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Jessie Donaldson Schultz and Northern Plains Native Social Welfare Projects, 1926–1953

Jennifer McLerran

From 1926 to 1927, Montana State College (later Montana State University) English instructor Jessie Donaldson Schultz organized *The Masque of the Absaroka*, a three-act drama telling the history of the Crow (Absaroka) people (fig. 1).¹ *The Masque of the Absaroka* was a collaborative effort of Montana State College's (MSC) Eurodelphian Society, a women's literary club Schultz founded, together with the college's departments of English, drama, and theater, and more than twenty members of the Crow tribe whom Schultz enlisted as consultants, actors, and dancers in the production. In her roles as faculty adviser for the MSC literary club and pageant master of the event, Schultz secured significant financial support from the local community as well as from national corporations with local interests.

Widely publicized, the production also enjoyed the endorsement of major literary and artistic figures of national stature, such as Hamlin Garland, George Bird Grinnell, Vachel Lindsay, and Mary Roberts Rinehart.² *The Masque of the Absaroka* was, by all accounts, a successful production that held enormous potential as a vehicle for future community development. Hoping to build on the masque's success, Schultz sought to make it a semiannual Bozeman event as well as tour it to nearby Yellowstone and Glacier National Parks. However, shortly after its performance, the chair of the MSC English Department, William Brewer, declared that the masque would not be repeated. Claiming that during the production Bozeman had been transformed into "an Indian camp," Brewer deemed such activities detrimental to the welfare of the college and the wider community.³ Yellowstone National Park superintendent Horace M. Albright, who had expressed great interest in holding future performances of the

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FIGURE 1. *Cast of The Masque of the Absaroka (1927, photographer unknown). Image courtesy of Museum of the Rockies, Bozeman, Montana.*

masque in the park, likewise withdrew his support. While Albright's ostensible reason was that non-Native park employees could just as easily stage similar performances at lower expense, correspondence between the superintendent and other park service employees reveals that they feared that the presence of the masque's Crow actors in the park would result in discomfort among non-Native visitors and negatively impact park visitation.⁴ While Glacier National Park officials retained interest in the production, Brewer cut short the possibility that the masque might be staged there.

Why did such a well-planned, generously funded, and widely endorsed production fail to fulfill its initial promise? As this study shows, examination of Schultz's actions and their reception within their specific cultural and historical milieu reveals not only race-based prejudice toward the masque's Crow actors—as evidenced by the reactions of Brewer and Albright—but also a backlash against an upper-middle-class white woman who violated the race, class, and gender norms of her time. Subsequent to her resignation from MSC, Schultz found employment with the federal government. Schultz's activities in these various capacities and the ways in which they conformed to and, at times, transgressed predominant gender norms are a focus of this study.⁵ Further, I examine the ways in which predominant race- and gender-based norms constrained and, at times, enabled the actions of the Northern Plains Indian women with whom Schultz worked; Schultz promoted their handcrafts for nearly twenty years.

The specific aims of this article are: first, to provide a detailed history of Schultz's efforts; second, to analyze the ways in which these projects conformed to culturally dominant conceptions of proper femininity and the role of women in public life that constrained the actions of their participants; and, third, to identify as much as possible the ways in which these projects opened a space for Northern Plains Native women to perpetuate important traditions and values and assert agency within otherwise

constraining circumstances. I assert that, while they were constrained to performance within culturally dominant conceptions of race and gender, Northern Plains Native women appropriated these constraints to beneficial ends. Their success in resisting the assimilationist ends of such projects, I claim, resulted from their ability to adapt existing traditional social and cultural structures to the demands of twentieth-century handcraft production.

Without a basis in existing cultural structures and practices, these projects—which ultimately worked to the economic and social benefit of their tribes—would not have succeeded. Cooperative beadwork enterprises established under Schultz’s supervision afforded the continuation of precontact quill-working traditions and social structures that both perpetuated, and were perpetuated by, complex sacred and ceremonial practices existing within the context of women’s communal production. As a result, the Blackfeet, Arapaho, and Shoshone projects enjoyed long-term success. The success of cooperative beadwork projects and the contrasting short-term adoption and ultimate failure of government-sponsored textile production, which was not a traditional handcraft among Northern Plains Native women and thus lacked an established social and cultural context, support the assertion that the preexistence of similar culturally embedded practices and social structures facilitated the success of some twentieth-century-handcraft projects and, alternately, precipitated the failure of others. The differing results of such projects and the reasons for such variance are examined here.

Establishment of arts and crafts cooperatives was one particularly effective economic strategy that Schultz employed to advantage in her work with Northern Plains Native women. As scholars have noted, Native handcraft cooperatives have constituted one of the most lasting legacies of the New Deal Indian policy of self-determination and community-based economic enterprises.⁶ Much of the success of arts and crafts cooperatives among Northern Plains women has been due to long-lasting traditions of communal production, such as those found in traditional quillwork societies, that produce and reinforce social status and work to benefit both the individual and the group.⁷ Hide preparation and embellishment, bead-working, and clothing production were continuous with already existing Northern Plains women’s communal practices and this contributed to their flourishing. Schultz’s projects with Northern Plains Native women were also consonant with those advocated by women’s groups of her time—pageantry, needlework, and women’s arts and crafts projects.

Schultz was a product of her time and her efforts to assist Northern Plains Native people in economic development and cultural revitalization reflected particular currents of thought in the academic and progressive reform circles within which she worked. Her earliest efforts were informed by a romantic primitivist sentiment, a view that Native American cultures represented the last vestiges of premodern cultures that offered the modern, industrialized world an alternative to its wrongheaded course. In this view, Native cultures were destined to die out; however, their last fragments could be salvaged by professionals such as anthropologists and folklorists, and enlisted in the effort to divert modern humankind from its misguided path. The progressive woman’s role was to aid Native peoples in the process of assimilation through educational and social service projects—easing the presumably inevitable transition from “savagery”

to “civilization”—and, at the same time, to work to preserve what they could of these cultures that might be enlisted to aid modern non-Native peoples.⁸ While these empowering strategies for the organization and activities of women’s groups, such as the staging of community pageants or the formation of craftwork guilds, may have yielded positive results among non-Native women, their effectiveness among Native women was much less uniform. The differing results of such projects and the reasons for such variance are examined here.

SCHULTZ’S EARLY CAREER

Schultz’s early professional years were spent educating white, middle-class college students at Montana State University and organizing social service and cultural organizations and projects among the institution’s women students.⁹ Schultz’s early efforts were consonant with a progressive liberal philosophy that informed the early women’s movement nationwide. While such women espoused a belief that women were the equals of men, their proper and most productive sphere of influence was believed to lie within the home and local community. Pageantry and arts and crafts projects—generally viewed by wider society as harmless and apolitical—were touted by women’s organizations as appropriate activities that would strengthen communities and fulfill women’s responsibilities as guardians of culture. Among progressive women’s responsibilities was the obligation to see to the needs and improve the lives of their communities’ less fortunate members. As historian Peggy Pascoe has explained, in the northeastern United States, where the majority of late-nineteenth and early-twentieth-century women’s rights advocates lived, immigrant women were believed to be most in need of assistance. However, in the western states, women’s reform groups found Native women to be equally worthy of aid and expanded their efforts to include them.¹⁰ In Bozeman, Montana, the beneficiaries of the efforts of progressive women’s groups included Native peoples of the Northern Plains, and the reformer’s particular obligation was believed to lie in assistance to the women of these Native groups. Schultz saw the potential of the reform strategies of these women’s rights groups and enlisted them to the ends of what she believed would be the Bozeman community’s betterment.

Schultz’s first attempt to benefit Native peoples through community service took the form of community pageantry. *The Masque of the Absaroka*, conceived and organized as a project intended to accurately portray Crow life and culture, was performed in Bozeman in June 1927 and then never repeated.¹¹ During the course of planning and executing *The Masque of the Absaroka*, Schultz developed a keen interest in Northern Plains cultures, and this interest grew over the years of her residence in Montana and Wyoming. In fact, in order to properly research the Crow culture in preparation for *The Masque of the Absaroka*, Schultz completed her MA in anthropology in 1930.¹²

Apart from its artistic merits, it is quite clear that the masque’s storyline, summarized below, showed a clear romantic primitivist sentiment and implicit validation of the “vanishing American” stereotype.¹³ As previously noted, Schultz showed pronounced primitivist leanings in her early work with the Crow people, but in her

subsequent work among the Blackfeet, Northern Arapaho, and Shoshone, she developed a less-romanticized understanding of the Native cultures of the region. Schultz's personal relationship with writer and Native rights activist James Willard Schultz (1859–1947), which resulted in marriage in 1931, was in no small measure responsible for her heightened understanding of the unique cultural values and needs of Montana and Wyoming's Northern Plains Native women.¹⁴ However, the public's perception that they had cohabited, combined with J. W. Schultz's marriage to a Blackfeet woman and his reputation as a heavy drinker, caused Schultz's supervisors to judge her unfit for teaching.¹⁵

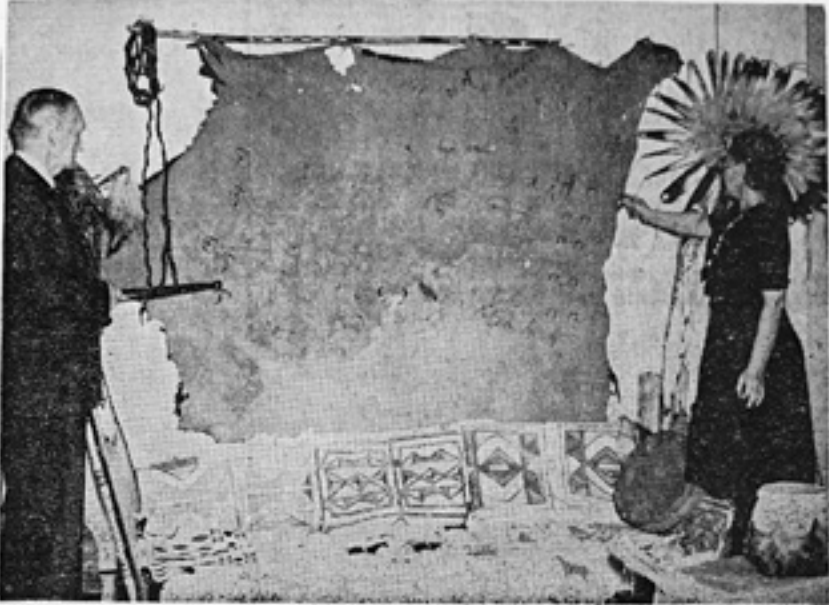
While her early relationship with J. W. Schultz led to a significant personal and professional setback, it also led to a new phase in Donaldson Schultz's life during which she experienced a profound evolution in perception of Native Northern America peoples and their traditional cultures. Her more nuanced understanding of these cultures—and, most notably, of the traditional practices of the women of the Blackfeet, Northern Arapaho, and Shoshone tribes—led her to advocate for economic development programs that succeeded precisely because of their rootedness in traditional, gender-based cultural practices and values. While Schultz remained constrained by the race-, class-, and gender-based norms of her time, she was able to assume a position of influence that allowed her and the Native women with whom she worked to push at the borders of those boundaries, finding and offering to other women new subject positions from which to operate and influence the welfare of their communities.

J. W. Schultz became instrumental in garnering an Indian Service position for Donaldson Schultz, who served as the first social worker on Montana's Blackfeet Reservation and then among the Shoshone and Arapaho on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming (fig. 2). A well-known writer and student of Blackfeet culture, J. W. Schultz authored several books and in 1920 founded the Indian Welfare League, an organization that worked for Indian policy reform and Native voting rights.¹⁶ Through her relationship with J. W. Schultz, Donaldson Schultz enjoyed a position of advantage within a group of intellectuals and political activists who were well-versed in Indian policy and well-practiced in reform efforts. However, few women were included in the group within which her husband operated. Schultz would enjoy female camaraderie elsewhere, first among her MSC students, and subsequently among the Native women with whom she worked.

THE MASQUE OF THE ABSAROKA AND COMMUNITY PAGEANTRY AS A TOOL OF SOCIAL REFORM

Early-twentieth-century progressives and women's rights advocates saw community pageantry as a highly efficacious tool of social reform. In a 1920 issue of *Blue Triangle News*, pageantry advocate and organizer Percy MacKaye advised readers on ways in which young women could contribute to the welfare of their communities through such productions.¹⁷ He noted that young women had already contributed "their distinctive realization of the vital function of social art to civilization—a function almost wholly ignored by modern men," but they must intensify their efforts

Indian Handicraft Displayed at Art Center



—TRIBUNE PHOTO.

Modern handicraft of the Blackfeet Indians, together with many historic relics of the tribe, are combined in a display installed in the civic center exhibition room under auspices of the Blackfeet Indian Craft shop of Browning. Above, James Willard Schultz, left, noted western author, joins with Mrs. Schultz, Indian service community worker, in pointing out two groups of the many interesting inscriptions on a historic ceremonial robe, which was old when living members of the tribe first saw it in 1874. Schultz is pointing to inscriptions which show the robe was taken four times on raids into enemy country by its owner, who headed the raiding party. The enemy camp is represented by half circles. The squirming progress of the scout is shown by the snake-like insignia beneath the half circles. The insignia toward which Mrs. Schultz is pointing show that on one raid, a former owner of the robe came home with nine horses. The exhibit, intended to acquaint Great Falls residents with products of the craft shop, a successful co-operative venture in which several hundred Blackfeet are participating, will be open to the public from 2 to 4 this afternoon and 7 to 9 this evening, and from 9:30 a. m. to 9 p. m. through the week until Thursday evening. Co-operating in arrangements for the display here is C. C. Graves, superintendent of the Blackfeet agency.

FIGURE 2. Newspaper article regarding show of Blackfeet craftwork and picturing James Willard Schultz and Jessie Donaldson Schultz (Great Falls Tribune, November 17, 1940).

because much work remained.¹⁸ MacKaye and other advocates believed that pageantry could serve as the “social art” form “most deeply related to the new evolving order of society.”¹⁹ MacKaye espoused a gospel of community self-direction, driven by anti-modernist, anti-industrialist sentiments. MacKaye proposed that no group was better suited to “plant and cultivate that common garden, to carry the gospel of its new-old beauty into the hearts and minds of all our people” than the nation’s women. Gender constraints that prohibited women’s full participation in other public activities did not apply to the uncontroversial and presumably apolitical realm of pageantry; thus, this form offered them a rare opportunity to assume the public stage.

Corresponding with the progressive reform movement in the United States, the community pageantry movement grew very quickly, with forty-six pageants having taken place around the country by 1913.²⁰ One impetus for early-twentieth-century social reform through pageantry lay in community leaders' search for a more refined form of local holiday celebration. As historian David Glassberg explains, the celebration of American holidays had become rowdy and coarse, and the nation's genteel class wished to see them cleaned up and elevated. Community pageantry, "a more artistic, visually instructive way for the public to celebrate holidays," was seen as a solution.²¹

The American Pageantry Association (APA) was formed in 1913 with William Chauncy Langdon serving as its first president. Women played a significant role in the APA, with most of its organizers and leaders residing in the northeast.²² Composed of educators, social workers, civic leaders, social activists, and artists, each of whom espoused different goals, the organization's members found common ground in a desire to guide communities in the staging of productions that expressed unique local histories and values, leveling social differences and working toward a common good realized through education and community development.²³ The APA established standards for community pageants, and published and distributed guides for pageant production. Pamphlets offering several stock formulas for the ideal progression and duration of scenes advised local pageant producers to follow simple plot lines. One of the most frequently enacted plots consisted of five predominant narrative elements: (1) Indian life; (2) arrival of the white men; (3) peaceful interactions of whites and Indians; (4) conflict between whites and Indians; (5) peace and the advent of community prosperity among the continent's new inhabitants.²⁴ As Glassberg explains, the uniformity of the narratives told by the pageants expressed "a deep faith in orderly progress" and "depicted the town united in times of jeopardy and renewal through past, present, and future. It projected local residents bound together through collective beliefs and values expressed in historical episodes presented on stage."²⁵

British pageantry was rooted in an Arts and Crafts movement philosophy that extolled an idyllic past. While American pageant organizers adopted the British model's basis in an idealization of preindustrial craft production, they combined this paradigm with a faith in future progress. In American pageants the history of the community was reenacted, but through the lens of a desired future. By reconstructing history in such a way that it inevitably led to a future that reflected community members' aspirations, organizers appropriated pageantry to the ends of social and economic progress. Populist in intent, American community pageants were predicated on the idea that the values and traditions of the nation's varied peoples could be enlisted to the construction of an idealized and uniquely American "folk" culture. Folk dancing and other traditional practices were incorporated into pageants, but not with the goal of perpetuating unique, individual immigrant cultures. Rather, their inclusion was enlisted to the ends of a narrative that envisioned an incorporation of individual cultural traditions into a new American folk identity inclusive of these varied strains.²⁶

Eager to construct a new and unique identity that distinguished their country from its European forebears, America's cultural leaders favored an assimilationist stance that subsumed cultural difference to the greater need to establish a new, collective national

identity.²⁷ Representations of American Indians in United States pageantry made these aims evident. Conflating Native peoples with nature and a dimly realized and timeless past, early-twentieth-century American pageants presented Indians as outside of history. As Glassberg explains, “Indians appeared as part of the natural landscape. Their episodes, like those representing nature, were not identified with a particular time period. Pageants displayed Indian dancing, hunting, and domestic activities as scarcely disrupting the rhythms of ‘Nature Spirits,’ who typically did not relinquish the stage until the arrival of Europeans.”²⁸ Elided from this narrative of American nation-state production was any representation of violent or repressive action of Euro-Americans against Native peoples. Rather, what was portrayed was a presumed natural and necessary evolutionary progress toward the end of Native civilization.²⁹

Reflective of this assimilationist mind-set was the almost uniform exclusion of people of Native ancestry from participation in American pageants. Guides published by the APA urged pageant planners to enlist local descendants to play their forebears in community pageants. This was usually feasible. However, in the case of “Indian scenes,” which were a standard feature of such pageants, this was often difficult. As a solution, APA leaders suggested that Boy Scouts or members of the Improved Order of Red Men—non-Native men who studied Indian lore—be enlisted to the task. But even in areas where Native peoples lived nearby or within the community in which the pageant was held, they were rarely recruited to play Native roles. In only a few isolated cases were American Indian actors brought in to play Native parts; and, when Native actors were enlisted, they were almost always brought in from other communities. If early-twentieth-century American pageantry organizers aimed to work toward construction of a uniquely American identity based in a vision of a unified “folk,” Native peoples were clearly positioned as outside of this construction.³⁰

In staging *The Masque of the Absaroka*, Schultz followed the lead of early-twentieth-century progressives who had similarly enlisted pageantry as a tool of social reform and presumed cultural advancement. However, introducing Native involvement to a greater extent than others, she included Crow tribal members in planning, script-writing, acting, and dancing. Crow cast members and production crew were more than just token participants in *The Masque of the Absaroka*.

Schultz explains that the original impetus for a pageant began with members of MSC’s literary club, the Eurodelphian Society, but the idea to focus on the Crow people was her own. Schultz appointed one of the student leaders of the organization, Martha Maxey, to develop the script. Fortuitously, Maxey was the granddaughter of John H. Durston, a former New York journalist who published Montana’s *Anaconda Standard*, one of the state’s leading newspapers.³¹ This connection was to prove of enormous value to the masque’s producers.

Schultz and Maxey decided that the best way to inform themselves about their subject would be to take summer courses at University of California, Berkeley under anthropologist Robert H. Lowie, who specialized in the study of the Crow culture. They also deemed it necessary to visit the Crow to enlist the aid and participation of cultural informants and practitioners. While studying with Lowie at the University of California, Schultz and Maxey became acquainted with University of California,

Berkeley mathematician and ethnomusicologist Dr. Derrick N. Lehmer, who produced the masque's music and acted in the production.³²

In 1926 Schultz and Maxey traveled to the Crow Reservation, accompanied by Dorothy Chamberlain of the MSC art department, who had agreed to produce the masque's costumes.³³ The reservation superintendent appointed policeman Victor Three Irons as the women's chaperone and interpreter. Schultz and Maxey attended ceremonial dances and met with tribal leaders to solicit their participation in the masque, which was to take place the following summer, and requested that twenty to twenty-five tribal members participate, to arrive in Bozeman two weeks prior to the pageant's staging.³⁴ Schultz and Maxey also requested that a portion of a traditional ceremony practiced by the Beaver Society be included in the play and their request was granted. In further discussions and visits to the reservation, traditional songs were recorded and sent to Lehmer, including the "Coming Out Song," which Schultz claimed was "uniquely Absaroka."³⁵ The masque's music was performed by orchestral groups and individual musicians from throughout Montana. MSC students composed the chorus, which consisted of nearly two hundred members. Students, MSC faculty, and Crow tribal members made up the cast.³⁶ A parade was held in Bozeman on the day of the performance, with the Crow in full regalia.

The one-hour masque is composed of song, dance, and ceremony, and takes as its subject "the world of the Absaroka from its traditional creation to the end of the Indian way of life."³⁷ The entire performance utilizes only one stage prop, which represents the Tree of Life, the leaves of which are changed by supernatural beings to signify the passage of time. The masque starts with a coyote's distant cry and the appearance of Old Man Coyote, the mythological creature who facilitated the world's creation. Coyote is soon joined by four ducks who play central roles in the Earth Diver myth, which tells the story of the physical world's creation by means of earth that is brought up from the underwater world to form the earth's surface. This sequence is followed by the planting of tobacco; the marriage of Fire Moccasins and Pine Leaf; performance of a portion of the Sun Dance; and reenactment of a battle with the Sioux. The masque's storyline progresses with Old Man Coyote's return and his cursing of the Crow for "their non-resistance to the whites."³⁸ The rapid incursion by large numbers of whites and its devastating effects are then represented, as are the appropriation of Crow lands and the introduction of liquor. The masque ends with a wild, liquor-induced dance around a campfire. The village's Medicine Man, Lone Tree, tries to stop the dancers but they persist. Old Man Coyote returns to the stage, stomping out the campfire and driving away the dancers. Darkness falls and "life as it had been known to the Absaroka" ended.³⁹ As the curtain descends, a coyote wails in the distance.

While showcasing traditional elements of Crow culture and perhaps even venerating them, the plot of *The Masque of the Absaroka* clearly represents the demise of the Crow through white incursion. Today *The Masque of the Absaroka* seems quaint at best; at worst, it appears assimilationist and colonialist in intent through implicitly asserting the inevitable death of Crow culture. However, we must consider the production within the context of its historical period and social milieu. While *The Masque of the Absaroka* represented the inevitable death of Native cultures, it was

quite exceptional for its time. Schultz took great pains to try to adhere to traditional Crow mythology, consulted extensively with Crow leaders, and sought the input and validation of leading scholars. Nonetheless, the *Masque of the Absaroka* was not to be performed again.

Schultz's production aimed to satisfy the desire for moral and artistic elevation that community pageantry was believed to provide. Schultz wished to instill in the young women of MSC a sense of their responsibility to function as community leaders and paragons of proper femininity, and the creation and presentation of *The Masque of the Absaroka* seemed well suited to that end. However, her department chair's reaction indicates that Bozeman community residents felt her aspirations fell far short of their goal. The inclusion of Native people in *The Masque of the Absaroka* and the two-week Bozeman residence of Crow participants over the course of rehearsals and staging clearly seem to have violated the norms the production was meant to reinforce.

Several years would pass before Schultz would again work with Native people, resuming in 1934 with her appointment as a social worker on the Blackfeet reservation. Still committed to a life in service to the betterment of her community and the education of others, and still focused on improving women's lives, she sought ways to empower women while functioning within existing social and cultural constraints. Working with Native women, she encountered a new set of constraints, an experience that radically altered her understanding of Northern Plains Native cultures. She came to realize that the empowerment of Native people could not lie in romantic, primitivist-inspired dramatic productions, such as *The Masque of the Absaroka*, that served to reinforce a regard of Native cultures as irrevocably lost. Working directly with Northern Plains craftswomen every day, visiting them in their homes and striving to ameliorate their problems, she came to recognize the viability of their cultures and developed a clearer understanding of the ways in which traditional handcraft practices ensured the continued vitality of those cultures.

THE BLACKFEET COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATION

As a Montana state caseworker, Schultz was instrumental in establishing the Blackfeet Cooperative Association, a highly successful arts and crafts cooperative that served as a model for other fledgling New Deal Native arts and crafts enterprises.⁴⁰ Her husband's close connections with the Blackfeet people, combined with her experience as a teacher at Montana State University and as a state caseworker, gave her the practical and organizational knowledge necessary to succeed. Also of tremendous importance to her success were her paid assistants, Blackfeet tribal members Willie Rose, Nora Spanish (daughter of noted beadworker Julia Wades-in-the-Water), and Maggie Croft.⁴¹

While Schultz's primary job was to evaluate cases and administer government social assistance programming on the Blackfeet reservation, she soon took on the additional task of promoting the production and marketing of arts and crafts among the tribe. Prior to Schultz's appointment, government-funded Blackfeet handcraft projects had been initiated with limited success. In the 1932 and 1933 Bureau of Indian Affairs Superintendent's reports, Forrest C. Stone noted that ten Home Extension Clubs had

been formed, with a total membership of 223 that produced 50 pieces of beadwork.⁴² However, efforts to establish coordinated production and marketing of the beadworkers' products had not been formulated. Schultz built on these efforts, quickly providing assistance in establishing improved methods of marketing and production of beadwork as well as other traditional forms.

Shortly after Schultz's arrival at Browning, she secured the Blackfeet women's employment by the Civil Works Administration to produce clothing and quilts out of army surplus long underwear.⁴³ Sewing machines for the project were provided by the federal government. Blackfeet artisan Mary Little Bull and BIA Extension Service non-Native arts and crafts specialist Mabel Morrow, who had taught arts and crafts at the Santa Fe Indian School, were appointed as teachers. The women renovated "old CCC cast-off clothing" into pants, shirts, and dresses for children, relined buffalo coats belonging to older tribal members, and produced wool quilts.⁴⁴ The Browning project was so successful that an additional sewing center was established at Heart Butte.⁴⁵ Schultz reported that although weaving was not a Northern Plains craft form the women picked up the skill very quickly, first producing small items like table runners and progressing to larger items such as curtains and bedspreads.⁴⁶ The craft workers hoped that nearby Glacier Park Curio Shops would sell their work; however, quilts and clothing of Euro-American design were rejected for sale because the shop owners reportedly found only identifiably "Indian" arts and crafts salable. Learning that moccasins and teepees were much more marketable, the women adjusted their products accordingly.

At the early July 1936 Sun Dance ceremony, an event attended by many visitors, the Blackfeet craftswomen set up a tipi as a crafts shop in the camp circle. Although they reported that many of the tourists who visited their shop asked for Navajo jewelry or rugs or Hopi pottery, sales to tourists were healthy, with moccasins, beaded buckskin dolls, and beaded bags the most popular items. The success of the women's endeavor led the Blackfeet reservation superintendent to authorize the remodeling of the old tribal council room to serve as a craft shop. Craft workers who sold their work at the shop were paid a small advance for articles of high-quality construction and materials, including natural dyes and traditional Blackfeet design. Items offered for sale included moccasins, bags, miniature tipis, drums, bows and arrows, shields, and dolls, some of which represented ceremonial dancers.⁴⁷ The shop was a success, reporting four hundred dollars in sales in August and early September.⁴⁸

By 1937, eight craft clubs had been formed on the Blackfeet Reservation under Schultz's leadership. The Education Recreation Division of the Public Works Administration hired Blackfeet craftswomen Mary Little Bull and Katie Home Gun as crafts teachers.⁴⁹ Instructors advised members on design and color choices, taught technique, and consulted with elders on traditional forms.⁵⁰ By mid-1937, members of the sewing clubs founded a cooperative, establishing what Schultz deemed "the beginning of the first real native crafts program."⁵¹ Upon formation of the cooperative, Louise Berrychild replaced Home Gun as instructor, and the latter also served as president of the organization's governing board.⁵² Members of the local groups, many of whom had not previously produced beadwork, met at one another's homes,

receiving instruction from Little Bull and Berrychild.⁵³ The cooperative's board of directors, elected by its members and representing each of the organization's eight districts, screened all handcrafts sold at the shop for quality and authenticity.⁵⁴

Initial funds to pay craftswomen in advance of their works' sale, amounting to \$100, were provided by Schultz and her husband.⁵⁵ Shortly thereafter, the Blackfeet Tribal Council received government financing from the Indian Reorganization Act. In the summer of 1937, a cabin at St. Mary's Lake that was donated to the group and renovated with the aid of a federal Indian Rehabilitation Grant became the cooperative's new craft shop.⁵⁶ The former cabin was fortuitously situated along a well-traveled highway within Glacier National Park. A ring of lodges (tipis) was erected outside the new shop, and the Great Northern Railroad brought busloads of tourists to the site.⁵⁷ One lodge, designated as a museum, was furnished with traditional painted, carved, and beaded items, including backrests, couches, and a painted tipi liner. A small admission was charged.⁵⁸ Mary Little Bull and Katie Home Gun demonstrated beadwork and hide-tanning for visitors. The cooperative logged several hundred fee-paying visitors a day at the height of the summer tourist season.⁵⁹

By late 1937 cooperative membership had grown to four hundred. The traditional Blackfeet crafts of quillwork, leatherwork, and beadwork were sold alongside weavings produced under government instruction. The weaving project proceeded to curtains and bedspreads, all produced with natural dyes and wool from sheep raised by Anglo-American ranchers who leased grazing land from the Blackfeet. Other crafts included woodcarvings, dolls, and suede and buckskin jackets with hand-carved buttons of elk and beadwork trimming (fig. 3).⁶⁰ The tailored beaded jackets, which became the Blackfeet Cooperative Association's signature item, were sold in a variety of colors and beadwork patterns, including butterfly, arrow, buffalo, mountain, morning star, and sun designs (fig. 4).⁶¹

Leatherwork and beadwork became the cooperative's most profitable forms (fig. 5). Quillwork was also practiced. Schultz encountered resistance initially to reviving quillwork because knowledge of the ceremony that had traditionally accompanied the preparation of the quills had been forgotten. Observance of the ceremony was necessitated by the belief that its omission would cause blindness. However, an elder with knowledge of the proper ceremony was found, and the knowledge was disseminated to quillworkers, who subsequently prepared their quills in the appropriate manner.⁶²

THE SHOSHONE AND ARAPAHOE CRAFT ASSOCIATIONS

In 1940, after seven years among the Blackfeet, Schultz was transferred to Fort Washakie on Wyoming's Wind River Reservation, where she worked with Shoshone and Northern Arapaho women to develop their arts and crafts enterprises.⁶³ As on the Blackfeet reservation, the Shoshone and Arapaho women practiced the traditional arts of beadwork and leatherwork. Through the handcraft programs instituted by Schultz they learned new skills such as weaving and explored ways to improve both the quality and volume of leatherwork and beadwork production. Schultz's efforts secured several



FIGURE 3. Two Medicine, Montana Blackfeet craft workers displaying traditionally dressed dolls and other handcrafted items (n.d., photographer unknown). James Willard Schultz Papers, 1867–1969, Collection 10, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library object ID 162, <http://arc.lib.montana.edu/schultz-0010/item/162>. Image courtesy of Montana State University Library.



FIGURE 4. Women showing ancient beadwork design on jackets, Browning, Montana (n.d., photographer unknown). James Willard Schultz Papers, 1867–1969, Collection 10, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library object ID 079, <http://arc.lib.montana.edu/schultz-0010/item/79>. Image courtesy of Montana State University Library.



FIGURE 5. *Browning Craft Shop—women showing some of their handiwork (n.d., photographer unknown). James Willard Schultz Papers, 1867–1969, Collection 10, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library object ID 082, <http://arc.lib.montana.edu/schultz-0010/item/82>. Image courtesy of Montana State University Library.*

substantial commissions for handwoven items, discussed below, which proved highly profitable and brought the handcrafters' work to a wider audience.

Schultz devoted a third of her time to developing arts and crafts enterprises and served as an adviser for the Shoshone and Arapaho craft associations. By 1945, there were two Arapaho groups, at Ethete and at Arapaho, and one Shoshone group at Fort Washakie.⁶⁴ Under Schultz's tutelage, the Arapaho and Shoshone cooperatives established all-Native boards of directors. Board members evaluated craftwork items and determined which ones were worthy of purchase by the cooperative, the appropriate sales price of each item, and how much the artist would be paid; they then offered the work for resale. They also established production standards and determined the types of arts and crafts that they believed artists should be encouraged to create. If the board rejected artisans' work, its members met with them, explained their actions, and offered advice for improvement.⁶⁵

Shortly after arriving in Fort Washakie, Schultz secured Arapaho workers' participation in a University of Wyoming Extension Division mattress-making project. Two women were sent to Lander to learn how to sew and stuff mattresses, one from the Ethete district and another from the Lower Arapaho district.⁶⁶ Returning home, they communicated their new skills to other women of their communities. Catholic and Episcopal churches provided auditorium space for the projects, and Arapaho women were provided with materials and received training in mattress production. As the project progressed, husbands and other family members became involved. Men helped with the heavy work of hefting mattresses, and constructing and hand-carving bedsteads. Schultz reports: "The men not only made beds, but also decorated them

with carving at the heads—tipis, buffalo, one man even carved General MacArthur sitting under a palm tree.”⁶⁷ As the mattresses and beds neared completion, the women decided to produce patchwork quilts as well, securing quilting frames and “great sacks of scraps of materials” from “either the State or the Indian Service.”⁶⁸ The beds and bedding produced under the project were distributed to Arapaho tribal members, filling a particularly pressing need among the group’s elderly.⁶⁹ In her oral history Schultz reports that, while the Shoshone had been able to channel funds into the building and furnishing of homes, the Arapaho had not been able to do so, and many were forced to sleep on the ground with coats as their only bedding.⁷⁰

While the Arapaho women were occupied with the task of producing beds and bedding, Shoshone craft workers initiated their own project. Mattresses, beds, and bedding were pressing needs among the Arapaho, but the needs of the Shoshone lay elsewhere. Leather craft and bead-working had retained their importance among the Shoshone so production skills had not been lost; however, the marketing and quality-control advantages of cooperative production of handcrafts had barely been realized. Schultz’s task was to assist Shoshone craft workers in accessing the credit funds and marketing assistance that the federal government had recently made available to Native cooperative enterprises and employing them to greatest advantage.⁷¹

The first task for the Shoshone craft workers was to secure an advantageously located building for a workroom and sales shop. Such a space was found in a former BIA building at Washakie, which was renovated with government assistance to serve the cooperative’s needs. Like the Blackfeet women, the Shoshone craft workers established a constitution and bylaws for their organization and appointed a board that screened handcrafts for quality and set prices.⁷² While traditional forms of leatherwork and beadwork remained their primary forms, the Shoshone women adopted weaving as a new handcraft. A weaving workroom was set up in the cooperative building and equipped with looms provided by the Indian Service. Serving as instructors were Vida Brandt, a young Shoshone woman who had learned to weave while attending South Dakota’s Flandreau Indian School, and Indian Service worker Flora Goforth.⁷³ While the Shoshone women quickly acquired weaving skills, their output was limited to the production of throws and blankets of relatively simple design. Beadwork of complex and intricate design remained their forte, and a ready market in such work developed. Also noteworthy were the traditionally dressed dolls that several cooperative members produced. As Schultz notes, one craft worker in particular, “Debra Trehero, the wife of John Trehero, the Shoshone medicine man, made beautiful dolls dressed in pure white, beaded, buckskin, with well-drawn faces and real hair.”⁷⁴ As it expanded, the Shoshone cooperative outgrew its building and moved to a former grocery store which was sold to the group by tribal council member Maude Clermont.

The Arapaho women also adopted weaving (fig. 6). As in the case of the Blackfeet and Shoshone, the Indian Service provided looms. The Arapaho craft workers established two workshop/retail sales locations, one at Ethete and the other at Arapaho, in the same churches that had sponsored the mattress-making projects. While the Shoshone preferred to produce shawls and runners of simple design, the Arapaho women took on more demanding projects. According to Schultz, “The Arapaho women



FIGURE 6. *Arapaho weaver using floor loom (n.d., James Willard Schultz). James Willard Schultz Papers, Collection 10, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library object ID 004, <http://arc.lib.montana.edu/schultz-0010/item/4>. Image courtesy of Montana State University Library.*

took hold of weaving so readily and did it so well that they attracted the interest of local people.”⁷⁵ In fact, the Arapaho women’s facility with weaving was recognized and rewarded with major commissions for hotels and government offices. Harold D. Del Monte, owner of the Noble Hotel in Lander, Wyoming, prompted their first major project when he commissioned the Arapaho weavers to produce ten matching sets of drapes and bedspreads for his hotel. Cooperative members decided that, rather than producing ten identical sets, they would create each set with a different subject, thus providing each room with a distinct theme relating to Plains Indian culture (fig. 7). Themes chosen were: (1) transportation; (2) the Sun Dance; (3) communication; (4) the military; (5) trapper and trader; (6) the early settler; (7) Sacajawea; (8) big game; (9) mining; and (10) cattle and sheep.⁷⁶ Wool for the project, provided by local ranchers, was sent to the state penitentiary at Rawlins for washing, carding, and spinning.⁷⁷ Cooperative members dyed the wool themselves, using the facilities of the Catholic mission at Arapaho. Designs woven into the drapes and bedspreads were based on traditional symbols and pictographs.

For example, the set of weavings with the theme of transportation incorporated into the design scheme images of astronomical phenomena traditionally employed by Plains Indians to guide their groups’ movements. Schultz explains the design choices for the transportation-themed room:



FIGURE 7. *Décor of the Noble Hotel in Lander, Wyoming, 1967. Note that the curtain design motif is identical to that seen in Figure 6. Special Collections & Archives, Merrill Library, Utah State University, Folk Coll 4, no. 3, ID number 070910, <http://digital.lib.usu.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/Slides/id/1716/rec/18>. Image courtesy of Utah State University.*

By night the stars guided the travelers. The Milky Way, various constellations, and individual stars and planets known to the medicine men marked a sure trail to the new campsite. Our drapes showed the evening star, the north star, the morning star, the Pleiades, Jupiter, and the Milky Way. These were the night lights that guided them.⁷⁸

Once the drapes and bedspreads were installed, explanations of the designs were printed, framed, and hung in each room of the hotel. Produced in a soft beige shade, the weavings replicated the color of buckskin and featured long fringes. Del Monte was so pleased with the thematic furnishings that he commissioned a non-Native Billings, Montana artist, J. D. Rawlings, to produce paintings and beds with scenes

carved in the head and foot panels that centered on the same themes. Rawlings also produced a series of paintings for the Noble Hotel's lunchroom depicting the life of Chief Washakie, and Del Monte issued a pamphlet titled "Life of Chief Washakie and Shoshone" in which Rawlings' lunchroom paintings accompanied Del Monte's narrative of Chief Washakie's life.⁷⁹

In 1948, after completion of the Noble Hotel project, the Arapaho weavers contributed seventeen of sixty-six pairs of drapes for the Billings, Montana, BIA building. They joined Sioux craft workers from Pine Ridge and Rosebud, South Dakota; Chippewa from Turtle Mountain, North Dakota; and Gros Ventures from Fort Berthold, North Dakota, in the project.⁸⁰ Employing many of the same themes that they used in production of the Noble Hotel weavings, the Arapaho craft workers were paid forty dollars for each of the sixteen sets of draperies and fifty dollars for the set representing the story of Sacagawea. This was, as Schultz notes, "a very considerable sum in those days."⁸¹ One set of drapes produced for the Billings BIA offices that centered on the theme of cattle and sheep featured the brands of local ranches, including the Wind River Cattle Association, the Ethete Cattle Association and Sheep Association, the Padlock Ranch, and the ranches of Martin Underwood, Shakespeare, Scott Dewey, and White Plume.

While these projects were quite successful, financing them was often difficult. The craft workers were paid in cash each time they submitted their work for sale, and "growth was so rapid that it was difficult to sell items fast enough to supply cash to pay the women for the new items they brought in."⁸² Weaving projects were especially



FIGURE 8. Meeting of North Plains Crafts Association (n.d., photographer unknown). Front row: (1) Nannie Ute, Shoshone; (2) Rena Little, Arapaho; (3) Mrs. Helmer Ute, Shoshone; (4) Suzette Wagon, Shoshone; (5) Nora Spanish, Blackfoot; (6) Jessie D. Schultz. Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections, Montana State University Library object ID 293, <http://arc.lib.montana.edu/schultz-0010/item/293>. Image courtesy of Montana State University Library.

problematic since they typically required an extended time period for completion, during which the women had to wait to be paid.⁸³ The Arapaho, Shoshone, and Blackfeet craftswomen with whom Schultz worked discussed these difficulties and similar experiences with other members of the Northern Plains Crafts Association at annual meetings (fig. 8). According to Schultz, such meetings, held at the location of a different cooperative each year, were very popular and proved effective in providing members with suggestions for solutions to cash flow and production problems.⁸⁴

Schultz remained at Fort Washakie until 1953, seeing the Arapaho and Shoshone cooperatives prosper and flourish. An important benefit of the Northern Plains enterprises was the independence they afforded the craft workers. Schultz felt that one of the most positive results of the handcraft cooperatives was the economic autonomy they provided to women who had suffered at the hands of abusive husbands.⁸⁵ While the Northern Plains handcrafts projects afforded their participants a degree of economic independence, they also served to perpetuate important, culturally integrative social structures. Women's cooperative handcraft groups helped perpetuate Northern Plains social structures that were similar in social function to traditional quillwork societies. Like traditional quillwork societies among Northern Plains women, the handcraft cooperatives' activities were communal affairs. Knowledge and skills were handed down from elders to younger women, and women deemed superior craft workers were afforded positions of high status and economic security.

Further, the production of miniatures in the form of traditionally dressed dolls and small models of ceremonial dancers also served to preserve traditional forms and imagery. As art historian Ruth Phillips discusses, seemingly innocuous dolls and beaded "trinkets" that represent traditional Native North American objects and clothing in miniature form have functioned as important carriers of cultural tradition.⁸⁶ While to non-Natives these representations may have appeared to be metonymic expressions of "primitive" lifestyles and cultures doomed to extinction, and thus justifying the colonialist assumption of the "white man's burden," to their Native producers they functioned as important forms of autoethnographic expression, preserving in miniature culturally specific conventions of clothing production and embellishment. The production and marketing of such dolls, as well as the creation and sale of beadwork items, has offered Northern Plains women a means of resistance to assimilation while, at the same time, these women have been afforded the appearance of having capitulated to non-Native demands of proper femininity and docile acceptance of assimilation and colonialism. They conformed to the dictates of proper early-twentieth-century womanhood while preserving important social and cultural traditions.

CONCLUSION

Schultz possessed a genuine desire to help preserve traditional practices and forms of the Northern Plains groups with whom she worked. Her work occurred during a period of important change in regard of Native traditions and attitudes toward assimilation, and the projects she initiated reflected those changes. *The Masque of the Absaroka* may have succeeded in providing its audience with an accurate representation

of Crow mythology and beliefs; however, the aspect of the production that contributed most to fulfillment of these aims—inclusion of Native people—ultimately undermined the project. Schultz enlisted a form of cultural production—the pageant/masque—to propagate a shared identity among community members. However, she was to realize that, by including Native people in early twentieth-century Bozeman, she violated the community's sense of collective identity, which was based not on inclusion of Native peoples, but rather on drawing distinctions from them. Including Natives in a form of community celebration—one that was commonly employed to cement social bonds by means of presenting a vision of present and future community prosperity and shared sense of purpose—threatened the community's exclusionary self-identity.

Much of the success of the handcraft projects that Schultz oversaw relied on the non-threatening and presumed non-transgressive nature of Native women's sewing projects. Sewing was generally regarded as mundane and harmless—a domestic activity that all women presumably practiced. It was not viewed as deleterious to assimilation but, rather, as something that would facilitate it, promoting adaptation to Euro-American values, proper feminine behavior, and propagation of a healthy home life that would benefit all family members, especially younger generations who would presumably adopt those values necessary to assumption of a modern, Western lifestyle. However, in supporting women's needlecraft programs, those who wished to promote assimilation unwittingly also supported practices that helped to perpetuate significant aspects of traditional Native cultures. Assimilationists did not understand the functions that women's handcraft traditions have played in perpetuation of indigenous cultures. Women's bead-working traditions among Northern Plains tribes were continuous with quill-working traditions and practices.

Plains women participated in guilds or societies devoted to the production of various handcrafts.⁸⁷ Within these groups, techniques and standards of excellence in tanning, hide-working, quill-working, and other forms of craftwork were perpetuated through transmission to younger women. In the case of quillwork societies, members fulfilled important community needs by producing objects of daily use as well as ritually prepared objects that bestowed blessings on their recipients. Individual quillworkers became known for particular designs, often acquired in dreams or visions, and quillwork societies regularly celebrated members' accomplishments, honoring those who had shown exceptional skill and tenacity and recognizing major milestones in their achievements.

Because quill-working was a sacred activity that offered its practitioners high status, it was accompanied by specific expectations and demands. Preparation of sacred and ceremonial objects was regulated by strictures on materials and methods of construction and imagery employed. Quillworkers' individual behaviors were also proscribed. Older guild members transmitted to initiates information regarding techniques and materials preparation, and instructed them in the meaning and use of traditional designs. Among the Northern Arapaho and Blackfeet, quill-working was learned through long apprenticeship. When an older member retired from the guild, a new, younger member was chosen and initiated into the society. The new member passed through stages marked by completion of particular objects. She first produced

moccasins and leggings, then progressed to men's shirts, and finally to robes.⁸⁸ By the time she retired from the society, she had completed a wide range of quilled objects using a repertoire of traditional imagery that demonstrated her expertise and fluency.

Northern Arapaho quillworkers apprenticed with one of seven older women who was the holder of a sacred medicine bag that contained the tools required for quillworking and tipi decoration. These seven women were vested with the authority to instruct others, and their bags—and thus their position of status and the rights to perform certain ceremonies—were passed on to younger women who had proved themselves worthy via superior quillwork production.⁸⁹ Quillworkers periodically came together to display their impressive works, recounting their accomplishments in much the same way that men of their tribes gathered to retell their war exploits. According to John C. Ewers, similar beliefs and practices obtained among Blackfeet quillworkers.⁹⁰ Blackfeet women were initiated into quillwork societies via prescribed ceremonies intended to protect them from the potential negative effects of the powerful forces their work invoked.

In his study of the complex role that quillwork played in Northern Arapaho culture, anthropologist Jeffrey D. Anderson explains that quillwork “was the highest form of strictly women’s ritual agency for generating life.”⁹¹ Quillwork society members bore responsibility for orchestrating rituals that accompanied major life transitions, including ceremonies marking children’s developmental stages and achievements. According to Anderson,

Navel cord bags, first tooth, naming, first walk, and first hunt feasts to honor children were organized by mothers, aunts, and grandmothers. Quillwork itself was indispensable for supplying an infant’s first home in the cradle, making objects for marital exchanges between spouses’ families, and, through robe making, ensuring men’s successful returns from war party expeditions.⁹²

While quilled objects had utilitarian functions, their highest value lay in their capacity to bless relatives’ lives. Society members “embroidered quills on robes for brothers, on cradles for nieces and nephews, and on leanbacks, tipis, and other gifts for newly married relatives.”⁹³ Quilled objects, Anderson contends,

were considered among the highest-valued goods in the Arapaho symbolic economy. As objects moved in everyday life, women’s achievements were known in a wider public space, as much as the war exploits or other achievements of men. In short, women earned respect through quillwork. As the objects they produced moved through the local economy, their personhood extended over a wider social space.⁹⁴

As Anderson asserts, “Quillwork generated, maintained, or redefined social relations among human beings.”⁹⁵ When quill-working was no longer practiced, bead-working perpetuated this social function.

Once confined to reservations where they had extremely limited access to porcupines through hunting and increased availability of glass beads through trade, many quillworkers transferred their designs to beadwork.⁹⁶ Beadwork is not ritually

produced and is regarded by Northern Plains tribes as a wholly secular practice. Geometric designs in ritually produced quillwork had fixed meanings that required faithful replication, whereas the same designs in beadwork had individualized, and thus multiple, meanings.⁹⁷ The behavioral restrictions that applied to quill-working did not accompany bead-working; however, communal production, recognition of superior craftswomen, the passing along of knowledge and skills from one generation to the next by the most highly revered artisans, approval of younger members' work by elders, and periodic display of fine work persisted. Similar social status accrued to the quillworker and beadworker.

When beadwork displaced quillwork, it produced social capital for its practitioners in a manner similar to its earlier counterpart. Beadworkers embellished traditional regalia for public performance and displayed and presented beaded gifts to family members on special occasions, marking family members' personal achievements and major life transitions through public commemoration. The traditional beadworker was the repository of knowledge regarding her craft and she played an important role in disseminating this information to younger women whom she deemed worthy of its possession. These roles helped her secure a position of status similar to that previously enjoyed by quillworkers. In the new reservation economy she produced items for sale, but she also continued to decorate her family's clothing and certain items necessary to the continuation of ceremonial practice, and thus continued to fulfill a vital role in family and community life. Weaving projects, on the other hand, were of relatively short duration, ending soon after the bedspread and drapery projects of the 1940s were complete. While this was due to some extent to the fact that handwoven, vegetal-dyed products required a long production period during which income was not received, of greater significance in the ultimate failure of weaving projects was that weaving was not traditionally practiced by Northern Plains groups and offered a poor fit with preexisting social and cultural practices. On the other hand, beadwork was easily adapted to pre-existing practices, designs, and accompanying social structures, and thus it flourished.

Schultz's efforts to help perpetuate Northern Plains Native handcrafts and develop economic strategies for their production and marketing had unintended effects that worked to satisfy those who wished to see heightened economic self-sufficiency among Native women achieved within non-Native normative construction of proper femininity. They also afforded Native women a position of agency in perpetuation of community and culture conceived in their own unique terms. Benefiting from affiliation with Northern Plains Native women, close contact with early twentieth-century Indian rights activists, and intensive study with scholars of the cultures within which she worked, Schultz significantly shifted the trajectory of her career. She began as a romantic primitivist who was convinced that Native cultures would soon vanish and the best one could do to benefit their members was to attempt to mitigate the immediate negative effects of such change. As time passed, her perception altered and she came to see Native peoples as members of ongoing, ever-changing cultures that could develop strategies built on long-established beliefs and practices that would contribute to their perpetuation through the present and into the future.

NOTES

1. Donaldson Schultz reflects briefly on *The Masque of the Absaroka* in the introduction to Max Big Man, "The Beaver Dance and Adoption Ceremony of the Crow Indians," in *Lifeways of Intermontane and Plains Montana Indians, Occasional Papers of the Museum of the Rockies No. 1*, ed. Leslie B. Davis (Bozeman, MT: Montana State University, 1979), 33–44; also see Jessie Schultz's autobiography (hereafter cited as DSA), ed. Anne Banks, Merrill G. Burlingame Library Special Collections (MGBLSC), Montana State University (Collection 2186). Other sources on Schultz include Ann Banks, "Jessie Schultz and Blackfeet Crafts," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 33, no. 4:18–35, www.jstor.org/stable/4518777; "Gifts Reflect Indian Ways," *The Piegan Storyteller* 4, no. 3 (July 1979): 1; "Gifts Reflect Indian Ways," *Bozeman Daily Chronicle*, March 25, 1979; Warren L. Hanna, *The Life and Times of James Willard Schultz (Apikuni)* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986); and Jennifer McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art: Indian Arts and Federal Policy, 1933–1943* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 112–19.
2. Ibid; also see "Indians Ready for Masque," *Billings Gazette*, Friday June 3, 1927, 12.
3. DSA, 127.
4. Note to Horace Albright from "Joe" attached to letter from Leroy Hill, Acting Superintendent, Yellowstone National Park, to Jessie Schultz, December 29, 1926, US Department of Interior, Yellowstone National Park, File No. 139.91, Pageants Fiscal Year 1927, 1928. Also see Peter Nabokov and Lawrence Loendorf, *Restoring a Presence: American Indians and Yellowstone National Park* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).
5. While scholarship on early- to mid-twentieth-century American Indian women has grown significantly over the last twenty years, it remains scant, and scholarship on the non-Native women who worked among Native women as reformers and Indian Service employees is equally limited. The present study builds on this scholarship. See Molly Mullin, *Culture in the Marketplace: Gender, Art and Value in the American Southwest* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001); Margaret D. Jacobs, *Engendered Encounters: Feminism and Pueblo Cultures, 1879–1934* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999); Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874–1939* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Valerie Sherer Mathes, *Divinely Guided: The California Work of the Women's National Indian Association* (Lubbock: Texas Tech University Press, 2012); and Jane E. Simonsen, *Making Home Work: Domesticity and Native American Assimilation in the American West, 1860–1919* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2006).
6. See McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, 103–24; and J. J. Brody, *Indian Painters and White Patrons* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1971).
7. Alice Marriott, "The Trade Guild of the Southern Cheyenne Women," *Bulletin of the Oklahoma Historical Society* 4 (1956): 19–27.
8. Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue*.
9. Schultz started SPURS at MSC, a women's service organization that spread nationwide to other colleges and universities.
10. Karen J. Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1868–1914* (New York: Homes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1980); and *The Torchbearers: Women and their Amateur Arts Associations in America, 1890–1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).
11. DSA, 112.
12. Schultz also completed classes in social work at the University of Denver to better prepare her for work among Northern Plains groups (DSA, 187).
13. Brian Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and United States Indian Policy* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1982).
14. Hanna, *The Life and Times of James Willard Schultz (Apikuni)*.

15. In 1929 James Willard Schultz moved to Bozeman to be near Schultz, although his divorce from his second wife was not yet final. He rented a room a block away from Schultz's apartment and the two worked together on *The Sun God's Children* while Jessie continued to teach full-time at MSC. At the end of AY 1929–30 Schultz was called into the MSC president's office and told that her position at the college would not be renewed if she continued to associate with J. W. Schultz. Not wishing to terminate her relationship with Schultz, she immediately resigned her position (DSA, 146–50).

16. James Willard Schultz, *My Life as an Indian: The Story of a Red Woman and a White Man in the Lodges of the Blackfeet* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907); *Blackfeet Tales of Glacier National Park* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916); and James Willard Schultz and Jessie L. Donaldson, *The Sun God's Children* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1930). James Willard Schultz authored 37 books and numerous articles on the Blackfeet, Kootenai, and Flathead Indians. Indian Welfare League members included J. W. Schultz, William Jennings Bryant Jr., photographer Edward Sheriff Curtis, and *Sunset Magazine* editor Walter W. Woehlke.

17. Percy MacKaye, "The Gospel of Community Drama," *Blue Triangle News* 96 (1920): 1.

18. *Ibid.*

19. *Ibid.*

20. Naima Prevots, *American Pageantry: A Movement for Art and Democracy* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1990), 6.

21. David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990); and Prevots, *American Pageantry*, 44.

22. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 109.

23. Prevots, *American Pageantry*, 3.

24. *Ibid.*, 123.

25. *Ibid.*, 123, 149.

26. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 4–5.

27. For a discussion of folk art and early-twentieth-century American nationalism see McLerran, *A New Deal for Native Art*, *passim*.

28. Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry*, 139.

29. *Ibid.*, 140.

30. McLerran, *A New Deal*, *passim*.

31. DSA, 112.

32. *Ibid.*, 114.

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*, 116.

35. *Ibid.*, 120.

36. *Ibid.*, 121. White actors played the leading Indian parts in the masque. According to "Parts Assigned for Masque of Absaroka," *The Helena Daily Independent*, Wednesday, May 4, 1927, 5, and *The Masque of the Absaroka* program, Collection 2186, MGBLSC, actors and their roles were: G. Ott Romney as Lone Tree, Raymond Wetsteon as Chief Charges Strong, Madeline Purdy as Pine Leaf, William Ennis as Fire Moccasins, Edward Buck as Old Man Coyote, Channell A. MacKenzie as The Crier, Edith Grimes-Waddell as Bird Woman, Derek Norman Lehmer as Otter Chief, Valens Jones as Medicine Crow, Harold Rivenes as the Thunderbird, and Ed Fuller as Strikes at Night. Crow participants, who danced and sang, were: Victor Three Irons, Mrs. Victor Three Irons, Victor Three Irons, Jr., Max Big Man, Max Big Man, Jr., Josephine Blain, Frank Medicine Horse, All Holds the Enemy, Mrs. All Holds the Enemy, Blake White Bear, Charles Ten Bear, Bird Horse, Mrs. Bird Horse, Packs the Hat, Mrs. Packs the Hat, Nellie Pickett, Joseph Pickett, Rose Gardner, and Frank Gardner.

37. *Ibid.*, 123–24. The first act roughly followed the Crow Creation Story as recorded by Robert Lowie in *Myths and Traditions of the Crow Indians, Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History* 25, part I (1918): 14–19.
38. DSA, 125.
39. *Ibid.*, 126.
40. McLerran, *A New Deal*, 112–20.
41. DSA, 171, 222. For other arts and crafts revival efforts in which Schultz participated, see McLerran, *A New Deal*.
42. Forrest C. Stone, *Superintendent's Annual Narrative and Statistical Reports, 1932* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1933), Blackfeet Narrative Section, 2–6.
43. DSA 172; US Department of the Interior, Office of Indian Affairs, "Indian Women in the Civil Works Administration, *Indians at Work* 1 (January 15, 1934), 40.
44. DSA, 172; and "Buffalo Coats at Blackfeet," *Indians at Work* 1, no. 13 (February 15, 1934): 41.
45. *Ibid.*, 173. Workers at Heart Butte included Mary Little Bull, Judith Sanderville, Leona Sanderville, Agnes Chief-All-Over, Dolores Calf Tail, Julia Iron Pipe, Maggie Shoo Cat, Maggie Murceau, and Millie Hall.
46. *Ibid.*, 174.
47. *Ibid.*, 176.
48. A quarter of the profits were allocated to the shop for operating and materials expenses. The artisans received the remainder (McLerran, *A New Deal*, 114).
49. Mary Little Bull instructed craft workers in the Old Agency district, and Katie Home Gun taught beadwork in the Heart Butte and Browning districts.
50. *Blackfeet Superintendent's Report* (May 7, 1937), 2.
51. DSA, 174.
52. United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, "Narrative Report for the Month of November 1937—Jessie Donaldson Schultz, Community Worker," File No. 30124-1937, Records Group 75, National Archives and Records Administration, 2. Berrychild taught at Cut Bank Creek, Blackfoot and Browning, and Mary Little Bull added Two Medicine River, Heart Butte, and Little Badger to her existing territory.
53. Wayne Many Guns and Joe Fisher, *Blackfeet 10* (video; 1975–1976), American Indian Film Gallery, <http://aifg.arizona.edu/film/blackfeet-10>.
54. *Ibid.*, 174. Original board members were Jeanette Day Rider, Heart Butte; Mary St. Goddard, Little Badger; Mary Little Bull, Chief Crow Colony; Nora Spanish, The Mission; Rose Wolf tail, Star School; Maggie Chouquette, Heavy Runner; Laura Kipp, Blackfoot; and Louise Berrychild, Browning. Mary St. Goddard served as the organization's vice president and Nora Spanish was its secretary-treasurer. Founders of the cooperative were Mary Little Bull, Angeline Williams, Rosie Grant, Nellie Bush, Nellie Buell, Angeline Wells, Mary Little Bloom, Annie Potts, Annie Calf Looking, Maggie Found a Gun, Annie Flat Tail, Rosie Big Beaver, Cecile Tail Feathers, Louise Berry Child and Nora Spanish.
55. DSA, 175.
56. *Ibid.*, 174.
57. *Ibid.*, 177.
58. "Blackfeet Crafts Workers Ready for Summer Season, Blackfeet Agency, Browning, Montana," *Indians at Work* 5, no. 10 (June 1938): 21; and McLerran, *A New Deal*, 115.
59. "Blackfeet Indian Museum Draws Tourist Interest," *The Roundup Record-Tribune and Winnett Times*, August 22, 1940, n.p.
60. These popular beaded jackets were also sold by Abercrombie and Fitch and through mail order.

61. McLerran, *A New Deal*, 115.
62. "Blackfeet Craftworkers Ready for Summer Season," 23; and McLerran, *A New Deal*, 116.
63. The large cooperative to which Schultz refers is the Northern Plains Crafts Association (DSA, 89). In a video interview conducted in 1975–76, Nora Spanish reported that the Blackfeet Cooperative had been a member of the Northern Plains Crafts Association, headquartered in North Dakota, but the cooperative's members decided to withdraw when they could not keep up with the volume the association demanded (Wayne Many Guns and Joe Fisher, *Blackfeet 10*).
64. Prior to Schultz's transfer to the Wind River Agency, the Arapaho had established cooperative arts and crafts enterprises under the sponsorship and supervision of Episcopal deaconess Edith M. Adams. Adams set the Arapaho women up with a \$1,000 credit fund for their cooperative. (Jessie Schultz, "Crafts and Citizenship at Wind River," *Indians at Work* 13 (January-February 1945): 32–35. The Shoshone, on the other hand, had previously worked only with traders as middlemen in the sale of their work and, as a consequence, they were relatively slower in organizing a cooperative than the Arapaho.
65. McLerran, *A New Deal*, 119.
66. Mattress-making projects were carried out nationwide among poor and minority women, with participants receiving compensation through Federal Emergency Relief Administration funding. See Martha A. Swain, "The Forgotten Woman: Ellen S. Woodward and Women's Relief in the New Deal," *Prologue: The Journal of the National Archives* 15, no. 4 (1983): 201–13.
67. DSA, 198.
68. *Ibid.*, 198.
69. For one woman's recollection of the mattress-making project's positive effect on tribal members' lives, see Brian Hosmer, "Dollar a Day and Glad to Have It: Work Relief on the Wind River Indian Reservation as Memory," in *Native Pathways: American Indian Culture and Economic Development in the Twentieth Century* (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2004), 283–307.
70. DSA, 195.
71. McLerran, *A New Deal*.
72. Cooperative members included Emma Ute, Debra Trehero, Dolly Heba, Birdie Aaron, Laura Beckman, Nattie Ute, Annie Washakie, Virginia Noseep, Ina Weed, Amelia Norman, Eunice Osborne, First Guina, and Susette Wagon, who also served as the organization's bookkeeper.
73. DSA, 201. Flora Goforth later authored an instructional publication on weaving for use in Indian schools, *Weave It Yourself* (Lawrence, KS: Haskell Printing Department, United States Indian Service, 1947).
74. *Ibid.*, 203.
75. *Ibid.*, 211.
76. *Ibid.*, 212.
77. DSA, 212.
78. *Ibid.*, 212.
79. H. D. Del Monte, *Life of Chief Washakie and Shoshone Indians* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News Press, 1954).
80. "Bureau Plans Show of Indian Crafts," *Billings Herald*, Thursday, December 2, 1948, 1; DSA, 210–15.
81. DSA, 218.
82. *Ibid.*, 218.
83. *Ibid.*, 220.
84. *Ibid.*, 220.
85. *Ibid.*, 210.

86. Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700–1900* (Seattle: University of Washington Press; and Toronto: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), 93–102.

87. Recent sources on quill-working among Northern Plains women are: Emma Hansen, *Memory and Vision: Arts, Cultures, and Lives of Plains Indian Peoples* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2008); and Jeffrey D. Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork: Motion, Life and Creativity* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2013). Classic ethnographic studies on the topic include George Bird Grinnell, *The Cheyenne Indians, Volume I: History and Society* (Bison Books, 1972; originally published 1928); Marriott, "The Trade Guild of the Southern Cheyenne Women"; Alfred Kroeber, *The Arapaho I, General Description, 2, Decorative Art and Symbolism* (Ithaca: Cornell University Library; originally published 1902); John C. Ewers, *The Blackfeet: Raiders on the Northern Plains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1958), and Loretta Fowler, "Arapahoe," in *Handbook of North American Indians* 13, pt. 2, ed. Raymond J. DeMallie (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 840–62.

88. Anderson, 117. Also see George A. Dorsey and Alfred L. Kroeber, *Traditions of the Arapaho. Field Columbian Museum Publication 81; Anthropological Series 5* (Chicago: Field Columbian Museum, 1903), 239–46.

89. Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork*, 7.

90. Ewers, *The Blackfeet*, 119–20.

91. Jeffrey D. Anderson, *The Four Hills of Life: Northern Arapaho Knowledge and Life Movement* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 173–84.

92. Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork*, 7.

93. *Ibid.*, 16.

94. *Ibid.*

95. *Ibid.*, 86.

96. Dorsey reports that the Arapaho substituted beads for quills. See Warden to Dorsey, January 4, 1905, Anthropology Archives, Field Museum, Chicago, in Marsha Bol, "Collecting Symbolism Among the Arapaho: George A. Dorsey and C. Warden, Indian," in *The Great Southwest of the Fred Harvey Company and the Santa Fe Railroad*, ed. Marta Weigle and Barbara A. Babcock (Phoenix: Heard Museum, 1996), 114.

97. Alfred L. Kroeber, *The Arapaho* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1983, reprint, original parts 1, 2, and 3 published 1902, 1904, and 1907), 150; and Anderson, *Arapaho Women's Quillwork*, 74.

