Southwestern Indians as "original" Americans became further codified through the Indian policies of the New Deal.

The New Deal period introduced social and political reforms that radically altered federal Indian policy. Policies of assimilation were abandoned in favor of preserving

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[56] "Fashions," *The Berkeley Daily Gazette*, 8/3/1929

[57] Barbara E. Scott Fisher, "American Styles Attain New Prestige," *The Christian Science Monitor*, 14 March 1940, F1

"traditional" native cultures. John Collier, commissioner of Indian Affairs, advocated an expanded market in Native-made goods to assist Native peoples in achieving self-sufficiency. This subsequently strengthened associations between Native peoples, aesthetic and design centered goods, and the capitalist market. Collier and René d-Harnoncourt, the appointed manager of the new Indian Arts and Crafts board, worked closely with cultural institutions such as the Metropolitan Museum and the Museum of Modern Art to promote American arts and crafts as expressions of a unique and possibly politically unifying "folk" culture of the New World, thereby promoting Native handicrafts as an uniquely American in character but with ancient origins.[58]

However, although Native peoples played significant roles in the effort to overcome the Great Depression, a pervasive romantic view of them as pre-contact others hindered recognition of their role as agents and denied them full membership in the wider American community. Despite the turn away from cultural destruction, romantic primitivists of the 1930s and 1940s, drawing on ideas of authenticity from the turn of the century, refused to acknowledge that native arts and crafts functioned as commodities in response to an external market. Portrayals of Indians in fashion marketing functioned on

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[58]Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art,* 1-4. For further reading on American Indian art and changes in policy, see Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, eds., *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999); Janet Catherine Berlo and Ruth B. Phillips, "Our (Museum) World Turned Upside Down: Re-Presenting Native American Arts," *Art Bulletin* 77 (1995): 6-10; Robert Fay Schrader, *The Indian Arts and Crafts Board: An Aspect of New Deal Indian Policy* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983); J.J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University Of New Mexico Press, 1971); Susan Labry Meyn, *More than Curiosities: A Grassroots History of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board and its Precursors, 1920 -1942* (Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2001); W. Jackson Rushing, III, "Marketing the Affinity of the Primitive and the Modern: René d'Harnoncourt and the 'Indian Art of the United States,'" in *The Early Years of Native American Art History: The Politics of Scholarship and Collecting*, ed. Janet Catherine Berlo (Seattle and London, University of Washington Press; Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1992), 191-236; William Jackson Rushing, III, *Native American Art and the New York Avant-Garde: A History of Cultural Primitivism* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995); Bruce Bernstein and W. Jackson Rushing, *Modern By Tradition: American Indian Painting in the Studio Style* (Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico Press, 1995).

the notion of Indians as American primitives, effectively declaring them both insiders and outsiders: they could signify American identity but as an exotic element, peoples who supplied artistic inspiration for modernity but could not participate.[59]

Aesthetics, then, strengthened the connections between American-ness and Indian-ness. Exhibits in major cultural institutions continued to strengthen these connections, and additionally brought them closer to the realm of American fashion. In 1941 New York's Museum of Modern declared their "American Indian Art" exhibit showcased the "authentic art of America."[60] The show lauded Indians as ancient American ancestors, while at the same time its place at the MOMA linked Native American art to the cutting edge of Modernism. Authenticity implicitly meant non-European, a concept not lost on the fashion community. Geographically and professionally, the art and fashion communities in New York maintained a close working relationship since the early twentieth century, as exemplified by M.D.C. Crawford. Many fashion spread throughout the 1940s, 50s, and 60s were shot within art museums and galleries and both *Vogue* and *Harper's Bazaar* frequently featured interviews with contemporary artists. Major exhibits of Native art and objects were also covered in these magazines and some, including the MOMA exhibit of 1941, featured fashion shoots within the exhibit.[61] *Vogue*'s article on the MOMA exhibit linked the "frankly abstract designs" of "our ancient Indians" to the work of French painters Picasso and Léger and featured the "unmistakably" American costumes of Germaine Monteil against the background of the exhibit. *Vogue*'s coverage of the exhibit demonstrates how Native

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[59] McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 4.
[60] Frank Crowinshield, "World of Ideas: American Indian Art," *Vogue* 97.3 (Feb 1, 1941): 96, 97, 150, 151, 152.
[61] Frank Crowinshield, "World of Ideas: American Indian Art," *Vogue* 97.3 (Feb 1, 1941): 96-97.

aesthetics and arts merged with the budding American fashion industry, providing design that could be both ancient and modern, while at the same time restructuring parts of the American aesthetic narrative to include Native peoples as their own.

The re-structuring of perceptions of American Indians meant they were no longer "savages" to be conquered but an important link to America's geographical and ancient past. Although contemporary Indian societies and people were often ignored in favor of "traditional" practices and culture, the aesthetic similarities between Indian-made art and product and the Modernist art movement also, paradoxically, placed aesthetics in the realm of modernity. Meanwhile, the message of American fashion coming from the budding American industry was one of modernity, egalitarianism, activity, and above all one distinct from European tradition.[62] United States constructs of Native peoples fit this bill: now idealized as the first Americans, they linked consumers directly to a past separate from Europe and the aesthetic canon associated with them bore strong resemblances to colors and shapes of the modern art movements sweeping the Western World and the new styles coming out of California.

While New York was the original center of American fashion, a separate California industry took shape in the 1930s and rapidly gained strength over the next three decades.[63] Between 1930 and 1960 California developed into a lifestyle model and clothing manufacturing hub. In July of 1944 California contained approximately 1300 apparel manufacturers, up from 239 in 1935. Sportswear's diversity and casual nature fit the "easy-going" lifestyle promoted as "Californian," one based on warmer weather and

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[62] See Rebecca Arnold, *The American Look: Fashion, Sportswear and the Image of Women in the 1930s and 1940s New York* (London: I.B. Tauris &Co. Ltd, 2009).
[63]See William R. Scott, "California Casual: Lifestyle Marketing and Men's Leisurewear," in *Producing Fashion: Commerce, Culture, and Consumers* ed. Regina Lee Blaszczyk, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2008).

year-round out of doors activity. California manufacturers were thus fundamental to the development and promotion of sportswear. In 1937 the trade paper *Knitted Outerwear Times* observed "In sportswear, California manufacturers have made their state more conscious of sports apparel than any other state in the union. California sports consciousness has aided in the development," while the ever consuming public wanted "the gaudy and brilliant California coloring which under the influence of a friendly climate has reached new extremes and found popular acceptance."[64] With geography and climate more similar to the Southwest than New York, many of California's design characteristics resembled aesthetics associated with American Indians. As California's industry gained strength, retailers and merchandisers continued to turn to Indians of the Southwest for design "inspiration."

Indian fashions provided patterns supposedly free of European influence, providing a national design element for a country looking for unity as it faced a Depression and war in the 1930s and 1940s. Although fashion and colors cycle in and out of style, geographic connections, references to Indians as Americans, and associations with bright prints and colors made Indian and Navajo attire viable elements in American fashion throughout the 1940s through interest in national design and sportswear, while also showcasing individuality through clothing in the 1950s.

[64] "California Knitwear Manufacturers Emerge as Increasingly Important," *Knitted Outerwear Times* 5/6/1937

## Chapter IV: "Indian" Colors, Prints, and Design: Nationalism and Individuality

Interest in American design grew into a full-fledged movement in the 1940s, aided by the sudden loss of Paris as a fashion center during World War II and the rapid growth of the American fashion industry.[65] Retailers across the country appropriated real and imagined aspects of Indian cultures as a method of promoting clothing as American in origin. Colors, patterns, and designs labeled Indian in the 1940s emphasized Native peoples as "original" and "authentic" Americans to reaffirm national identity for Anglo-American. As the United States entered the Cold War era, new anxieties over a perceived lack of personal identity shifted the focus from the national to the individual.[66] With sportswear an established part of American sartorial identity, colors and patterns became a way of making sportswear uniquely personal. "Other-ness" represented through bright colors and "primitive" patterns was not limited to Native Americans. In particular, references to South American and Pacific Islanders appeared repeatedly, often in forms and colors similar to those labeled Indian. However, references to other peoples lacked the potency of Indian labels due their physical separation. While similarities existed in marketing strategies, only Native peoples of the United States could denote both American-ness and individuality. Indian motifs thus became doubly useful: they could signify national identity while at the same time providing a way for consumers to personalize their clothing.

The Great Depression and World War II helped drive the desire to create and promote American-made and designed attire. Although the country was far from being truly unified, these crises reinvigorated nationalist sentiments. Claims of anti-modern

[65] Arnold, *The American Look*, 135-137.
[66] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 129

authenticity of Indian Others during this same period tended to be collectivist and nationalist in nature.[67] The "claiming" of Native peoples through ethnology, tourism, art, and the marketplace spoke to the interest in creating a unified "American" identity. It was hardly surprising, then, that one way American designers, retailers, and manufacturers chose to promote their merchandise as American in the 1940s was through associations with Native Americans. While often associations with specific Native peoples were vague or confused (ironically, authenticity was important in theory only), references centered on the peoples of the Southwest. The Southwest fit the needs of the fashion industry for two main reasons. First, as part of the American West, it represented the untamed nature of America, the opposite of the East. As historian Leah Dilworth notes, the Southwest was America's "orient," and an essential part of the rhetoric of colonial and empire building.[68] While embraced as part of the United States, the Southwest embodied the exotic and the unique, in a large part due to the many Native peoples who lived in the region. Thus the Southwest became a new, novel way of imagining America. Second, as the embodiment of an American exoticism, the Southwest (in theory, if not actuality) had no connections to the artistic and cultural traditions of Europe. Again, Americans looked to Native peoples to emphasize this distinction, despite centuries of trade and contact between Indians and Europeans. Indians of the Southwest, then, brought mystery and wild glamour to sartorial representations of America; they provided novelty while allowing the fashion industry to still promote American nationalism.

Deliberately articulated emphasis on Native peoples as Americans through clothing design was most evident around the time of World War II. For example, in 1940

[67] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 128-130
[68] Dilworth, *Imagining Indians in the Southwest*, 2-6.

the Style section of the Los Angeles Times proclaimed, “Indian Motif Provides Style Note” and asked readers, “Now that Paris’ fashion sun is setting and the American designers are looking toward our own country for their style inspiration what more *natural* source of *real American design* could they turn to than the first owners of our land, the Indian?”[69] From California to New York, advertisements that referenced Native peoples of the Southwest drew attention to their status as America’s original inhabitants. An advertisement for Goldwater’s apparel store instructed customers, “Take Inspiration from the Navajo!” The advertisement drew on Navajo connection to place and history, selling skirts of “cotton print, made exactly as the Indians make them” that have “never been given before – except perhaps to the Navajo women who have worn these graceful skirts since the early days of tribal history.”[70] On the other coast, Neiman-Marcus, a New York based department store, cited Navajo Indian sand paintings of “*our* Southwest” as the inspiration for the prints and designs of a two-piece dress by B.H. Wragge. Available in “authentic sand-painting shapes in rayon crepe,” the design combines synthetic fabrics with references to the Navajo as artist and an American ownership of the Southwestern Native peoples.[71] Advertisements ignored the systematic theft of land and disenfranchisement of Native peoples in favor of the narrative of Indians as Americans, strengthening the fashion industry claims to distinct American styles. In order for Indians to be truly “American,” America’s history as a colonizing nation had to be ignored, as did changes over time in Native cultures and societies. These advertisements also inadvertently point out the odd position of Native peoples in the United States: while Native people participated in the economies and societies of the United States, advertisers

[69] Sylva Weaver, “Indian Motif Provides Style Note,” *Los Angeles Times* December 13, 1940.
[70] Advertisement, *Arizona Republic,* Wednesday, December 18, 1940.
[71] “Advertisement – Neiman Marcus,” *Harper’s Bazaar* 62:1 (1946)

characterized them by their "ancient" qualities rather than contemporary culture, but used new technologies such as synthetic fabrics and chemical treatments to create "Indian" clothing.

Another angle advertisers used to tie in Native Americans to an "American" narrated past was through their associations with cowboys and western ranching. Americans attended Wild West Shows, Western Movies, and Pow-wows throughout the early twentieth century and helped build associations between Native Americans and the "Wild West."[72] A trade oriented issue of *Vogue* aimed at retailers provides instructions on how to market and sell western-wear to those customers "whose 'rustling' activities are confined to her petunia bed." The article notes that the business of ranch wear was a profitable one and suggested adding "prospecting" as a sales technique. In this vein, their choice of "'49-ers for your Bar ETC" included "blue jeans first and always, then, frontier pants….divided skirts…American Indian colors in long-sleeved, double-yoked cotton shirts with buttoned cuffs, flap pockets, and in "Daniel Boone" suede jackets."[73] Indians were part of the general mythology of the American West, alongside gold spectators, ranch hands, and, bizarrely, Daniel Boone. Interestingly, no indication was given of what "American Indian colors" might be, presumably because retailers would have prior knowledge in this area. This article demonstrates one of the clothing industry incorporated Native peoples into a national narrative, even when not explicitly stated. It also shows how colors became a useful indicator in marketing.

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[72] For selected reading on Wild West shows, see L.G. Moses, *Wild West Shows and the Images of American Indians, 1883 -1933* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Michael Wallis, *The Real Wild West: The 101 Ranch and the Creation of the American West* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999); Joy S. Kasson, *Buffalo Bill's Wild West: Celebrity, Memory, and Popular History* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000); Clyde Ellis, *A Dancing People: Powwow Culture on the Southern Plains* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2003).
[73] "Sales Frontier: Ranch Wear," *Vogue* 113:10 (1949), 6-7.

With Indians thus established as a way of marking American clothing, retailers and merchandisers used colors and patterns to distinguish attire as “Indian.” Using Indian names or monikers (such as adobe brown or Navajo red) lent hues specific nationalist meanings – for example, the Navajo only ever lived in American. Furthermore, in the market for sportswear, color was, in many ways, essential. Color could diversify or personalize the often simply designs of sportswear, a style made to be mixed and matched.[74] For example, a basic A-line skirt could be paired with many different forms and colors of blouses or vise versa. Close associations between Native peoples and aesthetic occupations, whether as artists or craftspeople, and connections between bright colors and “primitiveness” color provided further credence for fashion merchandising.

Colors named after or associated with Indians ranged across the color spectrum, including everything from “Indian aqua” to “Adobe brown.” In part because of their ideas of the Southwest, Anglo-Americans tended to associate Indians with the bright colors of the desert. An article on “Indian Life and Customs” proclaimed “color is everywhere” on the Navajo Reservation and at an Intertribal ceremony in Gallup, NM. The “painted” desert of Arizona and New Mexico “that has not yet become a landscape,” contained colors that could “stab the eye like cinders…scarlet strings of chili drying in the sun…dark green cedars…yellow mesas.” This supposedly untouched land was presented as teeming with bright hues, colors that Native peoples, connected intimately to the land, best represented.[75]

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[74] Arnold, *The American Look,* 3-5

[75] Chief Eaglewing, “Indian Life and Customs,” *Overland Monthly and Out West Magazine* 93:3 (1935): 29-30; “Good Buys in Holidays,” *Vogue* 99:2, June 15, 1942, 57.

Connections to bright, artificial colors, not necessarily welcome in Native American artwork, were embraced in clothing.[76] For example, a "Navajo sweater" was "charming" due to its "unusual coloring – vivid jade, orange, royal purple and black," while Aberfoyle Fabrics, a New York based textile company, sold "fabrics designed to tempt a woman" in "Indian-basket designs….restrained, civilized, yet colorful."[77] The connection between the Indians, and color became a potent tool for American sportswear. Brightness equated "Indian" when useful, despite the fact that new long-lasting color was achieved through modern technological advances.

New technologies allowed for blended fabrics and chemical treatments, as well as brighter and more stable dyes, resulting in colors that no longer broke down or faded with time. These fabrics could be made to resist water and creases, while coatings for natural fibers such as cotton had similar effects. More options led to durable garments that were appropriate for every-day, year-round wear and the American fashion industry lost no time distributing them. These innovations were a huge boon to the sportswear industry, particularly in California. The second largest clothing producer in the nation by the 1950s, California eagerly produced and sold garments in saturated colors that would last

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[76] The introduction of the transcontinental railroad brought new supplies for weaving in 1880 and 1881 to the Navajo. New types of dyes and yarns from the East Coast became available, including new aniline dyes (derived from coal tar) and introduced the possibility of new, brighter color combinations; red, orange, green, purple, and yellow, could now be seen next to each other on the same blanket. Packets of aniline dye which weavers could use on their own wool and four-ply, aniline-dyed yarn (Germantown yarn) also became available to weavers. Blankets became known as "eyedazzlers", a term which was at first derogatory but which later became a common reference to the period. Some collectors eschewed blankets from the eyedazzler period because of the use of pre-dyed, spun yarn, and cotton string warp, arguing the loss of "authenticity." For selected histories on Diné weaving see Eulalie H. Bonar, *Woven by the Grandmothers: Nineteenth-Century Navajo Textiles from the National Museum of the American Indian* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1996); Kathy M'Closkey, *Swept under the Rug*; Alice Kaufman and Christopher Selser, *Navajo Weaving Tradition, 1650 to the Present* (New York: Dutton, 1985); Kate Peck Kent, *Navajo Weaving, Three Centuries of Change* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2002).

[77] "Advertisement: Aberfoyle Fabrics (Galey & Lord, Inc.)," *Vogue* 71:6 (1928): C2; "Advertisement: Ivory Soap (Procter & Gamble Co.)" *Vogue* 62:9 (1923): 16.

under the bright western sun. Established connections between Indians and bright colors allowed for an easy connection to California mass-produced sportswear. The California lifestyle required bright colors that could compete with its luscious scenery. Labeling colors Indian or Navajo connected the growing California industry to American roots while providing shades that fit into the Californian and, by the 1950s, national style. Colors for Californian clothing needed to be "nothing drab, but gay enough to compete with the brilliant sunshine, the flower gardens on every side, the deep blue of the Pacific Ocean." Understanding this need, the style section of the *Los Angeles Times* advertised "Colorful California original designs inspired by the Navajo Indians of the great Southwest." Since "the Indians love color above all things," the column encouraged customers to "mix a red blouse with a green skirt, a red skirt with a yellow blouse."[78] Colorful "Indian" separates could diversify wardrobes while supporting home-grown production.

Advertisers ignored the inherent contradictions of combining the "timeless" qualities of the "Indians" in marketing with modern technology. Sears, Roebuck and Co. Fairloom Squaw Cloth was sold in textured cotton; chemical treatments of the fabric and dyes meant the rippled effect couldn't be washed out and washfast colors kept their brightness after washing.[79] Indian Head cotton swimsuits, available in "buoyant," crisp colors, looked "fresh and neat" after hours on the beach – an option available due to waterproof and crease-proof coatings.[80] A two-piece dress inspired by Navajo sand paintings was only available in rayon. Whether treated natural fibers or synthetics such as

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[78] Fashion Group Papers, Elizabeth Adams, 1945. Sylva Weaver, "Indian Motif Provides Style Note," *Los Angeles Times,* December 13, 1940.
[79]"New Fairloom Squaw Cloth," *Sears, Roebuck and Co .Catalog* (1954/55)
[80] "Cotton's the Thing for Everything… thanks to Indian Head," *Mademoiselle* 33:3 (1951): 35.

polyester and rayon, sportswear produced in the 1940s and 1950s relied on advances in technology to achieve the bright, saturated colors marketed as Indian.

Associations of Indians with bright colors, through the naming of colors or companies, changed them from complex peoples with unique cultures to a one-dimensional stereotype of Indian as aesthetic. Bright colors were representative of the wild, untamed lands of the Southwest; a form of the "exotic" Americans could utilize but be comfortable with through the premise of Indians as Americans. Indians as aesthetics markers of the “ancient” and “traditional” worked better with the new technologies being utilized by the fashion industry.

Along with color, prints held a special place in American style. As early as 1928 *Vogue* magazine declared “Prints have always been enormously successful in America, because they fit so well into the American scene” and “the best of domestic prints can compete with the blended tonal effects, the subtle use of unexpected colors that characterize those that have come over from Paris.”[81] The interest in prints, so quintessentially American, particularly through their use in sportswear, continued as the American fashion industry gained strength. Rayon, wool, and cotton houses constantly made patterns; one print manufacturer designed twenty-seven variations of a dot for a single designer.[82] In February 1938 *Vogue* reiterated the commitment to prints in its “Fashions America Does Best.” The three featured outfits, described as “America’s own – that we design better, wear better, make better than anyone else,” consisted of play-clothes, knitted clothes, and prints.[83] The geometric designs and graphic imagery of Indian arts and handicrafts lent themselves to this preoccupation with prints, as did the

[81] “Spring Fabrications: The Material Side of the American Mode,” *Vogue* 71:3 (1928): 54
[82] Fashion Group Inc. Papers, October 25, 1945. FGI, B74, F9
[83] “Fashions America Does Best,” *Vogue* 71:3 (1938): 114.

idea of Indians as original Americans. When retailers and manufacturers wanted to move away from European patterns, patterns with claims to Indian association became useful.

Prints marketed as Indian ranged abstract designs similar to those found on Indian material culture to variations of multicolored stripes. However, manufacturers were often more literal and at times created direct representations of what they deemed "Indian," including tee-pees, headdresses, and figured on horseback shooting bows and arrow. While designs were almost always in bright, saturated colors, the differences between "Indian," "Modern," "Abstract," or "Tribal" patterns rarely, if ever, existed. For example, both a "tribal print" and "new Indian print" feature similar abstract paisley designs. Both of these patterns bare remarkable similarities to "Medieval" motif sold by Grosscraft that featured abstract images of geometric designs and flora.[84] While Sears, Roebuck and Co marketed prints that featured headdresses, Indian heads, and stylized drawing of stripes and wildlife as "Fairloom Squaw Cloth," a beach-coat in "Seminole Indian printed long-cloth" featured stripes in various widths and colors. I.Magin's "Indian Print" presented yet another take, showcasing alternating lines of various geometric shapes. Tabak of California advertised "bold designs in a pattern of the fabulous Aztecs," that were embroidered on sun-wear that "carries well the traditions of this exotic civilization" and came in "brilliant colors: Corrida pink, lucky turquoise, yellow lotus, tropica lime marimba grape." These "bold designs" were a small square motif on the upper border of a pantsuit and jumper – styles certainly not utilized by Aztec women.[85] This wide range of designs had one thing in common: they were all produced and manufactured within the American fashion industry.

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[84] "Advance Patterns," *Mademoiselle* 26:3 (1948): 147; "Beautiful New Cotton Prints," *Sears-Roebuck Catalog* (1955), 26; "Advertisement - Medieval Motif in Spell-Bound," *Mademoiselle* 24:3 (1947): 238.
[85] "Advertisement- Tabak of California," *Harper's Bazaar* 62:7 (1946): 87.

American fabric industries and designers labeled these often indistinguishable patterns various forms of "Indian" to emphasize their connections to home-grown industry, rather than direct connections to Native peoples. Native American imagery and for designs if they believed it would be useful for the sale of the merchandise. Although they used Native Americans as "inspiration," advertisers urge customers to buy American textiles to make their own clothes or from American retailers. The accuracy of the descriptions seemed to have little, if any, importance; once print by Junior Miss of California featured teepees, bearskins, and bows and arrow but labeled a "Calcutta" print.[86] It also encouraged customers to associate Indians with patterns that resembled primitivist designs or lost societies, drawing upon the romantic primitivism of the early twentieth century. For example, Tabak's references to the Aztecs, a vanished society, was repeated by other manufacturers, often within the context as other, living Native peoples. Connections to abstract, "primitive" designs marked Native peoples as a more "authentic" part of American society because of their long lineage and supposed lack of industrialized production. However, if Native peoples strongly embodied America's past it was that much harder for them to be fully be part of America's present.

While the actual prints and patterns varied, clothing retailers and manufacturers made references to a vast array of designs when advertising Indian prints and patterns. Through prints and patterns, consumers could more specifically highlight their distinct personalities in Americans forms. Thus, textiles that drew upon "Native" aesthetics combined the American-ness of Indians with the desire for individuality.

While a sense of national community seemed to pervade the years of the Great Depression and World War II, by the end of the 1940s it seemed to be in decline and

[86] "Advertisement – Junior Miss of California," *Mademoiselle* 24:3 (1947): 5.

American increasingly feared the grip of conformity. Anti-modern worry began to take on an increasingly personal cast, and as historian Warren Susman argued, "From the end of the 1940s to almost the end of the 1950s, the problem was fundamentally defined as that of personal identity."[87] However, Americans as consumers also enjoyed unprecedented material prosperity, with more money than every being funneled into the clothing industry. The clothing community picked up on this turn in a number of ways, reflecting concerns over personal identity in both their attitudes towards consumers and marketing. Mildred Morton, editor-in-chief of *Vogue*, recognized that "each of America's 62 and a half million women is becoming her own fashion editor" while marketing strategies and magazines articles increasingly gave advise on how to personalize outfits.[88] Emphasis on individuality meant that Indian products, long recognized as "originally American" in nature, could also be a way for consumers to distinguish themselves from one another. Furthermore, as historian Philip Deloria notes, for whites of all classes the quests for personal identity often involved forays into racial Otherness; Others were imagined to be real and pure.[89] The creation of "Indian" patterns thus speaks to an established notion of Indians as personifications of unique, American self-hood.

Prints could showcase personal style through both pre-made clothing and home sewing. University Frocks, Inc sold "Ab-orginal" designs with "pretty American Indian symbols on pastel or navy backgrounds," informing customers, "You'll cause tall tepee talk when you come out with the 'Indian sign'…for your after-Easter frocks….with (or

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[87] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 130-131; Warren Susman, with the assistance of Edward Griffin, "Did Success Spoil the United States? Dual Representations in Postwar America," in *Recasting America: Culture and Politics in the Age of the Cold War,* ed. Lary May (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 25.
[88] "Great American Looks For Fall, 1964," The Fashion Group, Inc. MSS 398, Box 13, Folder 14.
[89] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 132.

without!) your Hiawatha tan!"[90] Through their naming strategy and the text of the advertisement the company conveyed the ability of Native Americans to signify uniqueness. Additionally, many of the "Indian" prints shown in fashion publications and catalogs only came as by the yard textiles, available for women who wanted to make their own garments. As historian Sarah Gordon argues, home sewing gained greater symbolic meaning as a mass market for clothing emerged and among other things, allowed women to showcase their creativity and personality.[91] *Mademoiselle* maintained a section with clothing patterns for home sewers throughout the 1940s and 1950s that often featured textiles with bold prints, while many of the "Indian" patterns featured in *Sears-Roebuck* for both women and children in the 1950s were only available as textiles rather than pre-made garments.[92] The prevalence of prints on textiles for home-sewers indicates that the originality of garments was a concern, while the presence of Indian patterns demonstrates that manufacturers were cognizant of the relationship between Indians and notions of American individuality.

While pervasive, appropriation of Indian designs and cultures went beyond prints and colors. Fashion students and designs made trips to the Southwest "Indian country" for inspiration. Students from the 1941 summer session of the Traphagen School of Fashion reported that the "colorful garb of Navaho and Seminole Indians" inspired adapted garments presented in a round-the clock-fashion show, while the 1948 class cited "Hopi Indian dresses" as inspiration. The founder of the school, Ethel Traphagen, had

[90] "Advertisement – Ab-Originals," *Vogue* 95:7 (1940):116.
[91] Sarah A. Gordon, *"Make it Yourself": Home Sewing, Gender, and Culture, 1890-1930* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2009). Gordon argues that home sewing was laden with multiple meanings about femininity, labor, family, creativity, sexuality, identity, and economics. Her work explores the cultural meanings of sewing in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, examine the dynamics and persistence of home sewing as clothing became increasingly available for purchase and more women worked outside the home.
[92] For examples, see *Sears-Roebuck Catalog*, Spring/Summer 1955, 18-19, 26, 62, 64, 159-162.

herself studied American Indian costumes in the West as a source for modern American design at the behest of Edward Bok, editor of the *Ladies' Home Journal* and American fashion activist. [93] Although designs tended to be called "inspired by" rather than appropriated, either very little about the dresses changed from the original to the new or attire was simply labeled Indian in order to exploit established connections of originality, creativity, and nationalism.

Another way Native Americans became connected to American women's fashion was through the Indian Fashion Show. Frederick Douglas of the Denver Art Museum staged shows throughout the country from 1942 to 1972. The shows highlighted nearly fifty contemporary and historic Native garments from the Denver Art Museum's collection, including two Diné pieces: an 1860's wool blanket dress and a 1930s velvet and cotton housedress, with garments dating from 1850 to 1940.[94] One of Douglas's aims was to show white, Anglo-American women that Indians could contribute to modern Euro-American culture, specifically in the realm of fashion and good taste. In this regard Douglas was particularly successful, as the fashion industry quickly "borrowed" all the dresses as inspiration for new designs in the 1940s and 1950s.[95] For example, a slim sheath by Traina-Norwell used silk streamers to evoke fringe around the bodice and skirt, while a two tone belted town and country sheath dress resembled a Diné blanket dress.[96] Notably, neither of these designs credit Native Americans but both the styling and the form of the design reference "traditional" Indian attire. Interestingly, a line of dresses

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[93] "Young U.S. Designers Hold Own Show Here," *New York Times,* Aug. 14, 1941; "Evolution of a Twentieth Century Fashion," *Fashion Digest* 8:4 (1948), 21.
[94] Nancy Parezo, "The Indian Fashion Show: Manipulating Representations of Native Attire in Museum Exhibits to Fight Stereotypes in 1942 and 1998," in *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 31:3 (2007), 19.
[95] Parezo, "The Indian Fashion Show," 17
[96] "Advertisement – Bonwit Teller," *Harper's Bazaar* 106:2847 (1950): 5; "Advertisement – Arnold Constable Fifth Avenue, exclusive," *Mademoiselle* 23:1 (1946): 33.

supposedly inspired by the sand-painting of the Navajo more closely resembles styles from India rather than the Navajo. Design, like color and pattern, was more concerned with ideas and appropriations that appealed to customers rather than accurate descriptions or depictions.

One of the most popular "Indian" styles was the Squaw dress, directly modeled off of the Diné broomstick skirt with floor-length, gathered, fluted, or pleated, tiered trimmed calico skirt and worn with a bright colored, v-neck, collared, cotton or silk velveteen blouse with raglan or inset sleeves.[97] Marketing for the squaw dress referenced romanticized and idealized version of the Native peoples and the Southwest.[98] The Squaw dress, like other Navajo and Indian prints and styles, was designed and marketed to appeal to white, middle-class women moving into the suburbs. Names were carefully chosen represent what were believed to be positive stereotypes. Clothing such as the squaw dress were a way of representing what designers and wearers perceived as their participation in the culture of Southwestern Indians.[99] Although users argued that "Squaw Dress" served as a stylistic label that recognized Native American contributions to American fashion and provided a label that brought reorganization of an American, not European, style, "squaw" gained sartorial association not as a designation for Indian

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[97] Nancy Parezo and Angelina R. Jones, "What's in a Name?: The 1940s and 1950s 'Squaw Dress,' *American Indian Quarterly* 33(2009). Although this style was emblematic of the Diné, it was an outgrowth of traumatic period in Diné history – their incarceration at Bosque Redondo, and the later transition of textile weaving from apparel to rugs. Without enough wool to make traditional blanket dresses (biil), Diné woman began to use calico and adapt the styles they saw on European American women. From this base the Diné modified New Mexico women's and traders' wives garment construction techniques to better manipulate commercial clothes they received as government rations or trading posts. This process brought the new dress style into balance with Navajo values by making it beautiful, creating Hózhó. This style was widespread by 1910.

[98] Some of the names for the squaw dress included: Resort Dress, Arizona Squaw Dress, McMullens Country Style, Desert Togs, Frontier Squaw Dress, Spring Squaw Dress, Tohono Squaw Dress, Navajo Squaw Dress, Rodeo Squaw Dress, square dance costume, Patio Dress, Kachina Squaw Dress, Rainbow Goddess Squaw Dress, and Fiesta Dress, among many others.

[99] Parezo and Jones, "What's in a Name?" 388

women's attire but as an America dress with Indian-inspired attire in the world of European American fashion. Historian Nancy Parezo argues that "'Squaw' was a marketing label and a surprisingly good one as long as people ignored the negative meanings of the word. And this was not hard to do because most European Americans had little knowledge about actual American Indians and what they wore on a daily basis….but they knew the stereotyped American Indian."[100] The case of the squaw dress illustrates the deliberate nature of appropriation, the ways fashions confirmed pre-conceived notions of Indians rather than combating them, and the potentially dangerous nature of the relationship between marketing and stereotypes.

Throughout the 1960s technology and the future made a dramatic impact on fashion industry and design. Youth culture, the space race, and increasingly diverse synthetic fabrics led to designs that looked to the distant future rather than the past.[101] Interestingly, as designs moved away from the traditional shapes of femininity (i.e. wasp waist, full skirt) and towards shorter, more radical silhouettes, references to Indians dropped precipitously.[102] While Indians worked as a connection between nationalism and identity during the 1940s and 1950s, the vogue for new materials, new shapes, and youth during the 1960s left little reason for retailers to reference Native peoples who, mistakenly, had come to symbolize a romantic view of the past, both in terms of femininity and society.

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[100] Parezo and Jones, "What's in a Name?" 398

[101] See Susannah Hadley, *Nylon: The Story of a Fashion Revolution: A Celebration of Design from Art Silk to Nylon and Thinking Fibers* (Baltimore: John Hopkins UP, 1999).

[102] The futuristic designs of Pierre Cardin and André Courrèges were some of the most cited. Plastic, paper, and metal chain-link dresses became acceptable, as did versions of space helmets, thigh high boots and psychedelic colors. For more on the fashions of the 1960s, see John Peacock, *The 1960s* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1998); Valerie Steele, *Fifty Years of Fashion: New Look to Now* (New Haven (Conn.): Yale University Press, 1997).

In the late 1960s "Indian" fashions came back in new forms and dimensions with the dawn of the counter-culture movement. This was a new type of dressing Indian, one much more closely related to Indian play and costume than the previous two decades. Fringe, feathers, leather, and beading, in addition to geometric patterns, characterized new Indian fashions. While previously much of the attire labeled Indian seems to have been drawn from the peoples of the Southwest, the fashions of the late 1960s began to draw more heavily on the people of the Plains, including the Dakota, Sioux, and Cherokee.[103] This shift reflected changes in the ways Americans self-identified. Since the early twentieth century Indian fashions were part of the search for authenticity in the face of modernity. Participants in the counterculture, rather than using Indian patterns in clothing to signify American-ness, used dress that (presumably) resembled traditional Indian attire to move their identities away from American-ness altogether. The wearing of symbols of the Indian, for many who deliberately identified as the counterculture, signified sympathies outside United States policy.[104] However, the same symbols also became part of mainstream fashion, and clothing retailers and marketers worked to simplify their meanings for consumers down to aesthetics.

Magazines placed new emphasis on the marketing of Indian clothing to younger demographics. Popular fashion magazines ran spreads on "The Overthrow; ponchos,

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[103] Although difficult to say with any certainty, as retailers tended to ignore distinctions between peoples and cultures in favor of the catch-all word "Indian," there does appear to be a shift in the late 1960s. This is an interesting topic that has received, little, if any investigation.

[104] Deloria, *Playing Indian*, 160-163. For literature on the counterculture, see Stewart Brand, "Indians and the Counterculture, 1960s-1970s," *Handbook of North American Indians,* vol. 4, *History of Indian-White Relations*, ed. Wilcomb Washburn (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 570; Naomi Feigelson, *The Underground Revolution: Hippies, Yippies, and Others* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1970); William L. O'Neill, *Coming Apart: An Informal History of America in the 1960s* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971); David Farber, "The Counterculture and the Antiwar Movement," in *Give Peace a Change: Exploring the Vietnam Antiwar Movement* ed. Melvin Small and William D. Hoover (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1992)

capes, shawls, or anything fringed," reminding readers "It's what's happening over everything" and "Indians Looks With and Without Reservation," photographed for "Campus '68. That's Indian Territory." [105] These spreads featured an abundance of leather, fringe, and feathers, while models donned headbands, braids, and moccasins. These spreads played with the language of modern pan-Indian movements as selling points, effectively arguing that Indian-ness provided a way for students to stand out from their peers while still following current American social trends. The models and attire, whether "a pair of pigtails a couple of handfuls of fringe – and Shirley Fisk has the kind of Indian look that sneaks up on you," or "Indian meets Hippie (well, that's where the whole bag began, right?)" demonstrate the ways fashion magazines detached cultures ad people from fashion and clothing. Ethnicity could be a form of fashion, a way to express personality.

However, these same magazines ran articles sympathetic to the Indian Power movement, as well as to the struggles of "today's young Indian women." Interviews with Native women from around the country refuted stereotypes and discussed everything from education to the promotion of traditional craft forms.[106] Despite coverage of contemporary Native issues, magazines continued to use commercialized versions of Indians, ideas based upon the ways Americans imagined Indians, during the Indian power movement and beyond. Magazines attempted to separate stereotypes from actual people, ignoring the potentially harmful effects of such imagery and generous use of stereotypes. Sportswear such as men's knitted sweater baring an Indian braves head, fringed pants, or a "squaw-shirt in beige Avisco acetate/rayon crepe, $12," continued to be widely

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[105] "The Overthrow," *Mademoiselle* 72:2 (1970): 220-1

[106] See Nancy Axelrad Comer, "Hokane!" *Mademoiselle* (October, 1970), 158, 159,196, 197.

available to consumers in now nation wide clothing chains. While magazines began to acknowledge the material situations of real Native Americans in the 1960s and 1970s, marketing continued to use visions of Indians created at the beginning of the twentieth century to sell goods, adjusting them to the new types of merchandise.

Although the fashion industry emphasized ancient lineage, the example of the Diné people demonstrates how Indian cultures evolved and adapts to the times. As consumers associated Navajo with specific aesthetics and goods the Diné worked to gain control of the Navajo brand, taking matters into their own hands in the 1940s by creating the Navajo Arts and Crafts Guild. The guild worked to avoid the tourist market, focusing instead on producing "the finest type of Navajo handicrafts."[107] By controlling the material associated with Navajo as a brand the Diné worked to change the images and narratives that defined them to the American public. This was encompassed by a broader movement to regulate their own affairs, working with the Federal Government to develop economic plans, promoting Diné language and education, and exploring the profitability of natural resources. During the 1940's and 1950s Native peoples created tribally influenced garments but had also adopted Euro-American techniques, materials, and sometimes, styles, while also sewing or buying American clothing.[108] The growth of America's ready-to-wear industry helped encourage these trends. In addition, Native fashion designers such as Lloyd Kiva New (Cherokee) collaborated with Navajo and other Native artists on high fashion accessories and apparel that provided contemporary versions of tribal practices and garments. For example, Kiva adapted a Navajo shirt for a

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[107] Erika Bsumek, *Indian-Made: Navajo Culture in the Marketplace, 1868-1940* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Press, 2008), 211.
[108] Nancy Parezo, "The Southwest," in *Berg Encyclopedia of World Dress and Fashion, Vol. 3 – The United States and Canada* http://dx.doi.org/10.2752/BEWDF/EDch3057, published September 2010.

woman's suit.[109] The founding of the American Indian Art Institute (AIAI) and Navajo Community College opened up space where students could continue cultural traditions in contemporary situations. For example, the AIAI offered numerous textile and clothing design courses, which focused on Native clothing-making styles and modern adaptations of garments and accessories. Students staged fashion shows, bringing their designs to cities around the Southwest. Older and younger generations mixed and matched contemporary clothing with older styles. Photographs and commissioned sketches for the book *Navajo Studies at Navajo Community College*, published in 1971, depict Diné women in both contemporary fashions and older, "traditional" styles. Courses, images, and apparel that reference continuity and change in Diné society refuted American notions of Navajo and Indians in clothing.

As America's clothing industry gained strength and new technologies became available, so did references to Native Americans. The popularity of sportswear with consumers meant that concepts utilized by retailers, merchandisers, manufacturers, and designers to categorize patterns and styles as Navajo or Indian held sway throughout the twentieth century. Although these styles did not always stand out as the main focus of fashion magazines, evidence from advertising and design suggests they never fully lost their hold over American consumers. While the focus on American design has lost its significance in a world where fashion is global, ideas about expressing individuality and identity through clothing are more potent than ever. The colors and pattern associated with American Indians continue to draw consumers as a way of expressing their identity through clothing that represents the "Other." Whether acknowledged or not, Urban

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[109] Jessica Metcalf, *Native Designers of High Fashion: Expressing Identity, Creativity, and Tradition in Contemporary Customary Clothing Design* (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2010), 86.

Outfitters' response draws on a historic precedent that viewed Native Americans as a cultural and aesthetic commodity up for grabs.

## CONCLUSION

The time period from 1940 to 1968 illustrates that Native clothing was more than simply high designers or a product of the counterculture. The appropriation or reinterpretation of Indian imagery in early sportswear was used to legitimate American fashions design, sartorial identity, and individuality. This era laid the groundwork for the ways Native clothing and fashion has been marketed throughout the twentieth century. It spread representational stereotypes of Indians as a feature of the American landscape, one without a voice of their own that could be used to support American design ambitions. While many different ethnic groups were represented through similar means (among them Mexicans, South Americans, and Pacific Islanders), fashion retailers and merchandisers utilized Indians to denote both American and individual identity in a variety of ways. However, aesthetic representations and valorization of Indians as America's past ignored issues of Native identity and sovereignty, and encouraged Americans to repress memories of their violent colonial relationship with Native peoples. Addressing how and why the American fashion industry used Indians as a marketing tool forces a reconsideration of the ways clothing and fashion are areas of cultural encounter, and lead to intelligent debates about implications of appropriation in the contemporary fashion market.

Navajo and Indian trends did not disappear after the hippie movement only to reappear in the last five years. The 1980s, 90s, and early 2000s all saw the reemergence and use of Indian marketing, whether through geometric "tribal" patterns or design elements such as fringe. Examining how Indian styles gained a mass market also demonstrates a continuous disconnect between their use in the fashion industry and

Native cultures has continued to this day. On March 22, 2013 the retail store Anthropologie featured a “Time Lapse Tee” under the heading “Prints gone Global.” Tribal trends today tend to lump together indigenous peoples from all around the world to showcase “primitive” patterns. Fashion merchandising throughout the twentieth century promoted the idea that Americans did not need to learn about Native people because as the “original Americans,” stereotypes were sufficient. This marketing undermines the serious issues of appropriation, representation, and identities of Native peoples in the United States and around the world. In addition, marketing strategies that now reach a global popular promote ignorance and misconceptions of Indian history, societies, and culture. Understanding why and how Indian cultures became a viable marketing strategy adds weight to current critiques of appropriation, and also hopefully helps current retailers and merchandisers understand their actions have an impact on living peoples.

As fashion gains a place as an area of study, academics have utilized social media to address issues of representation in fashion, class, gender and race, with blogs such as Native scholar Jessica Metcalf’s *Beyond Buckskin*, Mimi Thi Nguyen and Minh-Ha T. Pham’s *Threadbared,* and the forum *Native Appropriations* leading the charge against current instances of Native American appropriation. While clothing and fashion tend to be dismissed, marketing campaigns and fashions impact the way millions of people understand American Indians.

However, as historian Jessica Metcalf argues, clothing design that incorporates Native motifs, aesthetics, and designs does not have to be negative. For Native designers, and retailers who partner with Native designers, clothing can be a way of reclaiming images of Native-ness. Clothing and fashion that celebrate Native cultures in respectful

ways provide a method of resistance and also re-education. “Counter-images” created by Native designers or collaborative efforts generated from a positive ethnic identity can be realized through acts of self-representation.[110] As Native design houses gain strength and a global market, combating established stereotypical representations can be done on an international scale.

[110] Metcalf, *Native Designers of High Fashion*, 20-22, 35.

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# Alison R. Bazylinski

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**Education:**

**University of Nevada Las Vegas,** Las Vegas, NV — May 2013
Masters of Arts in History
Minor: Public History
GPA: 3.93

**Northeastern University,** Boston, MA — January 2011
Bachelor of Arts in History
Minors: Art History, International Affairs
GPA: 3.512

**Activities:**
Vice President, Phi Alpha Theta

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**Experience:**

**Department of History, Las Vegas, NV** — September 2011 to May 2013
*Graduate Assistant*
- Performed research for Dr. Deirdre Clemente in the area of American material culture, specifically twentieth century clothing, gender, ethnicity, and consumption patterns.
- Taught a discussion section of **Hist 100b: Revolutions and Constitutions** for Dr. Paul Werth; two discussion sections of **Hist 100: Empire** for Dr. Michelle Tusan; two discussion sections of **Hist 100: Hitler and Constitutions** for Dr. Colin Loader.

**Museum at the Fashion Institute of Technology, New York, NY** — June 2012 to August 2012
*Intern, Education*
- Performed research and proofread text for upcoming book publications.
- Researched concepts for upcoming exhibits.
- Corresponded with and arranged for speakers for the 2012 annual symposium; conducted outreach to schools and professional organizations to promote the symposium.

**Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, MA** — September 2010 to January 2011
*Assistant to Collections Registration*
- Digitized, updated and expanded the collection's records and completed data entry for museum objects.
- Researched museum correspondence and publications for information regarding objects in the collection.
- Assisted in the maintenance and organization of accession, loan, and object records for the museum's collection.
- Worked with interns within the MAC intern program to develop a contemporary museum exhibit.

**Youth For Understanding USA, Study Abroad Programs, Boston, MA** — January 2010 to July 2010
*Assistant to the District Coordinator for Recruitment and Development*
- Organized, planned, and supervised the Pre-Departure weekend Orientation for sixty high school students.
- Actively recruited new volunteers and host families through cold calls and career fairs; interviewed prospective volunteers.
- Composed press releases and advertisements for YFU events and programs; coordinated recruitment events.

- Coordinated and tracked orientations for students planning to study overseas and families hosting international students.

**State Historical Museum of Iowa, Des Moines, IA** January 2009 to May 2009

*Assistant to the Registrar, Theatre and Education Assistant*

- Labeled objects and performed inventory in the State Historical Museum's collection.
- Was instrumental in the organization and orchestration of museum special events.
- Aided in the developmental, curricular, and financial aspects of the Museum Theatre Program through program development and budged tracking.

**Fish & Richardson P.C., Attorneys, Boston, MA** January 2008 to July 2008

*Library Assistant*

- Researched library catalogs and online databases to determine reference availability.
- Obtained references for clients from local libraries and online resources.

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**Skills:**

- Proficient in Microsoft Office applications, including Word, Excel, Outlook, Powerpoint, and Publisher.
- Proficient in ARGUS, The Museum System

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**Exhibits:**

**Vegas Style: Spectacle and Spectator**

November 16, 2012 to June 1, 2013

*Curator*

- *Vegas Style: Spectacle and Spectator* traces the history of Las Vegas from the founding of Helldorado Days in 1934 to the present day. Each costume exemplifies an era of Las Vegas entertainment history and provides a lens that explores the diverse facets of Las Vegas' ever-changing image.