What's in a Name?

The 1940s–1950s "Squaw Dress"

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In his 2000 essay, "What Is Native Studies," First Nations scholar Peter Kulchyski wrote that "Native Studies is the setting right of names, the righting of names as much as the writing of names." This goal includes properly naming elders who provide information for our studies so that "the names of these knowledgeable people can take their place beside the names of the non-Native authorities so carefully cited in scholarly practice." He also argues that places should be renamed so that "the inscriptions on the land developed over centuries by First Nations may once again be read, the stories once again told." He concludes that "Native Studies plays a role in, and may be nothing more than, the careful calculation, the deliberate, cautious, but necessary practice of righting names."[1]

Unfortunately, the righting of names is not as simple a process as Kulchyski posits. While scholars may try to eliminate offensive names, words of conquest, or colonialist adjectives, many problematic names are created by individuals and organizations over which we have little control except societal peer pressure and the general desire of people not to offend. The hardest names to right will be those associated with entrenched representational stereotypes because repeated visualization is so subconsciously engrained that people do not recognize the associations, often because of cultural blindness.[2] An example relevant for this article is the oppositional binary system through which Native American women have been seen as either squaws or princesses.[3] Equally hard to change are names that have deep-rooted associations with the identity of a Native or non-Native social group, such as fans of a sports team who feel ownership of a named image they created. Ironically, the easiest names to right may well be those associated with commodities that reflect peri-

odic stylistic change and relabeling; it is in retailers' best interests not to be linked with a label that customers could consider offensive.

But what's in a name? What denotative and connotative aspects are suspect or offensive? To whom are they offensive? How do we recognize names that need righting? Who creates the names and the way they are presented to the general public and First Nation/American Indian peoples? What role does transcultural or transnational borrowing play in naming? How do connotations change over time, especially when used across cultural boundaries and space? Who has the right to decide and demand that a name, especially one with multiple neutral, positive, and negative connotations, needs to be righted, and based on what information and authority?

It takes a good deal of historic information and interpretive analyses to understand these linguistic, social, and cultural questions. But the call for righting and its actualization as a contemporary cultural process generally occurs without requisite scholarship because scholarship tends to show that naming is complex and murky. The process often begins in anger and frustration; it relies on rhetoric that is impassioned, essentializing, and morally righteous as well as a focus on a word's most disrespectful connotation chosen from a range of alternative meanings. Activists do this to call attention to a perceived insult that they feel is being ignored, generally through the indifference, ignorance, or intentional prejudice of the general public, that is, cultural blindness or assumed cultural or racial superiority. In addition, the simple elimination of a name may or may not be enough to challenge a deeply entrenched prejudicial or romanticized stereotype that is marked by a questionable label. Calling something by a different term and getting it accepted across North America does not always right questionable visual symbols that stem from or coexist with a problematic name. Labels and images work together to create a holistic message but are separate entities whose processes of change take different trajectories.

Many commercial images and names linked to Native Americans are created for and perpetuated by popular culture and stem from past linguistic usage. In this article we present a case study of the questionable naming and the quiet, almost unnoticed, righting of a name for a Native-derived garment in the American clothing industry, the extremely popular Squaw Dress.

The Squaw Dress, a categorization label for several types of one- and

two-piece dresses, was a regional style in the American Southwest in the late 1940s and became a national dress trend in the 1950s. Its defining feature, a full, tiered skirt, came in three shapes: (1) a slightly gathered skirt based on Navajo dress; (2) a "broomstick" or pleated skirt based on Navajo and Mexican attire; and (3) a fully gathered, three-tiered skirt based on contemporary Western Apache Camp Dresses or Navajo attire. In addition to the common designation of Squaw Dress, dresses with the third skirt type were also called Fiesta, Kachina, Tohono, or Patio Dress (depending on the type of decoration); the former two styles were called Navajo Dresses.[4] Squaw Dresses were extremely popular because of their comfort and regional indigenous associations. They represented both idealized femininity and Americanness because of their Native American origins. This is one reason for the label; American designers, coming into their own in the ready-to-wear and casual clothing markets, were determined to distinguish themselves from European designers. What better way to do this than to use names associated with and design ideas borrowed from or inspired by the First Americans?

The general public in the 1940s and 1950s used the word "squaw" in a number of ways but generally tended to ignore its negative connotations when it was associated with an aestheticized commodity. Regional associations (the Greater Southwest), cultural identity (American Indian, Mexican, and European American), and post–World War II gender roles were linguistically and visually encoded into the resort and leisure-wear style. In this article we document the Squaw Dress's multicultural origins in Navajo, Western Apache, Tohono O'odham, and Mexican attire and how selective borrowing created a unique, easily recognized style with a questionable name.[5] Sartorial offshoots can still be seen in 2008 but without the squaw moniker.

Before describing and assessing the Squaw Dress as a labeled commodity whose name needed righting, we provide a history of the multiple semantic meanings and uses of the word "squaw" in distinctive linguistic and cultural communities and changes through time. We demonstrate how the word came to hold different meanings for Algonquian speakers, Natives speaking other languages, and English speakers, ending with the meaning of "squaw" in post–World War II America. We end by noting contemporary efforts to eliminate the word's use as both an adjective and a noun in English and the unanticipated effect this had on the Squaw Dress's name when the dress style was revitalized in the 1990s.

There are differing contemporary views on the meaning of "squaw" and its origins, but its etymology was well accepted among scholars prior to the 1990s. "Squaw" was first recorded at the time of European contact in the early seventeenth century. Algonquian in origin, the word is based on the Massachuset's word for "woman," *squá* or *ussqua* (*eshqua*), the Natick's *squa* or *squáas*, and the Narragansett's *squáw* or *eskwa*.[6] The Delaware used a similar term, *ochqueu* or *khqueu*, the Chippewa *ikwé*, and the Cree *iskweew*. Linguist Ives Goddard argues that all historic versions of the word come from the proto-Algonquian term **ethkweewa*, "young woman."[7] By 1622 Massachusetts colonists used *squa sachim* to refer to a female Indian ruler who could establish and enforce peace. *Squá* was also used with animal names to refer to female animals in the sense of femaleness (sex and gender), allowing opportunities for ridicule, disparagement, or humor. One colonist recorded in 1642: "When they [Indians] see any of our English women sewing with their needles, or working coifes, or such things, they will cry out, Lazie squaes"![8]

Languages are dynamic; they change over time. Words or phrases acquire innovative denotations and connotations when used in new situations or for novel purposes, especially in transcultural environments. The same is true when a word is translated and then spreads to still other languages, in this case via English or French. Speakers' worldviews alter meaning, especially when combined with preconceptions like stereotypes about women. This process is additive when alternate meanings are attached to the original word; in other cases it is replacive as old meanings fall by the wayside and new meanings gain community acceptance. Such changes can be slow or rapid.[9] In the complex case of "squaw," semantic changes reflect both processes, creating many translation and interpretive issues.

The Oxford English Dictionary records that "squaw" became an English loanword that was used neutrally and colloquially to refer to all Indian women regardless of tribal affiliation. In this sense it was a racial designation and remained so through the twentieth century. "Squaw" was a generalizing and homogenizing word because it ignored cultural distinctions and assumed that all Indian women had similar roles, duties, and personalities. In other uses it was even more essentializing. European colonists used "squaw" to refer to any woman, regardless of race or eth-

nicity, who labored hard to support her family. During the colonial period Algonquian speakers extended their meaning of *squá* to refer to settler women, especially those with strong personalities and leadership capabilities.[10]

By the early 1800s English speakers used "squaw" to signify industrious Indian women who paddled canoes, farmed, gathered foods, or constructed valued material culture. In short, "squaw" became associated with effective labor. Squaws were mature women who knew their socioeconomic roles, not young women who had reached puberty but not started a family. In the North squaws were respected individuals with strong Protestant work ethics that settlers admired. This usage was also the common meaning in early ethnographic texts; "squaw" meant a good woman. But "squaw" in this sense also had class implications; squaws were not elite individuals of leisure or privileged ladies. English speakers in the American South came to call indentured servants, slaves, and poor rural white women squaws.

Based on this association with work, "squaw" became an adjective that English speakers, like Algonquian speakers, employed to describe objects made, owned, or used by Indian women. A squaw hitch was a knot Northern Plains women used to tie a pack on an animal; a squaw ax was small; squaw side was the right side, on which Indian women mounted horses. Squaw distinguished female from male attire. In *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* George Wharton James refers to all women's attire as squaw dresses.[11] A similar designation became a standard adjective for footwear in frontier trading situations and has stood the test of time. Fashion historian Charlotte Calasibetta in the latest version of *Fairchild's Dictionary of Fashion* defined "squaw boots" as mid-calf-length tanned-buckskin boots with attached soft soles and a fringed, turned-down cuff. Like moccasins, they were often lavishly beaded.[12] Squaw boots were popular in the 1960s with young men and women, especially hippies, who saw them as beautiful and comfortable statements of rebellion against European American industrial society (leather shoes symbolized confining middle-class culture) and indicators of an organic return to nature. Squaw boots are still sold in specialty stores and over the Internet, symbolizing admiration for comfort. "Squaw" in this case symbolized naturalness.

During the mid to late nineteenth century English speakers used "squaw" to refer to many parts of nature and landscape formations. For

naturalists, "squaw" described plants Indian women gathered for food, dyes, and art (i.e., baskets). In many places this gendered homogenizing term became the common English name, since scientists ignored the word for "woman" used by local Indigenous nations. Botanists continued to use labels like squawberry as well as taxonomic nomenclature well into the twentieth century.[13] Similarly, "squaw" as an adjective acquired a seasonal designation in the Canadian Northwest; a "squaw winter" was the mild transitional period following an "Indian summer." The referent reflected commonly held Native views that female winds were mild and warm, while male winds were cold and fierce. Squaw was also employed to name places, especially in the North American West. These squaw peaks, mountains, lakes, valleys, passes, buttes, islands, and creeks are some of the land names that Kulchyski and other activists have called to be righted. Squaw place-names referred to imagined parts of the female body, especially the breasts (Squaw Tit in Idaho and Squaw Teats in Wyoming), or to places Native women frequented, again without reference to the indigenous inhabitants' lexicons.[14]

THE RACIALIZED AND SEXIST "SQUAW"

Sexist assumptions of men's and women's natures stimulated other meanings. For example, "squaw" could refer to a man who sought a wife, regardless of race or ethnicity. From this, "squaw" became a taunt associated with male weakness or was used disparagingly to ridicule an effeminate man who did women's work. (This included homosexuals in European American society as well as two-spirited individuals in Indian cultures.)[15] To call a man a squaw in the mid to late 1800s was to contemptuously label him a coward. This usage regularly appeared in fiction, as did the term "squaw man." Squaw men were at first seen as clever mountain men who bought Indian women as wives or later European American men who lived near reservations and married Indian women in order to obtain reservation land during the allotment period. In periods when cross-cultural and interracial marriages were frowned on, squaw men were held to be marginal individuals not fit to marry European American women. "Squaw" became a verb; to be "squawed" meant for a non-Native man to be married to an Indian woman and then live with her people. The racial implications were transparent. The "half-breed" offspring of such unions became villainous or exoticized tropes

in poems, dime novels, and melodramas, combining the supposed worst vices of each race or ethnic group. In evolutionary theories and eugenic-miscegenation rhetoric, racial admixture became an example of cultural devolution. However, when an Indian woman went to live in European American society, it was seen as evidence of cultural advancement and assimilation.[16] Yet the women could still be looked down upon. "Squaw" could be used in this instance to put Indian peoples in their place if they tried to rise too high socially.

Even more negative and disrespectful connotations for women crept into other English usages of "squaw," and these in turn were transferred to non-Algonquian-speaking tribes who often did not know the word's etymology. For example, during the late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century reservation period, when tribal nations were plunged into poverty as U.S. policies of containment made their economies dysfunctional, "squaw" lost its positive connotations. A squaw as a category of Indian women acquired a set of racial features (dark skin, "crude" Mongolian features, a squat and fat body, an ugly or homely and often toothless face) that became stereotyped and visualized through body pose, sartorial clues, facial haggardness, and muteness. This became a remarkably stable trope depicted in movies, art, theater, music, newspaper cartoons, and fiction. Pejorative characterizations centered on the image of squaws as denigrated, overworked, and passive drudges, "faceless Indian females who shuffle along behind 'bucks' and say 'Ugh.'"[17] "Squaw talk" referred to foolish, untrue, or frivolous speech.[18] "Squaw" referred to women who looked old, stoop-shouldered, downtrodden, and exhausted from long hours of toil—images that had earlier been affixed to the word "witch" but for different reasons. Indian squaws were beasts of burden, unquestionably obeying "braves" who beat them for any insubordination. Weakened by work, squaws were rarely held to be good mothers, since they no longer cared about their appearance. This long-standing image of lazy men and abused women, which had begun to surface in the seventeenth century, supposedly demonstrated that Indian peoples were inferior to European Americans. Indian men did not know how to treat women appropriately. By extension, European American men illogically rationalized that they could treat Indian women badly if they chose.

And unfortunately, many did choose. Passivity, powerlessness, victimization, and violence became associated with squaws, especially in the American West. Since European American art often depicted Indian

women as nearly invisible and submissive, "squaw" came to be used in rifle competitions as a target representing a figure in a kneeling position. A squaw was what marksmen shot. "Squaw" also became a technical term as a way to hold a gun barrel during crozing and chiming processes.[19] From this usage we can easily imagine how implications for "vagina" could have been used by gun makers and blacksmiths and then spread into general usage. "Squaw" became associated with sexual penetration.

From the 1840s through the 1920s, when Indians and women had few rights, there were many instances of miners and soldiers sexually abusing Indian women. During the 1850s California gold rush, when Indian women were frequently abducted and raped, "squaw" became connected with sexual violence.[20] Even though most newspaper accounts were written sympathetically (albeit patronizingly), we can assume that if those writing about an abused woman dehumanizingly referred to her as "squaw," then the man sexually abusing her did as well.[21] As regional colloquial vocabulary, "squaw," like the labels "tramp" and "whore," came to mean a woman who masochistically allowed herself to be abused. As a rationalization for illegal violent male behavior, associations of promiscuity now clung to "squaw"; the word became analogous to the word "bitch." Just as "bitch" is not used in polite society, so "squaw" became a tainted word for Protestant European Americans.[22] California Indians understood but had few opportunities to effectively protest their women being called squaws, connoting promiscuity. It is from this usage that many contemporary Indians in the West view "squaw" as another word for "cunt."

Such insulting usage became increasingly common as Native peoples' situations deteriorated politically and economically. By the 1880s "squaw" had become associated with anomie and dysfunctional behaviors (drunkenness, idleness, begging, dirtiness, and sloth) and was indicative of hopeless poverty. As a marginal person, a squaw lived on the edges of border towns or as a homeless person in urban areas. Settlers conceptualized these squaws, often labeled prostitutes, as ugly, with faces scarred by smallpox or venereal diseases. An 1858 newspaper editorial called such women "a most vile nuisance, calling loudly for abatement."[23] To be a squaw meant that a woman was not fit to be a member of civilized society. She was someone who could be eliminated.

From their dealings with European Americans or later by watching movies or reading national magazines, Indians learned that to call a woman a squaw was an insult. For example, in 1928 a correspondent for

Time Magazine wrote the following sarcastic news item under the title "Bitten Squaw":

> In Sisseton, S. Dak., one Amos White, a Sioux Indian, bit off the end of his squaw's nose to make her less attractive to other Indians. She will probably have recovered when he returns to her, after the two years and eight months which he must spend in the penitentiary.[24]

The reader was meant to shake his or her head at the man's abusiveness, stupidity, and savage behavior. One assumed the wife was adulterous, dependent, and weak. When European Americans used the word "squaw" in this manner it was not evident they had any understanding of tribal customs, especially those that appear brutal to European American culture, nor did they want to.[25] It was easier to dehumanize and homogenize Indians. A squaw was the butt of white jokes meant to insinuate that European Americans were racially and culturally superior.

ATTIRE AND "SQUAW" IN THE 1940S

The word "squaw" was not used commonly in everyday speech in most of the United States during the early twentieth century, but people still knew what the word meant. However, by the 1940s it meant different things to different individuals and linguistic communities. It could be simply a neutral word for Indian women in Algonquian-speaking communities and across many parts of Native North America. Squaw dances meant women's dances using short, choppy steps or dances where women rather than men chose partners, a usage that continues today in many Indian communities in Oklahoma. The Squaw Dance, part of the Diné's Enemyway ceremony, is the accepted name and carries no pejorative connotations. Contradictorily, "squaw" could also mean an ugly prostitute regardless of race or heritage, a use common among soldiers during World War II.[26]

The 1940s squaw was also a tenacious representational trope in the English-speaking world and in some Indian communities. Like the prototypical images of queens, princesses, whores, witches, and God-fearing women, squaws were easily recognizable in entertainment venues. The squaw stereotype was visualized sartorially by rags, dirty clothing, cheap cloth, and the inappropriate use of European American attire: cast-off

and tattered items combined with torn buckskin skirts, cheap calico blouses, moccasins, and umbrellas. The old dirty woolen blanket as outerwear against the cold was an especially poignant contrast to European American fitted jackets and tailored dresses. To middle-class European Americans from the 1880s on, this improper use of clothing symbolized impropriety or backwardness.[27] To be a squaw was to be unfashionable.

With so many negative associations adhering to the word "squaw," especially in the American West, why would dress designers in the Southwest want to call a new style that they hoped would become a fashion trend a Squaw Dress? And why would American women want to buy something labeled "Squaw"? As C. Richard King concludes in his overview of the multiple and contradictory meanings of the word "squaw,"

> All of these words and phrases encode difference, twisting indigeneity and femininity to assess transgressions and alternatives: they convey inferiority, inversion, weakness, simplicity, impoverishment, mysticism, opposition, and irrelevance.[28]

Why not invoke and label the new style the "Indian Princess Dress"? The Indian princess was a well-established visual trope in American society. In contradistinction to the squaw, an Indian princess was beautiful and youthful, light-skinned, with Romanesque features and an intelligent face: a proud slender woman with sleek hair either cascading freely down her back or severely held in place by neat braids. As a heroine the princess represented freedom and fertility, sexual availability, beauty, generosity, and unselfishness. This was an image and label that would sell because of its romanticized associations. The problem for dress designers was that Indian princess attire—a long, plain buckskin dress decorated with fringe and belted at the waist, accented by plain moccasins and a draping blanket—resembled World War II slender styles, and designers wanted something new to go along with the voluminous postwar international fashions. They also wanted something uniquely American, and that meant borrowing from American Indians, using cultural blindness and nonreflexive appropriation.

THE POST–WORLD WAR II SQUAW DRESS

The quest for distinctiveness on the part of North American clothing designers does not imply that the Squaw Dress was independent of

European designers' influences, for, like all new fashions, it was related to and grew out of oppositions to existing styles. In silhouette the Squaw Dress did not follow the slender, tailored styles of the war years or stereotypic Indian princess attire—the ubiquitous Plains fringed, two-piece tanned-animal-skin dress. Instead, it rode the wave of Christian Dior's 1947 "Corolle" line, the New Look, which rapidly swept the country and aesthetically dominated the following decade. Dior intended his dresses to symbolize the armistice, the end of rationing, and a return to "normalcy," which meant women dressing to attract men rather than for work.[29] The New Look emphasized luxury, romance, fertility, and nostalgia. It also required a great deal of material; it symbolized the fashion industry's return to "unrestricted and unashamed consumerism."[30]

Both the New Look and the Squaw Dress were inspired by 1860s garments with hourglass silhouettes that accentuated the body's natural curves—fitted bodices, narrow waists, and extremely full long skirts, minus the steel hoops and corsets.[31] As evocative reinterpretations and dialectic reactions to angular garments that mimicked military uniforms, both styles had heavily gathered skirts that fell below the knee. Only a few Squaw Dresses, however, were worn with the padded hips and crinolines (stiff petticoats) that epitomized Dior's voluminous skirts; instead, the waist was frequently accented by a Navajo silver concho belt. The New Look and the Squaw Dress emphasized a full bosom and a narrow waist, signs of fertility.

Both styles sartorially attempted to emphasize idealized femininity, that is, to help young women imagine they were fairytale princesses in swirling skirts. Dior named his lines with abstract concepts such as "Love," "Tenderness," and "Happiness" to emphasize the illusion.[32] Squaw Dress designers, however, did not use such blatantly romantic labels. Instead, they focused on place (Resort Dress); region (Arizona Squaw Dress); ruralness (McMullens Country Style); regionalism (Desert Togs, Frontier Squaw Dress); time of year (Spring Squaw Dress); ethnicity (Tohono Squaw Dress, Navajo Squaw Dress); activity (Rodeo Squaw Dress, square dance costume); the type of fabric used (Patio Dress); screen-printed fabric designs (kachina dancers on the Kachina Squaw Dress, stylized "thunderbirds," Hohokam pottery designs painted by Tucson artist Ted DeGrazia, or Navajo sandpainting figures on the Rainbow Goddess Squaw Dress); or festive occasions (Fiesta Dress).[33] As with other postwar fashions, the Squaw Dress was slightly theatrical, "about

looking at people and their clothes and being looked at in turn."[34] But Squaw Dresses did not require the New Look's extreme body-contorting features (tight minicorsets and stiff crinolines), which created billowing skirts that all but stood up by themselves.[35] Instead, fabrics and decorative patterning became identifying features. As Squaw Dresses became standardized they were embellished with ribbon, rickrack, ruffles, and sequins.[36] Each skirt tier had to be trimmed to be a true Squaw Dress, a requirement more important over time as more designers tried to create individualized looks.

Although the New Look influenced the Squaw Dress, the latter's origins were firmly rooted in the multicultural Southwest. This was nothing new. Intentional cultural borrowing for attire had occurred in the region for centuries; Indian, Mexican, and European American cultures had used each other's clothing to inspire their own creations. Most Squaw Dresses were directly modeled on Navajo women's broomstick skirts: a floor-length, gathered, fluted, or pleated, tiered, trimmed calico skirt (*ła·kał*) worn with a brightly colored, V-neck, collared, cotton or silk velveteen blouse with raglan or inset sleeves (*'e' dežl*), white wrapped leggings, moccasins (*ké*), and shawl (*bah do·łizízí*) or Pendleton blanket. The attire was accessorized with silver buttons on the collar, a woven belt (*sisłičí·ígí*) overlain with a concho belt, and a turquoise and silver necklace.[37]

This emblematic Navajo style was an outgrowth of a traumatic period in Navajo history (their incarceration at Bosque Redondo with the Mescalero Apache from late 1863 to 1868) and the reorientation of their textile weaving from apparel to tapestry rugs after their return to their homeland. During these times new items of material culture and garment ideas that could be culturized were introduced. Without enough wool with which to make their traditional two-piece indigo and red blanket dresses (*biil*), Navajo women began to use calico and adapt the styles they saw on European American women at Bosque Redondo and later Fort Defiance. These 1860s daywear wrapper styles consisted of full-length skirts of calico, gingham, or muslin with fitted bodices and long or three-quarter-length sleeves.[38] From this base the Diné Navajoized garments during the 1870s and 1880s, modifying New Mexico women's and traders' wives garment construction techniques to manipulate the commercial cloths that came as government rations or in the trading posts. This culturation process brought the new dress style into balance

with Navajo values by making it beautiful, creating *hózhó*. The style was widespread by 1910.

The creative transformation of old and new was an elegant statement of cultural revitalization, high self-esteem, and ethnic identity. It demonstrated visually how the Diné could rebalance their lives by bringing the raw materials of peoples who had treated them with evil intent under the control of goodness. By the 1920s everyone in the Southwest recognized the folded pleats and gathers and tiers of the Navajo skirt and the velveteen overblouse made resplendent with turquoise and silver. Novelists like Zane Gray were describing Navajo attire by 1900, and movies depicted it, especially when directors staged a Navajo "squaw dance," as John Ford did in *Wagon Master* (1950). Magazines like *Arizona Highways*, *Sunset*, *Outwest*, and *New Mexico Magazine* published numerous photographs. Tourists saw versions on Fred Harvey Company Indian Detour guides from the 1920s through the 1960s.[39] Since the 1920s European American women living around Taos and Santa Fe had individually adapted the Navajo style as an identity marker that noted their association with the northern Southwest. We can speculate that the traditional Navajo garment was one of the most well known Indian sartorial styles by 1945.

While the Squaw Dress's highly standardized skirts were primarily interpretations of Navajo attire, there were bodice variants so customers could individualize their dress. Some women would buy multiple blouses of different styles with one skirt or have summer and winter versions with different sleeve lengths.[40] Bodices were generally made of the same material as the skirt and could be sewn together as a single dress (called a shirtwaist) but were more commonly two separate pieces. If designed as separates, the shirt was tucked into the skirt's waistband. Sleeves varied from sleeveless to full length (three-quarter was the norm) and came in several styles (puffed, fitted, or cap). Bodices were decorated with rickrack, appliqué, or painted designs on the neckline and sleeves.

Squaw Dress bodices reflected multiple transnational origins. Some versions were based on Western Apache and Tohono O'odham attire: a full, gathered, and tiered skirt worn with a loose blouse that fell to midhip and that had short, puffed, inset sleeves, a square decorated yoke with one to three bands of trim, and a collarless, rounded neckline. The full skirt, always made of the same material as the blouse, had two or three rows of trim on the bottom of each tier. Trim (rickrack,

Fig. 1. J. C. Penney's 1957 advertisement for Squaw Dresses from an unidentified newspaper illustrates two different blouse styles, one collared and with three-quarter-length sleeves, the other influenced by the *china poblana* blouse, with puffed sleeves. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society, Marcie Sutland Fashion Archives, File 24 "1950s Squaw Dresses." Photographed by Angelina R. Jones.

bias tape, middy braid, ruffles, or thin ribbon) tended to be a dark color that contrasted well with a small floral print. This style was an interpretation of the 1880s Victorian attire (worn without bustles) called a Mother Hubbard seen on reservations or in neighboring communities. The Indian versions were made of plain or printed calico or gingham and were called Camp Dresses.[41]

Like the Navajo, many other southwestern Indian women culturized settler workdresses. By 1900 Tohono O'odham women wore their version when they came into Tucson to shop, work, or trade their pottery.

The Yavapai, Hualapai, Havasupai, Akimel O'odham, Pee-Pee, Southern Paiute bands, Chemehuevi, Quechan, Mohave, and Cocopa also adopted the basic style. Each group had a distinctive feature that symbolized ethnic identity; for example, Chiricahua Apache women added a large ruffle at the skirt bottom, while Akimel O'odham women painted basket designs on white blouses. Today these dresses are reserved for special social occasions (puberty ceremonies, rituals, and social events) as signs of indigenousness and specific cultural identity. Rarely are they used by all but the eldest women as daily attire.[42]

The Squaw Dress also had Mexican or Spanish referents in its blouse styling, a common practice in the American Southwest since the Gadsden Purchase. Designers used parts of the ubiquitous nineteenth-century Mexican *china poblana* ensemble: a skirt tiered in multiple colors (often green, white, and red to connote the Mexican flag) and accented with rich lace, metallic trims, sequins, and ribbon; an embroidered peasant Spanish blouse (typified by fullness gathered at the neck and hem and with puff sleeves); sandals; and a shawl (*rebozo*) worn over the head or shoulders. The word *china* refers to a Chinese or Asian woman or to a female servant, while *poblana* "simply describes a person from the village of Puebla."[43] Some Squaw Dress manufacturers used elements of the china poblana ensemble, for example, pairing the Spanish-style puff sleeve and ruffled blouse with the tiered Navajo-inspired skirt. The addition of rickrack to each tier of the Squaw Dress skirt may also have been influenced by the china poblana imagery.

Squaw Dresses were often accessorized with squash blossom necklaces and concho belts because they looked "Indian" and therefore supported the homogenized princess image evoked by the dress.[44] For example, Irish American Ann Hughes made a Squaw Dress specifically to wear with the silver and turquoise jewelry she had bought in Tucson, Arizona.[45] Squaw Dresses were designed with the assumption that Navajo and Pueblo silver and turquoise jewelry would be worn; dress colors (blue, black, and pink) were often chosen to match or complement the gem. Commercial Squaw Dresses also came in desert colors (earthy browns and tans), which played off the stereotype that American Indians were in touch with nature. But since many Squaw Dresses were handmade (using commercial patterns), all colors of the rainbow could be seen any day of the week on streets in Phoenix, Tucson, and Albuquerque in the late 1940s and in California, Texas, and New York as well as in Montana on the Fort Belknap Reservation or in Wyoming at powwows in the mid-1950s.

We unfortunately have not been able to identify the first American designer to use the term "Squaw Dress," but by 1953 there were national advertisements and articles on the style. From records at the Arizona Historical Society we know that designers in Arizona such as Cele Peterson and Dolores Barceló Gonzales were selling Squaw Dresses by 1948. Given the negativity embedded in many uses of "squaw" as a word and image by 1946, it seems audacious to label the Navajo–Western Apache/Tohono O'odham–Mexico–inspired attire a Squaw Dress. However, producers avoided what should have been a marketing disaster by selectively emphasizing the positive stereotypes of the Indian princess and turned her into a princess of the American West, now dressed in full skirts. They purposely ignored the constellation of embedded pejorative meanings in the label. Designers, retailers, and customers referenced the older Algonquian meaning of a wife, women of dignity, grace, poise, and style. There were no overt associations with the downtrodden drudge for European American customers and the Indian women from western reservations who wore Squaw Dresses in the 1950s and nostalgically remember them today.[46] The Squaw Dress, however, was designed to appeal to white, middle-class women moving into the suburbs.

The Squaw Dress name was chosen as a way of representing what designers and wearers perceived as their participation in the culture of Indians in the Southwest.[47] This claim would lead users to argue that "Squaw Dress" was a stylistic label that recognized Native American contributions to American fashion as well as a label that brought immediate recognition to place—the American West with its romanticized cowboys and Indians—and distinguished it from European fashions.[48] This is a weak rationalization that European Americans have used when asserting why "squaw" is used to designate landscape features, calling a sports team Warriors or Redskins, or naming a beer after a famous Native leader and is designed to distance the originator from accusations of cultural insensitivity. The same can be said when cars are branded Cherokee or Navajo or Santa Fe. Brand names such as these are monikers meant to evoke images that have to do with the wilderness, strong people, and special places.

The label "Squaw Dress" is no different. The adjective "squaw" regained its sartorial association, but not as a designation for Indian

women's attire. Rather, it now designated American dress with Indian-inspired attire in the world of European American fashion. "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 or for special occasions, but they knew the stereotyped American Indian of the movies, especially cowboy westerns.[49]

The marketing of the Squaw Dress in the late 1940s and 1950s is a contradiction as an adumbration of previous stereotypes. Retailers could not rely on the vanishing, stoic Indian image of fifty years earlier but needed an image of a vibrant young to middle-aged woman adorned in dresses that swirled with every movement. But there were still image problems, since Squaw Dress was already used for two dress types. First, Squaw Dress was a common concept in captivity narratives and dime novels; it referred to the attire that Indian women wore, regardless of tribe, as opposed to European American attire.[50] It was also used in contradistinction to the forced changes in personal appearance and attire that accompanied boarding school attendance from the 1870s through the 1940s. At the boarding schools children's appearance was purposefully changed in an effort to distance them from Native cultures and to turn them into homogenized, assimilated Americans. Their Native attire was placed in storage, and students were given (or made) standardized European American attire. As K. Tsianina Lomawaima and David Adams note, there was considerable variability in the quality of clothing among the schools; off-reservation schools had better quality, while on-reservation school clothing was often tattered rags. The clothing styles in off-reservation schools changed over time but for women always included cotton or wool dresses in periodized European American attire that was fashionable in small towns. One of the markers of assimilation was that the Indian girls and young women began comparing their attire to that of European American girls. By the 1890s they were allowed to adorn their school dresses with ruffles, braid, rickrack, and a bit of lace.[51]

Second, to say someone wore a Squaw Dress—a comfortable, cotton housedress—was to say she was unfashionable. Alice Marriott noted this in *The Ten Grandmothers*. One of her vignette stories, "Back to the Blanket" (1928), describes an educated Kiowa woman, Leah, who upon returning home from an eastern boarding school wore fashionable, "civ-

ilized" attire: girdle, brassiere, bloomers, slip, blouse, skirt, jacket, gloves, and hat with a veil. When she found that the clothes were extremely hot and unsuitable for housework at home, she borrowed one of her sister's cotton dresses. When missionaries arrived to check on Leah and hire her as a church interpreter, one was horrified to see Leah wearing a "squaw dress." The cotton housedress did not change seasonally or annually according to European American fashion cycles and in Oklahoma had become a symbol of a "civilized" Indian repudiating education and returning to traditions.[52] Squaw Dress designers in 1947 had to disassociate these connotations of unfashionableness as well as the well-known images from Hollywood westerns from potential customers' minds and substitute images of lovely young Native women in unique, special attire. That they could do this had to do with the flexibility of fashion's naming systems.

Labeling in fashion is an important part of the process of commodity adoption and acceptance. It marks group acknowledgment of the respectability and appropriateness of a style. Names often have to do with desires or activities. Fashion ideas borrowed from marginalized groups or non-Western cultures are spoken of as "esoteric" cultural discoveries. To become mainstream fashion the design idea must become respectable or domesticated, that is, the original indigenous source and the extremes of high fashion (i.e., wildness) must be brought under control. Squaw lent itself to this process because one of its multiple denotations, a wife who worked in the private, domestic sphere, lent itself to fashion domestication. The Squaw Dress moniker was a successful ploy to associate "sophisticated Indian housewives" and their special occasion attire with middle-class European American housewives' desire to look cool and beautiful even while doing housework. "Squaw" in this sense was a reclaiming of the original Algonquian use of the word and its extension to fashion.

QUESTIONING THE NAME "SQUAW DRESS"

We have found little public contestation of the dress style's name but located numerous advertisements, photographs, and articles on the Squaw Dress, its fashionability, and its success between 1948 and 1958 as well as a more localized and specialized use after this time. The 1958 fashion season marked a basic fashion silhouette change, one that rendered the

Squaw Dress old-fashioned except in the world of square dances and rodeos, where it remained the predominant dress style for the next fifty years. A ten-year run for a named dress style is long for a fashion trend and speaks to the dress's basic adaptability as well as to the ability of designers to create named subtypes.

But a few documents exist that indicate that "squaw" was not as innocuous a term as retailers assumed. People did disapprove of the name, and the fact that so many alternate labels appeared in the 1950s may be seen as an indication that some designers felt uncomfortable using the name.[53] Some saw it as a disingenuous and insulting marketing ploy. Anthropologist and fashion designer Adelaide Law noted at the time: "The term 'squaw dress' is of course a misnomer. Some dress firm dressed it up for the tourist trade. . . . How the Indians hate the term!"[54]

Denver Art Museum curator Frederic H. Douglas also disliked and spoke out against the term. Since 1947 Douglas had taken fifty-three heirloom North American Indian women's dresses and presented them as a high fashion show in order to eliminate cultural stereotyping and racial prejudice by dramatically pointing out artistic similarities between peoples. The living exhibit program was shown across the United States over 120 times between 1947 and 1956. During his presentation Douglas encoded creative meanings for the Native attire as expressive cultural products and thereby made them accessible to the North American fashion industry as aesthetic commodities and essential parts of women's contemporary culture. By the early 1950s Douglas was often commenting on the Squaw Dress in the question-and-answer period of his program. While he applauded the use of Indian attire in European American women's fashion, he thought "squaw" showed disrespect and should not be used to label any dress style. In his prologue to his program he stated quite emphatically that one of the worst myths and stereotypes in America was that Indian women were slaves to men and haggard "squaws." He hoped his presentation would show that the word should no longer be used and the image eliminated.[55]

Designers and consumers ignored these concerns. Their argument was that "squaw" when used to name a dress style was appropriate because it acknowledged cultural borrowing in attire; they were simply modernizing what Indians wore after borrowing from their European American ancestors. The process of borrowing and reborrowing with culturation in each step was important, but the process's symmetry supported com-

monly held ideas about white superiority. Hence the name contained a layer of unintentional racism. It also contained the long-held view that American Indians were capable of advancement and assimilation into European American society. Designers were acknowledging that Indians had a great deal to offer America in the way of wearable art and fashion ideas.

In fact, it was already happening. Lloyd Kiva New, a Cherokee artist and the first Native American fashion designer, founded the Lloyd Kiva Art Studios and Arizona Craftsmen Center in Scottsdale in 1946 after returning from military service in World War II. His goal was to transform traditional Indian cultural designs, objects, and materials into contemporary fashion as a way to share the richness of Indians' pasts. He specialized in silk-screened and hand-painted fabric, leather, clothing, and purses (adaptations of Diné medicine men's pouches), gaining a national and international reputation. Kiva New was a member of the Arizona Fashion Council, and his fashions were celebrated and appeared in magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar*, *Town and Country*, the *New Yorker*, the *Saturday Evening Post*, and *Life*. While Kiva New used tribal names to describe colors and would call a blouse Hohokam, a tunic top Hopi, or a skirt Navajo, he did not use the term "squaw" for any of his fashionable attire. It was too unspecific and homogenizing; New felt each culture should be recognized for its unique artistic inspiration. In addition, the Squaw Dress was too common in Arizona, and he wanted his work to be distinctive. He called his one-of-a-kind attire by names like the Indian Beadwork Dress, the Cherokee Dress, and the Seminole Skirt. Sometimes he used the fabric's name, for example, the Navajo Ponies Shirt painted by Van Tsinhnahjinnie or the Pima Broadcloth Dress. His 1953 version of the Squaw Dress was called the New Trail. Customers called his apparel a Kiva Dress.[56]

By 1960 Squaw Dresses had ceased being a national fashion but remained popular regional attire as square dance dresses and rodeo attire. As square dance attire the dress, with its knee-length skirt and multiple crinolines, became associated with the midwestern and western United States and its rural environments. "In the early '60s, there was the squaw dress craze. Everybody had a squaw dress. I had three. We sold the metallic rickrack you needed to make these dresses. . . . It's what made my parents into successful businesspeople. Squaw dresses and rickrack were the foundation of our company," stated Diane Rust, current owner of Diane

Ribbons and Notions in Phoenix in 2005.[57] In response to the interviewer's comment Rust continued: "But you couldn't call them squaw dresses today. Right. Back then, you didn't get in trouble for saying that." What had happened to change the word "squaw" between 1960 and 2005?

FIGHTING THE WORD "SQUAW": ELIMINATING POSITIVE AND NEUTRAL DENOTATIONS

What happened was a concerted Native activist effort to eradicate the word "squaw." Vocal outcry against any use of "squaw" began after the Squaw Dress style declined. The initiative gained momentum in the 1990s as Indian activists fought the use of derogatory terms while claiming self-determination and retribution for actions against Indian individuals and nations. "Squaw" was targeted because of its use to name landscape features. In part, the linguistic attacks were based on new arguments about the origin of the word "squaw" and what the word meant to colonizers as well as the tribes that acquired the term through interaction with English, French, and European American explorers and settlers. Their reductionist argument focused exclusively on the derogatory racist frontier uses from the nineteenth century.[58]

Activists use special rhetorical and argumentative styles to right a name. In the process activists question and rewrite a word's standard linguistic history by inserting Native perspectives on the term. Some went further and posited that all non-Algonquian-speaking Natives interpreted "squaw" as a totally derogatory term. This argument was based on a universalizing assumption that all Indians spoke pidgin English or French and shared the same meaning for loanwords regardless of culture or time period. This would mean that "squaw" is one of the few English loanwords that did not change in over three hundred years. Others argued that "squaw" referred to "vagina" and had always been used in a sexist manner, even by Indians: "French trappers borrowed the Mohawk word for female genitals, *ge-squaw*, to refer to Native women and their sexuality."[59] The earliest published proposition of this claim appears to be literary critic Thomas E. Sanders's (Cherokee) and high school teacher Walter W. Peek's (Narragansett-Wampanoag) anthology *Literature of the American Indian* (1973): squaw "is probably a French corruption of the Iroquois word *otsiskwa* [also spelled *ojiskwa*] meaning 'female sexual parts.'"[60] Unfortunately, we found no instances in print

documenting which cultures acquired this definition of "squaw." If the corrupted loanword did travel via pidgin French to other Indian languages and then into English, a northern route reflecting trade patterns must be posited. Such linguistic patterns were posited on television, on the Internet, and in various mass media outlets by powerful activists, resulting in an active debate about "squaw" and the appropriateness of its use to name places that gained national attention in the 1990s and is still being fought in 2008.

Activists needed dynamic rhetorical strategies to eradicate "squaw." They used the tools of mass media pundits; they essentialized, sensationalized, and repeatedly ignored contradictory information. First, they said "squaw" had only one denotative meaning and one horribly insulting sexist and racist connotation. Second, they reduced European American culture to an evil, static, homogeneous mass and depicted all Indian cultures as generic victims of colonialism. They built passionate arguments on insurmountable dichotomies. The only acceptable outcome was for all peoples—Native Americans and European Americans—to eliminate the word and never utter it again.[61]

We do not mean to imply that such techniques are good or bad; it is how the system of public debate and popular value making works in contemporary American society. Many Native American activists are superb at working within this system, and even if they have not yet righted the more than nine hundred landscape features with the name "Squaw," they have made progress on a number of fronts. As C. Richard King has noted, "The struggles over squaw directed attention to the colonial legacies and postcolonial predicaments of naming, representation, and language in the contemporary United States."[62] Activists have changed the debate and, except for Algonquian speakers fighting for language preservation and respect for their original sense of squaw and members of Native Nations like the Cherokee and Navajo who have established and respected Squaw Dances, their interpretation of "squaw" is predominant today.[63]

While no activists mentioned the Squaw Dress in their fight to the best of our knowledge, the Squaw Dress was affected by the initiative. It is no coincidence that the label "Squaw Dress" was not resurrected when the style was repeatedly rejuvenated. In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s fashion writers noted the revival of American Indian–inspired fashion. Newspaper ads and mail order catalogs pictured ponchos and coats

Fig. 2. Urban cowgirl advertisement from an unidentified magazine, illustrating the silhouette of the 1950s Squaw Dress marketed as "cowgirl chic" or "western wear" in the 1990s. Courtesy of the Arizona Historical Society, Marcie Sutland Fashion Archives, File 40 "Western Rodeo Pics." Photographed by Angelina R. Jones.

based on Navajo and Pendleton blankets, jackets hand-painted or stenciled with Navajo Holy People, tipis, and Plains Indians on horseback, all reinterpretations of Lloyd Kiva New's attire and techniques. As part of these nostalgic resurgences Squaw Dress variants resurfaced as "western wear." For example, in 1978 Ralph Lauren developed a line of sportswear that remained fashionable for over twenty years. Labeled "cowgirl chic" by designer Cathy Smith, who created the attire for *Dances with Wolves* (1990), it relied on Plains garments (leather, fringe, beads) combined with cowboy, military, or prairie sartorial symbols. Vests, jeans, long leather skirts, and beaded jackets were accessorized with concho belts and turquoise jewelry. Denim work shirts were paired with broomstick skirts. Lauren's Squaw Dress reinterpretation was a flounced "prairie" skirt (a gathered waist with a wide ruffle at the hem) worn with a fringed leather jacket, boots, and chambray blouse, accented with silver and turquoise jewelry. Copied by many designers, "cowboy couture" (including

velvet Navajo-style blouses and skirts) is still readily available.[64] In 2005 turquoise and tiered skirts were again the height of American streetwear, this time created and reintroduced by a wealth of established European American designers and new Native American fashion designers.

The most popular Squaw Dress resurrection is called the Santa Fe style and is based on the version called Fiesta wear, with a full broomstick-style tiered skirt minus the crinolines. The waist is still emphasized with a concho belt, but the blouses are looser and often made in a jersey knit of a solid color. Despite the silhouette updating, the sartorial message of a "Squaw Dress" and a "Santa Fe–style" dress is the same—a romantic conceptualization of an independent western woman. However, "Santa Fe" does not conjure the 1950s stereotype of femininity as a good wife and mother but rather a romanticized place that imparts the allure of the place on the wearer. Santa Fe is perceived as culturally the quintessential romantic Southwest of the imagination.

The 1950s Squaw Dress became retro-fashion in the 1990s and 2000s. A notice in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on July 20, 1994, stated that the 1950s creations were popular at Morning State Vintage Clothing. Teenage girls wore them to graduation parties; the favorite color was turquoise. In 2008 the *New York Times* displayed a contemporary Squaw Dress at a well-known boutique.[65] A quick Internet search uncovered hundreds of vintage dresses for sale as well as sites offering versions as costumes. While women still buy and wear Squaw Dresses, there is now concern over the name. For example, a woman who calls herself Iota published on her blogsite:

> I have bought a squaw dress. I'm not sure if I should call it a squaw dress. I haven't worked out the pc issues and vocabulary relating to Native Americans, except that I know I'm meant to call a buffalo a bison. So maybe I shouldn't say squaw dress, but I don't know what else to call it. It's a shift dress, black with big, striking, blue and purple flowers, and tassels round the bottom.[66]

The same conundrum affects designers. A French designer, "Miss Yoko," called one of her creations a Squaw Dress:

> Some peoples told me that I can't use the word "squaw" because it is offensive. So I made some research about that and I discover something most of the French people don't know. Squaw is now com-

pletely incorrect. I'm sorry if I have make an offense to someone, but when I was young I read a lot of books about Native American, watched a lot of movies, and for me squaw only mean woman. Someone can tell me what word I have to use to say woman in a Native American way?[67]

CONCLUSION

In this article we have documented the history and multiple connotations and denotations of the word "squaw" and the multicultural origins of the Squaw Dress in Navajo, Western Apache, and Tohono O'odham post-1880s traditional wear and Mexican special occasion attire. We have also recorded how selective borrowing created an easily recognized style whose renamed offshoots (Fiesta wear, square dance dresses, and Santa Fe style) can still be seen in 2008. The 1940s–1950s naming of the dress style was possible because of the multiple meanings of the word "squaw," especially "wife" and "woman," and a desire by designers to produce a name that would capture potential customers' attention, distinguish their work from competitors' styles, sell well, and make money. That designers chose a problematic word is obvious. We have posited how the name has been righted as an unanticipated consequence of Native American activists' quest to eliminate "Squaw" as a landscape name.

There are no legal ways to eliminate the word "squaw." Free speech is guaranteed in the U.S. Constitution. It is the court of public opinion that rules the use of the word and normal patterns of language alteration. It appears that the quiet and unnoticed commercial and sartorial as well as common language elimination of "squaw" in English has been much more successful than the concerted efforts to eliminate the adjective as the designation of a geographical feature.

In capitalist societies manufacturers and advertisers create images and labels that become indelibly associated with their products. This visual imagery aims to make the commodity more appealing to consumers, while the label is designed to elicit established associations and be easily remembered. The Squaw Dress as a national fashion reflected commonly held ideas about both American Indian and European American women and their proper normative roles following World War II. The contemporary version has been disassociated from American Indian women because of the essentialized associations now affixed to "squaw"; it has

been replaced with romanticized images of Santa Fe as a unique place and a unique subcultural experience. It has been Anglicized and appropriated as "western wear."

In the process of righting the name "squaw," something important has been lost—the origin of the attire and the recognition of American Indian women's sartorial creativity and beauty. The righting of a questionable word has meant that consumers no longer know of the dress's Native origins; the righting of names ironically completed the process of appropriation that the righting of names is meant to fight. After this process was completed consumers started to see the Squaw Dress as a costume rather than as a dress any woman who loved beauty and style would wear every day.

NOTES

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1. Peter Kulchyski, "What Is Native Studies," in *Expressions in Canadian Native Studies*, ed. Ron F. Laliberte et al. (Saskatoon: University of Saskatchewan Extension Press, 2000), 13–14.

2. Nancy J. Parezo, "Stereotypes: Persistent Cultural Blindness," *Red Ink* 9, nos. 1–2, and 10, no. 1 (2001): 41–55.

3. M. Elise Marubbio, *Killing the Indian Maiden: Images of Native American Women in Film* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2006), 92.

4. For "broomstick" pleated skirts, Navajo women bunched the waistband around a broomstick and tied the skirt to the stick tightly with string. The resulting accordion-style pleats created a unique controlled wrinkle. The broomstick skirt was also referred to as an Apache skirt.

5. We use the word *squaw* in Squaw Dress as a formal designation for a named 1940s–1950s dress type.

6. Alexander F. Chamberlain, s.v. "squaw," in *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, ed. Frederick Webb Hodge, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 30 (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1907), 629–30; Rayna Green, *Women in American Indian Society* (New York: Chelsea House, 1992),

14. Dictionary sources searched for "squaw" include *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 4th ed. (New York: Bartelby Co., 2000), http://www.bartleby.com/61/36/S0683600.html; *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, 1913 ed. (G. & C. Merriam Co.), 1397, http://machaut.uchicago.edu/cgi-bin/WEBSTER; *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/squaw; *Webster's Revised Unabridged Dictionary*, *Dictionary.com*, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/squaw; *Dictionary.com Unabridged*, http://dictionary.reference.com/browse/squaw; Frederick E. Hoxie, s.v. "squaw," in *Encyclopedia of North American Indians*, ed. Frederick E. Hoxie (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1996), 607.

7. Ives Goddard, "The English Word 'Squaw.'" Report to the Arizona Board of Geographical and Historic Names, 1996, "Since the Word Squaw Continues to Be of Interest," *News from Indian Country*, April 15, 1997, 19A.

8. Wikipedia, s.v. "*squaw*," http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Squaw, June 15, 2008.

9. Charles L. Cutler, *O Brave New Words! Native American Loanwords in Current English* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 34–35. See also Ramon F. Adams, *Western Words: A Dictionary of the American West*, rev. ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968).

10. *Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd ed., 1989, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/squaw, June 15, 2008.

11. George Wharton James, *Indian Blankets and Their Makers* (Chicago: A. C. McClure Co., 1920). Chapter 6, which describes women's woven attire, is called "Navaho and Pueblo Squaw Dresses."

12. Charlotte Mankey Calasibetta, *Fairchild's Dictionary of Fashion* (New York: Fairchild Publications, 1988).

13. Chamberlain, s.v. "squaw," 629–30. Cutler lists fifteen plant names that were in common use by 1900, including squawberry, squaw vine, squawroot, squaw bush, squaw carpet, squaw currant, squaw corn, and squaw flower (*O Brave New Words!* 202–3).

14. C. Richard King, s.v. "Squaw, Debates over Place Names," in *Encyclopedia of American Indian History*, ed. Bruce E. Johansen and Barry M. Pritzker (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2008), 1:165.

15. Will Roscoe, *Changing Ones: Third and Fourth Genders in Native North America* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998).

16. David D. Smiths, "'Squaw Men,' 'Half-Breeds,' and 'Amalgamators': Late Nineteenth-Century Anglo-American Attitudes toward Indian-White Race Mixing," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 15, no. 3 (1991): 29–61; Daryl Jones, *The Dime Novel Western* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1978); Louise K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism, 1790–1890* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1975).

17. Georges-Louis Leclerc, comte de Buffon, eighteenth-century naturalist,

quoted in Raymond W. Stedman, *Shadows of the Indian: Stereotypes in American Culture* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982), 43. These assumptions and conclusions were based on a Western model that devalued domestic labor and gave lower social status to women. These stereotypes are unfortunately still alive.

18. C. Richard King, "De/Scribing Squ*w: Indigenous Women and Imperial Idioms in the United States," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 27, no. 2 (2003): 1–16, quote on 4.

19. "Crozing" and "chiming" were originally casket-making terms denoting the groove at the ends of the staves of a barrel that receive the edge of the head; they were transferred to rifle making in the 1850s. They refer to making the hollow gun barrel and ensuring that it had the right sound or chime (*Oxford English Dictionary*, http://dictionary.oed.com/cgi/entry/croze).

20. Albert L. Hurtado, *Indian Survival on the California Frontier* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988), 180.

21. Robert F. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians* (Santa Barbara, CA: Peregrine Smith, 1974), 280.

22. By 1900 a few western Indians were using the term when speaking to European Americans, having picked it up from American slang (Chamberlain, "Squaw," 629–30). See also William Bright, *The Sociolinguistics of the "S"-Word: "Squaw" in American Placenames*, http://www.ncidc.org/bright/Squaw_revised.doc.

23. Heizer, *The Destruction of California Indians*, 280.

24. Anonymous, "Bitten Squaw," *Time*, January 28, 1929, http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,723594,00.html.

25. This point has been much discussed. See James Axtell, *After Columbus: Essays in the Ethnohistory of Colonial North America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

26. King, "Squaw, Debates," 163.

27. Rayna Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Images of Indian Women in American Cultures," *Massachusetts Review* 16 (1975): 698–714.

28. King, "De/Scribing Squ*w," 4.

29. Christian Dior, *Christian Dior* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1957), 39–40. While Dior said his clothing never used ethnic elements because he felt it made it look like a costume, he named one of his dresses the "Arrow."

30. Maureen Turim, "Designing Women: The Emergence of the New Sweetheart Line," in *Fabrications: Costume and the Female Body*, ed. Jane Gaines and Charlotte Herzog (New York: Routledge, 1990), 214. *Time* and *Life* reported that a million dresses were sold within weeks of its introduction. See Claudia B. Kidwell and Margaret C. Christman, *Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), 195.

31. The crinoline petticoat was bell-like, made of fine steel hoops and cotton tapes. In the late 1850s it replaced the layers of underpetticoats that had been worn to support the full skirt fashionable at the time.

32. Dior, *Christian Dior*, 46.

33. Patio cloth is a type of cotton cloth.

34. Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 17.

35. The New Look emphasized the body's curves: rounded slouching shoulders produced by either a dolman or a raglan sleeve; prominent uplifted bustline set in a tight bodice; accentuated, close-fitted, and gathered waist; and slightly padded hips. The dresses were worn with nylon stockings and high-heeled shoes.

36. Rickrack is a flat braid with a zigzag form that was placed in horizontal bands on the skirt.

37. Robert Shufeldt reported that Navajo women living in the area of Fort Wingate were wearing calico clothing by 1877 ("The Evolution of House-Building among the Navajo Indians," in *Proceedings of the United States National Museums for 1892* 15 [Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1893], 279–82). The style spread from east to west and south to north and was used by all women as everyday and special occasion wear by 1910 (Franciscan Fathers, *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language* [St. Michaels, AZ: Privately printed, 1910], 245–46).

38. Clyde Kluckhohn, W. W. Hill, and Lucy Wales Kluckhohn, *Navaho Material Culture* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), 244–47.

39. The company uniform was comfortable, sturdy, and fashionable, and it looked regionally Indian. Designed by guide Winifred Schuler, the attire consisted of a Navajo velvet blouse that had been made popular as European American attire by artist Alice Corbin Henderson, a whipcord skirt, a soft-brimmed hat decorated with a silver thunderbird pin, tan stockings, and walking shoes or boots. The ensemble was completed by a silver squash blossom necklace, silver hoop earrings, silver and turquoise bracelets, and a concho belt. It served as one of the identifying symbols for Fred Harvey Company advertisements. In the 1950s and 1960s Fred Harvey Company waitresses at the Grand Canyon wore Squaw Dresses (Dorothy Hunt, interview, 1994, Albright Training Center, Grand Canyon, Arizona, GRCA 63389, http://archive.li.suu.edu/voices/ archive/transcripts/hunttranscript.htm).

40. Angelina Jones, interview with Elizabeth Confer about Dolores' Dress Shop in Tucson, October 2006. A few women selected blouse trends in European haute couture, such as tightly fitted bodices with cap sleeves, three-quarter-length sleeves, or sweetheart necklines for a peasant look.

41. The 1880s Mother Hubbard was a one-piece, A-line, full-length ladies' dress worn by pregnant women or by working-class rural ladies. It had a gathered yoke, long sleeves, and a ruffled lower tier. It was often belted. Indians used a two-piece ensemble.

42. Josephine Paterek, *Encyclopedia of American Indian Costume* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1994), 154.

43. Kimberly Randall, "The Traveler's Eye: Chinas Poblanas and European-Inspired Costume in Postcolonial Mexico," in *The Latin American Fashion Reader*, ed. Regina A. Root (New York: Berg, 2005), 53.

44. While footwear was varied, many women wore moccasins referred to as "squaw" boots, high heels, thong sandals, espadrilles, or huaraches.

45. Arizona Historical Society catalog card no. 01.20.1A, B.

46. Nancy J. Parezo, informal discussions with about fifty Native American women over age fifty between 1995 and 2008.

47. During an interview with Angelina R. Jones in October 2006, Flora Kornmuller stated that she wore her Squaw Dress to participate in rodeo festivities.

48. Cele Peterson, a Tucson fashion designer and business owner, told Angelina R. Jones in an interview in October 2006 that she was first inspired to design a Squaw Dress when she did a fashion show entitled "Fashions of the Southwest." She said, "You cannot do fashions of the Southwest without considering what did these women on reservations or women Indians wear."

49. The use of "squaw" to market products made by or associated with Indian women was not unprecedented. In the early twentieth century it was coupled with tourist art and souvenirs. For example, Iroquois women who produced and sold embroidered whimseys at Niagara Falls in 1904 were referred to as "squaw traders" and described as nut-brown maids and mothers accompanied by a papoose in a cradleboard leaning against a tree. Hypothesized as the last of their race, these women were said to stolidly gaze at their pale-faced visitors, thereby heightening the romance of the encounter and sale (Peter A. Porter, *Niagara: An Aboriginal Center of Trade* [privately printed, 1906]).

50. See Kathryn Zabelle Derounian-Stodola, ed., *Women's Indian Captivity Narratives* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1998). Squaw dress is also used by Native and non-Native fiction writers.

51. K. Tsianina Lomawaima, "Domesticity in the Federal Indian Schools: The Power of Authority over Mind and Body," *American Ethnologist* 20, no. 2 (1993): 227–40; David Wallace Adams, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience, 1876–1928* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1995), 103–8. One of the reasons that boarding school officials did not want children to return home for summer or holiday vacations was the fear that they might "return to the blanket," that is, don their Native attire. Native attire, however, was used in the schools for concerts and theatrical productions, that is, it was transformed into costume.

52. Alice Marriott, *The Ten Grandmothers* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1945), 246.

53. Designers who wanted to ride the style's wave of success but show their attire was distinctive made name changes.

54. Law quoted in Edith C. Donaldson, "Influence of the Costume of Navajo Women on Modern Southwest Fashions," master's thesis, Colorado State University, 1957, 137–38.

55. Nancy J. Parezo, "The Indian Fashion Show," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, ed. Ruth Phillips and Christopher Steiner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 243–63.

56. Lloyd Kiva New, Native American Artist Files, Resource Center, Heard Museum, Phoenix.

57. Robert L. Pela, "Crafter Thought. So I'd Like to Know Where You Got the Notion," *Phoenix New Times*, June 23, 2005, http://www.phoenixnewtimes.com/2005-06-23/culture/crafter-thought/. Rust is referring to the Squaw Dress as square dance attire, which flourished in the 1960s and 1970s.

58. Such as "squat, angular, pig-eyed, ragged, wretched, and insect haunted" (James W. Steele, *Frontier Army Sketches* [Chicago: Jansen McClurg, 1883], 94).

59. King, "Squaw, Debates," 163.

60. Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek, eds., section introduction, in *Literature of the American Indian* (Beverly Hills, CA: Glencoe Press, 1973), 184; see also Suzan Harjo, Oprah Winfrey television show interview, "Racism in 1992: Native America" (1992); Ives Goddard, "The True History of the Word Squaw," *News from Indian Country,* April 1997, 19A.

61. Neutral usages of the word "squaw" are being eliminated in order to not inadvertently offend Native Americans. The American Ornithologists' Union has changed the official American name of the duck *Clangula hyemalis* from "oldsquaw" to the British designation "long-tailed duck" (42nd supplement to the American Ornithologists' Union, *Check-List of North American Birds*, *Auk* 117 (2000): 847–58).

62. King, "De/Scribing Squ*w," 2.

63. Marge Bruchac, "A Native Woman's Perspective: Reclaiming the Word 'Squaw' in the Name of the Ancestors," November 1999 and additional comments 2001, http://www.nativeweb.org/pages/legal/squaw.html. See also Brian Swann, ed., *Algonquian Spirit: Contemporary Translations of the Algonquian Literatures of North America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Jim Fay, "Commentary on the 'Squaw' Controversy," 2002, http://www.prairienet.org/prairienations/comssquaw.htm.

64. Andrea C. Gillespie, "Sign and Signifier in Santa Fe: The History of a Clothing Style," Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Mexico, 1995, 119.

65. Karen Liberatore, "Gunny Sax and 'Squaw' Dresses," *San Francisco*

Chronicle, July 20, 1994; Cintra Wilson, "Little Hedge Fund on the Prairie," *New York Times*, April 17, 2008, E4.

66. Iota, "Burger Bash," http://blogiota.blogspot.com/search?q=Squaw.

67. Yoko, "About the word 'squaw' that I use for my Native American outfit," http://blog.miss-yoko-fashion.com/?q=squaw.

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