UCLA
American Indian Culture and Research Journal

Title
Change in Ojibwa (Chippewa) Dress, 1820–1980

Permalink
https://escholarship.org/uc/item/2jr0v8t4

Journal
American Indian Culture and Research Journal , 12(4)

ISSN
0161-6463

Author
Jasper, Cynthia R.

Publication Date
1988-09-01

DOI
10.17953

Copyright Information
This work is made available under the terms of a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial License, availalbe at https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0/

Peer reviewed

eScholarship.org Powered by the California Digital Library
University of California

AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURE AND RESEARCH JOURNAL 12:4 (1988) 17-37

Change In Ojibwa (Chippewa) Dress, 1820–1980

CYNTHIA R. JASPER

The Ojibwa have a tradition of unique forms of dress[1] which have served as a medium of communication and as an expression of cultural values.[2] How has this dress changed over the years, and when did change occur? The goal of this study was to identify changes in Ojibwa dress[3] occurring within seven time periods encompassing the years 1820-1980. It focused on the modal type of dress worn by the Ojibwa, that is, the garments which are most often worn together by a majority of people within a particular time period.

Historical Background and Indigenous Ojibwa Dress

Little, if any, written information exists concerning the Ojibwa before 1640, although the societal make-up and some information about dress can be partially reconstructed from early written accounts of missionaries and traders, archaeological evidence, and oral traditions. In 1640, French missionaries reported that Ojibwa villages were located around the waterway that connects Lake Superior and Lake Huron—Sault Ste. Marie.[4] Because the region was sparsely populated, it could support the Ojibwas' hunting and gathering society. Beginning in the 1690s, some Ojibwa moved out from the Sault Ste. Marie area and by the onset of the nineteenth century could be distinguished as separate cultural groups.[5] Hickerson classified the Ojibwa into four main

Cynthia R. Jasper is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Environment, Textiles and Design at the University of Wisconsin, Madison.

groups: the Bungee or Plains Ojibwa of Manitoba and Saskatchewan, the Saulteur or northern Ojibwa of the Laurentian upland region north of the Great Lakes, the Southeastern Ojibwa of Ontario and the lower peninsula of Michigan, and the Southwestern Ojibwa of northern Wisconsin and Minnesota.[6] This discussion addresses the last of these groups.

In order to identify what changes in Ojibwa dress occurred, knowledge of the indigenous ensemble is essential. The dress that was worn by Ojibwa men before contact with Europeans has been documented as a breechcloth, leggings, moccasins, and a buckskin robe (Figure 1). The man's headwear consisted of a turban, which was made from skins of otter, muskrat or rabbit. In the summer it was worn without the crown of the hat. The roach, a headdress made of dyed animal hair that stands upright on the head, is also considered traditional headwear of the Ojibwa man. The woman's attire included a dress with straps over the shoulders and a belt around the waist. It was made of two deerskins and was complemented with a robe or a cape-like garment with sleeves (Figure 2). Most clothing, for both men and women, was made of tanned hides of deer, moose, or bear and from skins of rabbit, beaver, and other small animals.[7] The type and amount of jewelry varied from one area to the next within Ojibwa society. The Ojibwa of the Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin area wore several earrings; this apparently was true for both men and women. However, in other Ojibwa communities, such as Lac Court Oreilles, Wisconsin, no earrings were worn.[8]

Documentation of Change in Dress

To document change in the type of dress worn by the Ojibwa, this analysis included photographs, sketches and paintings as primary sources of data, because they provide visual accounts of early Ojibwa, and contain information unavailable through other sources. Early paintings by Peter Rindisbacher, George Catlin, Eastman Johnson and Charles Bird King have been included so that data could be obtained about the period before the camera came into use. Peter Rindisbacher, a Swiss immigrant, painted scenes of Ojibwa in Minnesota and Wisconsin. Even though aspects of his life and work are largely unknown, his participation in frontier life and his eyewitness accounts of Indian affairs

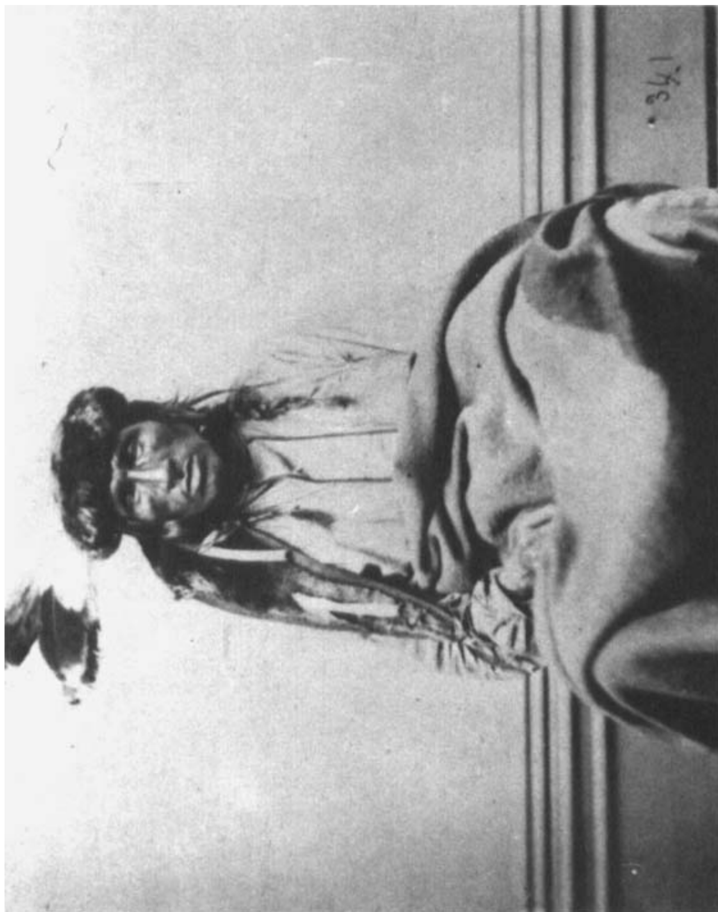

FIGURE 1. Ojibwa man's dress included a blanket, leggings, and turban. The trade blanket and shirt made of cloth are evidence of trade with Europeans. Dated 1870. Minnesota Historical Society, Photo: Illingworth.

FIGURE 2. This Ojibwa woman wears a cloth strap dress with detachable sleeves, leggings, and moccasins. Prior to contact with Europeans, this type of dress, sleeves, and leggings were constructed from leather. Dated 1910. Minnesota Historical Society.

provide information about Indian life in the 1820's. In his biography of Rindisbacher, Josephy concluded that

> The details of his sketches and paintings are often so accurate and complete that today historians and students of Indian life and of the Red River Colony and trade center scrutinize them carefully for what they reveal. In his works, for example, may be observed the exact dress and ornamentation worn by the different tribesmen. . . . [9]

In 1832, the United States Secretary of War, James Barbour, announced that the American Indian race was reaching extinction. Thus, he approved a plan for "preserving the likeness of some of the most distinguished among this most extraordinary race of people" because he believed "that this race was about to become extinct, and that a faithful resemblance of the most remarkable among them would be full of interest in after-times."[10] As a result, many painters hurried to record what they assumed would be the last generation of Indians. Artists who had this in mind include George Catlin, Eastman Johnson, and Charles Bird King. George Catlin, one of the best known painters in the 1830's, traveled to many Indian communities to record the way of life and to paint pictures of tribal members. However, many of Catlin's paintings are considered imperfect because some details were not included and backgrounds were often painted in advance, the people being sketched in later. Nevertheless, his works are regarded by many as accurate portrayals of Indian life and dress. Halpin, in an introduction to Catlin's work, concluded: "Whatever Catlin's limitations as an artist, the extensiveness of his paintings and the realism with which he depicted Indians and their culture make them invaluable historic and ethnographic documents."[11]

Eastman Johnson also painted Indians in their natural surroundings; since he was particularly interested in the Ojibwa, he did not paint a wide range of different Indian peoples as did Catlin. Johnson often stayed in Duluth, Minnesota, and painted portraits and full-figure portrayals of the Ojibwa people who lived in the surrounding area. His visual materials were done in crayon and charcoal during the 1850s, and they are considered accurate representations of Ojibwa Indian lifestyle. Hills, in a catalog of

Johnson's work, noted, "In terms of quality, these studies are among the outstanding examples of Indians in art in the nineteenth century."[12] Many details of dress were included in Johnson's sketches.

In contrast to Rindisbacher, Catlin, and Johnson, Charles Bird King lived in Washington, D.C. and either let the subjects come to him or copied originals by others. During the 1820's, King painted many Indian delegations visiting Washington to meet with government officials.[13] His paintings may not be as accurate as those of others who painted Ojibwa in their natural setting.

In addition to paintings, photographs from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin and the Minnesota Historical Society were analyzed and interpreted for this study. These photographs, taken by both professionals and amateurs, have been collected over many years. They include daguerreotypes from as early as 1857. Also included in this study were photographs by Charles Brill, who lived for a time with the Ojibwa on the Red Lake Indian Reservation in Minnesota.[14] Between 1964 and 1973, he photographed the Ojibwa in their everyday routines and at special occasions. A total of 630 images of individuals were analyzed in 352 photographs, paintings and sketches. See Table 1 for sources of visual materials.

Since visual data for the period before 1820 are scarce, the time period for this study has been limited to 1820 through 1980. The visual resources from 1820 to 1857 are paintings and sketches; for the period after 1857 the sample consists solely of photographs.

Five Ojibwa adults identified images of dress seen in the visual

TABLE 1

SOURCES OF PHOTOGRAPHS, PAINTINGS AND SKETCHES

		Number
Photographs —	Minnesota Historical Society	461
Photographs —	State Historical Society of Wisconsin	18
Photographs —	*Indian and Free* by Charles Brill	134
	Paintings and Sketches	17
	Total	630

resources. They are from either the Lac du Flambeau or the Lac Court Oreilles reservations, both of which are located in Northern Wisconsin. All five are recognized within the Ojibwa community as being knowledgeable about Ojibwa culture and history. They designated each article of dress according to ethnic association: indigenous Ojibwa, other tribal, non-Indian or universal. These terms were defined as follows:

—Indigenous Ojibwa-dress forms that developed within Ojibwa society.
—Other Tribal-dress forms that were adapted or acquired from other tribes.
—Non-Indian-dress forms that were acquired or adapted from non-Indians.
—Universal-articles of dress which were not associated with any ethnic group.

In the study, precautions were taken to minimize problems regarding the accuracy of visual materials. Only photographs and paintings that were dated, or those for which confirmation of a date could be obtained, were selected for this sample. Paintings and photographs were eliminated if the subject was only partially visible, or if a human figure was visible but items of dress were not identifiable because of poor print quality or the distance of the figure from the camera. If a subject was portrayed wearing the same clothing in more than one picture, only one picture in the series was analyzed. On the other hand, if a subject appeared more than once, but in different dress each time, each picture was analyzed.[15]

The next phase of the study was the development of an instrument to collect information about Ojibwa dress and to classify articles of dress. Information was recorded about the setting and occasion of each photograph, painting, and sketch. Items of dress were classified by sex and time period. In order to record change across small time periods, the time period 1820–1980 was divided into 20 year intervals and changes between periods were noted. Time periods were collapsed when no change appeared between them. The population consisted of 356 male subjects and 274 females.

A classification system was developed to group articles of dress that appear on a particular region of the body. This system has

been slightly modified from that used by Miller (1972)[16] and Wass (1975).[17] In this system, the unit of analysis is each specific element of dress, such as a skirt, hat, watch or an item of jewelry. Other details of dress, such as collars, zippers or a fringed yoke, were not included in the analysis. The elements of dress included were divided into categories starting with those worn on the head and ending with those worn on the feet. In order to help eliminate the possibility of overlooking a garment, the dress of each subject was systematically analyzed, starting with the head and proceeding downward. Garments were listed under one of ten categories: 1) Head Coverings; 2) Head and Face Accessories; 3) Neck Accessories; 4) Arm and Hand Accessories; 5) Upper Torso Coverings; 6) Upper Torso Accessories; 7) Lower Torso Accessories; 8) Lower Torso Coverings; 9) Torso Coverings (Complete) and Accessories; 10) Foot Coverings and Accessories.

The next step was to determine the number of garments in each modal ensemble. Wass, in a study of modal forms of dress, set boundaries for the number of items that could appear in each modal combination by first determining the average or mean number of garments worn by males and by females in each time period.[18] Wass then established boundaries by taking the mean number of articles for each period and selecting the items which appeared with the highest frequency, up to the mean number. For example, if the average number of garments worn by each subject within a time period was five, then five items would be selected as the mode for that time period. The average number of visible garments was determined for each time period for Ojibwa males and females (Table 2).

Ojibwa men wore more items of dress than women; the males tended toward more varied and visible adornment than women. After 1920, the number of items worn by both males and females decreased. The average number of items before 1920 was six for males and four for females. After 1920 the average number of articles of dress for males was 4.6, and for females, 3.5.

The next phase of the study was to implement a statistical procedure to determine which garments were most often worn together within a time period. The statistical procedure implemented is called multiple response computer analysis, and includes the use of frequencies and multi-variate cross-tabulations.[19] This procedure was used to determine how frequently

TABLE 2
NUMBER OF ARTICLES OF DRESS WORN BY SUBJECTS WITHIN TIME PERIODS

	Average		Range	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1820–1859	6	6.4	3–9	3–9
1860–1879	5.5	3.1	2–9	1–5
1880–1899	5.8	2.4	1–11	1–5
1900–1919	7.2	3.4	1–11	1–8
1920–1939	4.9	3.1	2–11	1–7
1940–1959	4.6	3.3	2–9	1–6
1960–1980	4.4	4.1	1–11	1–8

each combination of dress occurred within the sample population. For instance, when a subject was seen wearing a skirt, what other garments were worn? Were they most often hats, shawls, shoes or mocassins? The multiple response procedure assigns a quantitative value to each combination. The combinations occurring most frequently up to the average number of garments worn within a time period were designated as the modal form of dress for that time period. Frequent combinations of articles of Ojibwa dress and the changes that occurred in combinations of dress from one time period to the next are shown in Table 3.[20]

Modal Form of Dress For Ojibwa Men

Because of the limited number of subjects in the first two time periods, few articles of dress were recorded for 1820 to 1839, and for 1840 to 1859. Since the two periods exhibited little change in dress, they were condensed into one. Even though the number of subjects in the resulting period was still small, no further combinations were made because there appeared to be changes in dress from this period to the next.

In the first period of this study, 1820 to 1859, indigenous modes of dress prevailed, although evidence of European contact is visible. For example, cloth was substituted for buckskin, beads were used instead of quills as decoration, and buckskin robes were replaced by trade blankets; however, the form of many articles

TABLE 3

MODAL FORMS OF OJIBWA DRESS

Date	1820–1859*	1860–1879	1880–1899	1900–1919	1920–1939	1940–1959	1960–1980	Number of Images
				MALE				
Articles of Dress	Necklace Earrings Blanket Breechcloth Leggings Moccasins	Blanket Jacket Shirt Pants Moccasins	Hat Jacket Shirt Vest Pants Moccasins	Hat Jacket Shirt Vest Pants Leggings Moccasins	Shirt Pants Leggings Moccasins	Shirt Bib-Overalls Pants Shoes	Shirt Jacket Pants Shoes	
	N=6	N=24	N=40	N=74	N=90	N=26	N=96	Total 356
				FEMALE				
	Necklace Wristband Sleeves Strap Dress Leggings Moccasins	Blanket Blouse Leggings Moccasins	Hat Blouse Skirt	Hat Blouse Skirt Apron	Blouse Skirt Dress Shoes	Blouse Jacket Skirt Moccasins	Blouse Pants Socks Shoes	
	N=7	N=12	N=31	N=56	N=87	N=20	N=61	Total 274
								Total 630

*Twenty year periods were collapsed because no change was recorded between them.

of dress stayed the same as before contact. In fact, Ojibwa women cut cloth into the shape of a hide before constructing leggings. As a result, appendages resembling the hide from a deer leg can be seen as the decorative side extension on leggings made of cloth.

From the first period to the next, Ojibwa males replaced many traditional items with non-Indian items. In the second time period, 1860–1879, the only two articles of Ojibwa Indian origin were the blanket and moccasins. A possible explanation for this change is that like all other Indian tribes, the Ojibwa were subject to increasing pressure from the United States government to assimilate. Viewing Indian cultural items as inferior, governmental officials, as well as missionaries, encouraged and often forced the Ojibwa to wear non-Indian dress.[21] Since indigenous dress and long hair were symbols of traditional customs, it was often insisted that Ojibwas cut their hair; this served as assurance that the Indian was being assimilated into mainstream American society.[22]

In the 1880 to 1899 period, the Ojibwa increasingly adopted non-Indian dress. The men combined non-Indian articles of dress—hat, jacket, shirt, vest, and pants—with traditional moccasins, which were now the only Ojibwa item of dress that remained in the mode. During this time period, additional pressures were exerted on traditional American Indian culture. A major factor affecting the Ojibwa's life style was the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887. It allowed for the division of tribal lands into plots that were distributed among tribal members. Indian land that was not allotted to individual Indians was considered surplus land, and the government made it available to non-Indians. If they wished, individual Indians could also sell their own land.[23] Thus, land ownership by the tribes and individual Indians decreased from 138 million acres in 1887 to 48 million acres in 1934.[24] Another consequence of this act was that the sanctions of the tribe over the individual were weakened.[25] Nevertheless, despite the Dawes Severalty Act which some proponents hoped would accelerate the Indians' assimilation into the general population, most Indians still lived on reservations. Moreover, as Hertzberg noted, "Despite all efforts of friend and foe, many of the old tribal ways persisted in one form or another, often deeply modified by white and Christian influences."[26]

The data utilized in this study indicate that while dress was

profoundly changed by non-Indian influences, aspects of the indigenous forms of dress persisted, as is evidenced by the use of moccasins as the predominant forms of footwear throughout most of the time periods under study. In addition, in the time period 1900–1919, leggings reappeared as part of the model form of dress for men. Thus, some articles of Indian dress persisted in modified forms of usage. This is evident in the way in which leggings were used in the 1900–1919 time period, in which Ojibwa commonly combined leggings with pants by either sewing the leggings onto pants or by wearing them over pants. Thus, the Ojibwa did not simply adopt non-Indian dress and wear outright, but rather modified it in form and meaning so that when combined with traditional dress it was made to "fit" into the Ojibwa culture. The process whereby elements of dress of one culture are incorporated into the dress of another has been called "cultural authentication."[27] Even though non-Indian dress predominated in the mode in all periods after 1860 for men, the process of cultural authentication is evident in the fact that indigenous items of Ojibwa dress were often combined with non-Indian items in unique ways (Figure 3).

Few changes in Ojibwa men's dress occurred between the period of 1880–1899 and 1900–1919, but the frequency with which items were seen worn together did change slightly. After 1920, fewer articles of apparel were included in the modal dress of the Ojibwa man. There are several possible explanations for this decrease: an increase in photographs that were not posed, difficult economic times, or changes in men's fashion. During the late 1800's, the lumber industry employed many Ojibwa. By the first part of the twentieth century, most lumber companies had left Wisconsin and Minnesota because the choice timber had been harvested. Consequently, many Ojibwa were unemployed and experienced serious financial problems.[28] Another possible explanation is that since the Ojibwa were wearing dress similar to non-Indians this shift in the number of articles worn by Ojibwa men paralleled changes occurring in dress for non-Indians. After 1920, the hat and vest were no longer included in the mode; however, a traditional item of Ojibwa dress, leggings, still appeared in the modal combination during this period. They were worn with a shirt, pants, and moccasins.

During the period 1940 to 1959, moccasins and leggings no longer appeared as modal for men. Bib-overalls, a shirt, and

FIGURE 3. Combinations of Ojibwa and non-Indian dress are evident in this photograph of an Ojibwa delegation that went to Washington, D.C. as representatives of the White Earth Reservation. The men in the front row have combined Ojibwa articles of dress, such as bandolier, peace pipe, roach, or turban, with non-Indian dress. Dated 1899. Minnesota Historical Society.

pants were worn frequently by men during this period. In the period 1960 to 1980, a jacket and pants replaced bib-overalls as modal dress for men. The wearing of shirts, pants, and shoes was consistent between this period and the previous one.

Modal Form of Dress For Ojibwa Women

For women, Ojibwa dress dominated the mode during the first two periods. The garments in this period consisted of a necklace, a wristband, a strap dress, a cape-like garment with sleeves, leggings, and moccasins. A blouse first appeared in the mode during the period 1860 to 1879; it was combined with a blanket, leggings and moccasins. This was the last time period in which Ojibwa dress represented the modal form of dress for the sample of Ojibwa women. Thus, although change in dress occurred for Ojibwa women it came later than that documented for men; according to the data, change in men's dress occurred about twenty years earlier. One reason why Ojibwa women adopted non-Indian dress at a later date than the men may be that women did not take as active a role in trade with non-Indians as did the men, thus having fewer contacts with non-Indians. Also, men generally represented the tribe at official meetings with governmental officials and occasionally served on delegations to various locations, including Washington D.C., to represent the tribe at negotiations. It was made clear that "citizen's dress" (non-Indian dress) was the appropriate attire for the Indian diplomat. Viola stated that new clothes were the most common present given to the Indian diplomats. He also stated that

> Since government policy was to turn the Indians into white men, it was presumed that making them look like white men was a giant stride in that direction. Thus, almost as soon as the bewildered visitors reached the city [Washington D.C.], they would be given complete wardrobes.[29]

Since few women served as diplomats, their dress may not have been influenced by the gifts of clothes that were often presented to the men. In addition, the Ojibwa woman's lifestyle and roles may not have changed as soon or as drastically as those of the Ojibwa man. Although specifically discussing the Lakota, Marsha Clift Bol indicated that changes in Indian lifestyle and

roles were more severe for men than for women.[30] She cited the following passage by Deloria:

> It was their life [Lakota men] primarily that was wrecked. . . . The women could go right on bearing children and rearing them. They could cook, feed their families. . . . The man was the tragic figure . . . he sat by the hour, indifferent and inactive, watching—perhaps envying—his wife, as she went right on working at the same essential role of woman that had been hers since time immemorial.[31]

This may have also been true of Ojibwa men and women. However, the finding that Ojibwa women adopted non-Indian dress at a later date than the men may also be indicative of the occasions in which Ojibwa women were depicted in the photographs. Densmore stated, "When the traders brought broadcloth a woman might have a similar dress made of cloth, but she always had a dress of hides for use when she was at work."[32] Thus, perhaps the Ojibwa women depicted in the photographs after 1880 were more commonly represented in their non-work roles.

In the period 1880 to 1899, only three articles of dress appeared in the mode for women: the hat, blouse and skirt. These articles continued as the mode from 1900 to 1919, except that in this period an apron was added to the modal ensemble. During the period 1920 to 1939, hat and apron were replaced by dress and shoes. This was the first time dresses and shoes appeared as modal dress for women. After 1940, moccasins reappeared in the mode for women. In addition to moccasins, a blouse, jacket, and skirt were often worn. In 1960, pants and socks appeared for the first time as modal dress for women; they were most often combined with a blouse and shoes.

Discussion

Even though non-Indian dress has dominated the mode of dress since 1860 for Ojibwa men and 1880 for Ojibwa women, indigenous Ojibwa dress has not been eliminated from the Ojibwa culture. Rather, it still functions within Ojibwa society, even though the functions themselves have changed. For instance, articles of dress which had been part of the everyday costume, such

as leggings and mocassins, are now often reserved for special occasions. In addition, some of the garments are utilized as gifts passed down from generation to generation. Thus, valued as precious parts of Ojibwa culture, they serve to transmit traditional ideas and values from one generation to the next. Consequently, elements of Ojibwa dress have retained symbolic meanings even though the meanings conveyed by specific articles of Ojibwa dress have been adapted as changes occurred in the social, political, and economic aspects of Ojibwa life.

Over the years, even though Ojibwa dress was seen less frequently as the modal form of dress it continued to be adapted and modified in conjunction with non-Indian forms of dress and dress adopted from other tribal groups. In many of the photographs analyzed, indigenous Ojibwa articles of dress were combined with non-Indian dress (Figure 3).[33] The breechcloth and leggings were often combined with pants. Sometimes leggings were sewn onto pants, or a breechcloth and/or leggings could be worn over pants. Another common practice was to combine moccasins with non-Indian dress. Moccasins appear to be one of the last items to have been replaced by non-Indian dress for both men and women. Another common Ojibwa practice was to decorate non-Indian articles of dress, such as vests, with Ojibwa designs, such as floral patterns.

Other items of dress that were not evident before contact with non-Indians are now considered part of traditional Ojibwa dress. The jingle dress, which first appeared in the sample during the period 1920 to 1940, is considered authentic Ojibwa. The "jingles" were made of covers of snuff tobacco cans (Figure 4). The top of the can was cut into a curved trapezoid shape and rolled into the form of a cone, which was then sewn onto the dress. Although the jingle dress did not appear in this sample before 1920, it may have existed earlier; bones, shells or other material from the natural environment may have been used instead of cans for decoration.[34]

Even before contact with non-Indians, tribes had extensive contact with other tribes.[35] Presents were exchanged between tribes as symbols of friendship and good intentions[36] and items of dress were considered to be appropriate gifts. Therefore, items from other tribes were probably incorporated into Ojibwa dress from early times. Obviously, tribes exchanged items earlier, but the first recorded items of other tribal origin in this sample appeared

FIGURE 4. The Ojibwa woman on the right wears a jingle dress. Minnesota Historical Society.

in the period 1860 to 1879. These items consisted of a ribbon shirt and a dress with other tribal Indian designs on it.

An article of dress adopted by the Ojibwa from the Lakota was the feathered bonnet; it was identified in 37 of the photographs. The Ojibwa believe that the turban, hood and roach were the proper headgear of the Ojibwa, not the bonnet. A possible explanation for the occurrence of the feather headdress in Ojibwa photographs is that it may have been acquired through a battle in which a Lakota warrior was defeated; his war bonnet could have been taken and worn as a trophy. In photographs before about 1920, feathers in the war bonnet stand straight up; in later examples feathers appear to have a horizontal tilt similar to those worn by Plains Indians.

In photographs taken in the past 25 years, an increase in other tribal garments is evident among the Ojibwa, especially for ceremonial occasions and social events such as the powwow. Some powwow dancers have adopted the bustle from the Plains Indians, as well as moccasins and decorations with other tribal designs. Females have incorporated shawls from the Northwest tribes into their dress.

Since the 1960s the Ojibwa have organized to present their views to the United States government, defend their rights as stated in treaties and administer their own programs for education, health and welfare.[37] Also, the Ojibwa are consciously trying to retain what is left of their culture and to retrieve as much as possible. Since the 1960's, Ojibwa children attending schools on reservations in Wisconsin have been learning the Ojibwa language as well as traditional Indian crafts, such as beadwork and quillwork; they can now be seen wearing traditional types of dress for special events. In addition, some adults within the community are continuing to create clothing for special events, such as powwows. They also continue to create beadwork and other Ojibwa crafts that are often incorporated into everyday dress as well as special dress. For instance, a beaded wristband is often worn with an otherwise completely non-Indian type of garb.

Summary

The data that were analyzed in this study indicate an interplay between change and continuity in Ojibwa modes of dress. It shows evidence of "cultural authentication" whereby non-Indian

dress was modified so that when combined with traditional Ojibwa dress it was more acceptable within the Ojibwa culture. The results indicate that non-Indian dress dominated the modal dress after 1860 for Ojibwa men and after 1880 for women. Before these dates, Ojibwa dress was characteristic of the mode. The change to non-Indian dress appears to have been a gradual but steady process by which, step by step, the Ojibwa adopted non-Indian dress; however, aspects of the indigenous garb continued to be integrated with the non-Indian modes of dress. First, fabric was substituted for leather, although the forms of dress remained the same. Then, articles of Ojibwa dress were combined with non-Indian dress; for example, moccasins were often worn with modal non-Indian dress. The last stage involved the complete adoption of non-Indian dress, with perhaps an accessory that displayed an Ojibwa design. Indigenous forms of dress were often retained for special occasions and they are often given as gifts. The findings also indicate a resurgence of interest in Ojibwa dress in the 1960s and 1970s, as a renewed interest in Ojibwa heritage and culture gained momentum. Thus, while Ojibwa dress was profoundly changed by non-Indian influences, aspects of the indigenous forms of dress persist. Historical evidence supports this process, which reflects change in Ojibwa society.

NOTES

1. Dress is defined in this study as "the total arrangement of all outwardly detectable modifications of the body and all material objects added to it." Mary Ellen Roach and Kathleen Musa, *New Perspectives on the History of Western Dress* (New York: NutriGuides, Inc., 1980), 11.

2. Several previous studies have focused on change in dress and have described theories relating dress to society. A general theoretical framework of dress as a part of culture is presented by Jean A. Hamilton, "Dress as a Cultural Sub-System: A Unifying Metatheory for Clothing and Textiles," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 6 (Fall 1987): 1-7; A study regarding the analysis of change in dress was reported by Jo B. Paoletti, "Content Analysis: Its Application to the Study of the History of Costume," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 1(1982):14-17. For a study that investigates change in dress as a reflection of societal change, see Carol Robenstine and Eleanor Kelley, "Relating Fashion Change to Social Change: A Methodological Approach," *Home Economics Research Journal* 10 (1981): 78-87.

3. See Carrie A. Lyford, *The Crafts of the Ojibwa (Chippewa)* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Office of Indian Affairs, 1942), 12. Traditionally, the Ojibwa called themselves the "Anishinabe," which means first or original man, but other tribes in the area called them "Ojibwa." The English mispronounced "Ojibwa" and

called the tribe "Chippewa." Today governmental sources classify the tribe as "Chippewa," although present day members prefer the name "Ojibwa."

4. Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Customs* (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1929), 31.

5. Harold Hickerson, "The Southwestern Chippewa: An Ethnohistorical Study," *American Anthropologist* 64 (June 1962): 2.

6. Hickerson, "The Southwestern Chippewa," 2-3.

7. Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 30-38.

8. Peter Grant, "The Santeux Indians about 1804" in L. R. Masson, ed., *Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest* volume 2 (Quebec, Imprimerie Generale A. Cote, 1890), 316.

9. Alvin M. Josephy, *The Artist Was a Young Man: The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher* (Fort Worth: Amon Carter Museum, 1970), 36.

10. Herman J. Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press and Doubleday & Company, 1976), 13; Patricia Hills, *Eastman Johnson* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1972), 23.

11. George Catlin, *Letters and Notes on the Manner, Customs, and Conditions of North American Indians*, with introduction by Marjorie Halpin (New York: Dover Publications, 1973), xiv.

12. Hills, *Eastman Johnson*, 32.

13. Viola, *The Indian Legacy*, 13.

14. Charles Brill, *Indian and Free* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1974), 1-143.

15. For additional information on the use of visual resources for determining change in dress see Cynthia R. Jasper, "Visual Resources and the Analysis of Historic Costume," *Visual Resources: An International Journal of Documentation* V (Winter 1989).

16. Margaret Thompson Miller, "Sexual Differentiation and Acculturation in Potawatomi Costume," in Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979); Margaret Thompson Miller, "The Clothing Traditions of the Forest Potawatomi" (Master's Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1972).

17. For additional information about the study see Betty Wass, "Yoruba Dress in Five Generations of a Lagos Family," in Justine M. Cordwell and Ronald A. Schwarz, eds., *The Fabrics of Culture: The Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (New York: Mouton Publishers, 1979); Betty Wass, "Yoruba Dress: A Systematic Case Study of Five Generations of a Lagos Family" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Michigan State University, 1975).

18. Wass, "Yoruba Dress: A Systematic Case Study."

19. Multiple (mult) response is a statistical program designed by SPSSx, Statistical Package for the Social Sciences, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1983), 303-320.

20. Information on footwear must be viewed with some caution because it is often difficult to identify the footwear of a subject. A subject's feet are often not visible, because of the length of a skirt or dress or to the quality or "pose" of the photograph. Photographs presenting such difficulties were not eliminated, but to maintain sample size, footwear was assumed to be the same as that seen in similar photographs.

21. Edmund Jefferson Danziger, Jr., *The Chippewas of Lake Superior* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978), 104–110; Hazel W. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1971), 18–23.
22. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 21; Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 38.
23. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 4–5.
24. Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1958), 77.
25. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 26.
26. Hertzberg, *The Search for an American Indian Identity*, 27.
27. Cynthia R. Jasper, "History of Costume: Theory and Instruction," *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 5 (Summer 1987): 3–4; T. Erekosima and Joanne Eicher, "Kalabari 'Cut-thread' and 'Pulled-thread' cloth: An Example of Cultural Authentication," *African Arts* XIV (1981): 48–52.
28. Danziger, *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*, 101–103.
29. Herman J. Viola, *Diplomats in Buckskins: A History of Indian Delegations in Washington City* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981), 118.
30. Marsha Clift Bol, "Lakota Women's Artistic Strategies in Support of the Social System," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 9:1 (1985) 33–51.
31. Ella C. Deloria, *Speaking of Indians* (New York: Friendship Press, 1944), 95–96.
32. Densmore, *Chippewa Customs*, 31.
33. Lyford, *The Crafts of the Ojibwa*, 128.
34. Lyford, *The Crafts of the Ojibwa*, 111.
35. Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Atlas of Great Lakes Indian History* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), 36.
36. Hickerson, "The Southwestern Chippewa," 19.
37. Danziger, *The Chippewas of Lake Superior*, 183–210.