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ADULT GENDER ROLES IN THREE TRADITIONAL AMERICAN
INDIAN SOCIETIES

A thesis paper

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Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena on tutkia sukupuolten välisiä rooleja kolmessa intiaaniheimossa, jotka ovat Crow, Sioux ja Hopi. Pääasiallisina tutkimuskohteina ovat sukupuolten välinen työnjako sekä sukupuolten väliset suhteet. Analyysi tehtiin jokaisesta heimosta erikseen ja lisäksi heimoista tehtiin vertailua. Tutkimus kohdistui aikuisiän rooleihin, lapsuuden ja vanhuuden rooleja kuvattiin vain tarvittaessa osoittamaan, että aikuisiän roolit ovat lähtöisin jo lapsuudesta tai jatkuvat vielä vanhuusiässäkin. Ajankohta johon tutkimus kohdistuu on aika ennen valkoisten valloittajien saapumista, minkä jälkeen yhteisöihin tuli uusia vaikutteita ja kulttuuri alkoi väistämättä muuttumaan.

Tutkimuksen päämateriaalina ovat intiaanien kirjoittamat omaelämäkerrat. Osan niistä intiaanit ovat kirjoittaneet itse ja osassa varsinaisen kirjoittamisen on suorittanut joku muu intiaanin itsensä puheen ylös kirjoittaen. Noissa tapauksissa kuitenkin on oltu huolellisia sen suhteen, että asiat on ymmärretty oikein. Lisäksi materiaalina on käytetty aihepiiriin liittyvää muuta kirjallisuutta ja tutkimuksessa on myös tarkasteltu muun materiaalin oikeellisuutta.

Tutkimuksen teoriaosuudessa esitellään tutkimuskohteena olevia heimoja tarkemmin ja luodaan yleissilmäys niiden historiaan, nykyisyyteen, kulttuuriin ja uskontoon. Lisäksi omaelämäkerrat tutkimuskohteena käsitellään omassa luvussaan. Luvun tarkoituksena on osoittaa, että omaelämäkerrat ovat pätevä tutkimuskohde intiaaneihin liittyvässä tutkimuksessa.

Tutkimuksen varsinaisessa analyysissä havaittiin, että erityisesti naapuriheimojen, Crow ja Sioux, sukupuolten välinen työnjako oli hyvin selkeä ja miehet ja naiset tekivät harvoin samoja töitä. Lisäksi työnjako molemmissa heimoissa oli hyvin samanlainen. Kuitenkin, mm. jatkuvasta sotimisesta johtuen, selkeä työnjako oli hyvä asia, koska sukupuolet täydensivät toisiaan. Eri alueella sijaitsevassa Hopi-heimossa sukupuolten välinen työnjako oli myös melko tarkasti määritelty, vaikkakin se erosi muista heimoista melko paljon.

Myös avioliittokäytännöissä Crow- ja Sioux –heimot olivat yhteneväisiä ja Hopi-heimot erosi niistä. Ensin mainituissa vanhemmilla oli suuri rooli avioliittojen järjestämisessä kun taas Hopi-heimossa rooli oli pienempi. Lisäksi vaimosta saatettiin maksaa Crow- ja Sioux –heimoissa esim. suurikin määrä hevosia vaimon vanhemmille. Ko. heimoissa myös moniavioisuus miehillä oli varsin yleistä. Vaimoja saattoi olla useampiakin. Hopi-heimossa tuota tapaa ei lähdekirjallisuuden mukaan esiintynyt.

Asiasanat: American Indians, gender, autobiography, division of labour, marriage

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | |
|---|----|
| 1 INTRODUCTION | 5 |
| 2 GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRIBES | 9 |
| 2.1 The Crow people | 9 |
| 2.2 The Sioux people | 12 |
| 2.3 The Hopi people | 15 |
| 3 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES AS A GENRE | 20 |
| 4 CROW SOCIETY | 28 |
| 4.1 Division of labour in Crow society | 28 |
| 4.2 Marriage and relationships in Crow society | 33 |
| 5 SIOUX SOCIETY | 40 |
| 5.1 Division of labour in Sioux society | 40 |
| 5.2 Marriage and relationships in Sioux society | 47 |
| 6 HOPI SOCIETY | 55 |
| 6.1 Division of labour in Hopi society | 55 |
| 6.2 Marriage and relationships in Hopi Society | 60 |
| 7 DISCUSSION | 70 |
| 8 CONCLUSION | 74 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 76 |

1 INTRODUCTION

Several scholars have written studies on the habits of the Indian tribes. For instance, Harold E. Driver in his book Indians of North America (1969) has done a thorough research on the American Indians, describing the general ways of the various areas where the Indians lived. However, he has not compared the tribes with one another, which will be the focus of the present study. Also Edward H. Spicer (1982) has studied Indian tribes, but he mainly describes the tribes one by one and does not compare them with each other. In addition, he does not shed light on the gender issues in the tribes at all. Pentti Virrankoski (1994) has written a comprehensive book of Indians in Finnish, focussing on cultural issues in particular. However, his work is also devoid of the gender issues.

In a more recent study by Devon Abbott Mihesuah (2003), the gender issues are taken into account and it has been hinted that the genders in Indian tribes complemented each other. In this thesis paper, I will comparatively analyse the gender issues of three Indian tribes, the Crow, Sioux and Hopi. This is done by studying autobiographies written or told by the Indians themselves, thus acquiring first-hand information. This will contribute to the works of the other scholars, providing more information on the gender issues and differences between the Indian tribes.

The period of time under investigation is the “golden” years of the American Indian culture during the 19th century. After the white influence and white conquerors arrived, the lives of the Indians started to worsen, which can be seen in numerous comments made by the Indians themselves, and their cultures weakened.

The purpose of the paper is mainly to shed light to the roles and habits of the two genders in three traditional Indian societies, the Crow, Sioux and Hopi. I intend to show that the roles of the genders varied quite significantly. In addition, comparison is made on the ways of the tribes and the information acquired from Indian autobiographies, which are used as main sources, is mirrored with the one from more comprehensive books about Indians. My intention is to describe what is written about the gender roles and go deeper into the roles of the two genders with the help of the autobiographies.

The Indians wrote the autobiographies by themselves, or they were at least narrated by the Indians to anthropologists. Of the Crow Indians, the main sources include Pretty-shield - Medicine Woman of the Crows (1972), Two Leggings - The Making of a Crow Warrior (1967), and Plenty-Coups - Chief of the Crows (2002). Two Leggings lived from about 1847 to 1923 and was a stout hearted warrior. Pretty Shield, a gentle and brave female Wise-one lived from the 1850s well into the 20th century. Nowadays, there is also a foundation in her name supporting especially Indian youth (Pretty Shield Foundation n.d.). Plenty-Coups lived from 1848 to 1932 and he was the last hereditary chief of the Crows.

The main sources of the Sioux include Indian Boyhood (1971), My People the Sioux (1975), Crow Dog - Four Generations of Sioux Medicine Men (1996) and Black Elk Speaks (2000). Indian Boyhood is the autobiography of Charles A. Eastman, known to the Sioux as Hakadah, who lived his adolescence years in the later part of the 19th century. My People the Sioux is narrated by Luther Standing Bear, a son of a Lakota chief, who was born in the 1860s and died in 1930s. Standing Bear was also involved in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show that toured also in Europe, and the Indian rights movement of the 1920s and 1930s. The book Crow Dog is narrated mainly by Leonard Crow Dog, and it tells about the history of four of the Crow Dogs, Jerome, John, Henry and Leonard beginning from the birth of Jerome in 1836. Black Elk Speaks is the autobiography of Black Elk, a Sioux visionary and healer, who lived

from 1863 to 1950. The book is actually written by John G. Neihardt, a white man to whom Black Elk told his life story.

The main Hopi sources are represented by Pumpkin Seed Point – Being Within the Hopi (1985), Me and Mine – The Life Story of Helen Sekaquaptewa (1985) and No Turning Back – A Hopi Indian Woman’s Struggle to Live in Two Worlds (1964). Pumpkin Seed Point is a novel written by Frank Waters (1902-1995), a white man who lived among the Hopi Indians for three years from 1959 to 1962 and got familiarized with their secretive culture and history (see also <http://www.readsouthwest.com/waters.html>). Me and Mine is, on the other hand, written by a female Hopi Indian Helen Sekaquaptewa who was born in 1898 and died in 1990 (Native American Authors Project n.d.), and was educated in a number of white schools. No Turning Back is told by a female Hopi Indian, Polingaysi Qoyawayma, to Vada F Carlson who has taken care of writing the manuscripts. Qoyawayma was born in 1892 and, after having herself chosen the white education, later also tried to improve the education of other Hopi Indians and set up a scholarship in order to help children get college training. She died in 1990. (Huben 2000.)

The problems related to autobiographies and especially ones that are not actually written by the narrators themselves are to be dealt with in a separate chapter. I will avoid making broad generalisations from the habits of the three tribes to all Indians, as the ways of the various tribes seem to differ quite drastically and would demand their own further research.

The thesis begins with two background chapters. The first one examines the general history and culture of the three Indian tribes and offers some basic information about them, including, for example, the origins, location, the number of inhabitants and the current day situation. In the second background chapter, as stated above, problems with autobiographies in general and especially Indian autobiographies are examined

with the intention of showing that, if used critically, they can be a valid way of acquiring information about the past. An obvious weakness of this approach is naturally the fact that the participants cannot be interviewed on the issues that specifically relate to the research, but it is contended that the autobiographies are the best possible source that is available in the present day.

After this, I proceed to the core analysis. Gender roles in each of the tribes will be dealt with in separate chapters with two subsections on each focusing on adulthood lives, first on the division of labour between the genders and then the relationships and marriage customs. This analysis is based on a qualitative analysis of the descriptions of the lives of men and women as they are presented in the autobiographies. The analysis focuses on the importance of the personal descriptions of the autobiography writers of their own lives and experiences. More specifically, the autobiographies provide data from different aspects of the authors' lives and, in the analysis, these aspects are categorised according to both their content (what the lives were like, what the people did in their everyday routines etc.) and their tone (whether the people accepted their lives, liked them, or hoped for something else).

Youth and old age will not be dealt with at any great length for several reasons. First of all, the autobiographies do not tell much of these ages other than that the old were very respected amongst their tribes. In addition, the lives of the elderly people are not told first-hand because the narrators were in their adulthood or adolescence during the years studied. Furthermore, they did not want to tell about the events that happened in the times they were old as the coming of the white influence generally marked the coming of bad times for them. Some of the autobiography narrators told stories of their childhood and those stories are used in this thesis to show that the diverse, complementary roles of the two genders originated from a very early age.

In the end, the conclusion, as well as some suggestions for possible future research studies, are presented.

2 GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRIBES

2.1 The Crow people

The Crows, also called Absaroka in their own language, lived in the Northern Plains in the area around the Yellowstone River and its tributaries, especially in the valleys of the Powder, Wind, and Bighorn Rivers. The Crows were divided into three bands known as the Mountain, River, and Kicked-in-Their-Bellies. They were renowned for their tallness, as well as courage and pride. (Nabokov 1967: ix.)

Before the year 1740, scholars believe the Crows were “sedentary village-dwelling people”, but after that, as the horse was introduced to the Indians, the Crows became horse-riding and buffalo-hunting people (Spicer 1982: 110). Since then, the way of life of the Crows became “interplay between their environment, vast herds of roaming buffalo, and horses introduced by the Spanish invaders to the south.” The buffalo and horse became the base of the power and prosperity of the Plains Indians, and much of their life revolved around them. The former provided them with food, clothing, robes, tepee covers, sinew thread, containers, and shields, the latter with the means, for example, of transportation in hunting buffalo, warfare and moving. After the whites later destroyed most of the buffalo the foundations of the Plains Indian society collapsed and the brave hunters became dependent on government rations. (Calloway 1999: 277-278.) Jon E. Lewis confirms the views given by Calloway and summarizes nicely the lifestyle of the Plains Indian tribes before the arrival of the large number of white settlers:

Buffalo, horse and gun. It was these three items that birthed the historic Plains Indian culture. Typical of this culture . . . was complete exploitation of the buffalo, emphasis on warfare as a way of achieving social status, scalping, sun dances, and whole-time use of the tipi. (Lewis 2004: 29.)

By the late 18th century, the Crows had become active traders of horses, bows, shirts, and feather work to the village Indians in return for guns and metal goods. In the beginning of the 19th century, they developed a highly organized culture of buffalo hunting and had also begun fighting the other Indians in order to retain their lands or claim new lands. (Spicer 1982: 111.) The fights to hold on to their lands and protect themselves from the neighbouring Blackfoot and Sioux tribes lasted throughout the first decades of the century (Nabokov 1967: viii). The first half of the 19th century also brought negative influence to the Crow Indians as smallpox and cholera epidemics that killed about a half of their population (Spicer 1982: 111).

For a Crow man to be ranked as a chief, the performance of four military exploits was required: leading a successful raid, taking a tethered horse from an enemy camp, being first in touching an enemy and wresting a weapon from an enemy. One man from the chief class became the head of the camp. Men who had managed to do all of these coups were also the social leaders of the tribe and such men who had managed to do none of the coups were treated as nobodies. According to Lowie, the chosen camp chief stayed in his post until the tribe no longer enjoyed good luck with him. After good luck ended, a new one was chosen. (Lowie 1983: 5-6.)

The internal peace of the Crow villages was maintained by so-called police of the villages. Each spring, one of the Crow military clubs was appointed by the head of the camp to act as the police. Almost every man belonged to one of the military “clubs”, which included the Foxes, Lumpwoods, Big Dogs and Muddy Hands, and practiced mainly social and military activities. The assignments of the police included controlling communal buffalo hunts, looking after possible war parties, leading the journeys of the camps, settling possible fights in the camp and maintaining order. The means used were sometimes harsh, if necessary. For instance, if malpractices were noticed in the buffalo hunt, punishments such as a ruthless whipping was given to the culprits. In another instance where buffaloes were

accidentally chased to a camp and tipis were torn up, the offenders were told to stay outside the camp for a month. (Lowie 1983: 5, 172.)

A basic element in Crow religious life was the supernatural vision, induced by fasting in isolation, waiting, and tormenting the body with skewers. That type of behaviour seems to be practiced among other groups of shamanic people as well (cf. Black & Hyatt 2002: 48). People (usually male) who attained a vision were “adopted” by a supernatural guardian who instructed them in gathering objects into a medicine bundle. They were then permitted to sell part of their power to other people who had not received visions and to create replica bundles for them. The Crow grew tobacco ceremonially; according to myth, it had been given to them to overcome their enemies. Unlike other clubs and societies among the Crow, tobacco societies involved an entrance fee and an elaborate initiation rite; they were joined both by men and by their wives. (Crow Indians n.d.)

During the period from 1840 to 1876, the areas of the Plains Indians were conquered by the white settlers (for a comprehensive depiction of Indian-white relations see Hagan 1993: 103-131). The Crows had been continually suffering losses from wars with the Blackfoot and Dakota tribes and sided with the whites in the Indian wars of the 1860s and ‘70s. In 1868, the Crow Indians accepted a reservation carved from former tribal lands in southern Montana. Their aboriginal tribal council remained until 1935 when they accepted the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA), which pushed the tribes to adopt standard constitutions based on the Western concept of government (American Indian Policy Center n.d.). In the late 20th century they numbered about 5,000 – many living off the reservation, which is based in southern Montana (Spicer, 1982 110). Robert H. Lowie states that their number in the reservation is about 1800 (Lowie 1983: 3), so there is a bit of a contradiction in the literature here. Nevertheless, the number of Crows is nowadays quite small.

The autobiography writers did not appreciate the period after the arrival of the white, since during those times also the buffalo diminished. As Two Leggings noted: “Nothing happened after that. We just lived. There were no more war parties, no capturing of horses from the Piegans and the Sioux, no buffalo to hunt. There is nothing more to tell”. (Nabokov 1967: 197.) Pretty Shield had similar thoughts about the time: “There is nothing to tell, because we did nothing. There were no buffalo. We stayed in one place, and grew lazy”. (Linderman 1972: 10.) Plenty-Coups offers views not much better while telling about the changes that came through the arrival of the whites: “There were few war parties, and almost no raids against our enemies, so that we were beginning to grow careless of our minds and bodies . . . That is the way we lived now, like a lot of sleepy people whom anybody might whip”. (Linderman 2002: 124-125.)

2.2 The Sioux people

The Sioux Indians are divided into three groups due to their dialectical differences. These groups are the Lakota (Teton Sioux), Nakota (Yankton Sioux) and Dakota (Santee Sioux). According to Hassrick (1964: 6), the Lakota group is the one who is popularly identified as the buffalo hunting Sioux Indians, but he notes that in anthropological terms all the three groups can be called the Sioux. On the other hand, Stoutenburgh (1960: 86) states that the Dakota are commonly known as the Sioux and the other two groups are also included in the tribe. However, in this study all the three groups are considered to be a part of the Sioux people so the terminological issues do not constitute a problem.

The Sioux in their glorious days in the 19th century consisted of seven divisions, the Oglala (Scatter One's Own), Hunkpapa (Those Who Camp at the Entrance), Miniconjou (Those Who Plant by the Stream), Sichangu (or Brulé (Burnt Thighs)), Sihasapa (Black Feet), Itazipcho (Without Bows, or called by the French Sans Arcs) and Oohenonpa (Two Boilings). Of these, the Oglala was the largest group. The various Sioux divisions' living area consisted of the land "from the Platte River north to the Heart, from the Missouri west to the Big Horn Mountains". (Hassrick 1964: 3.) The Sioux groups are originally believed to have been distinct bodies that were associated through an assembly called the Seven Council Fires. Gradually then the separate closely living groups joined together and formed the seven Sioux divisions. (ibid.: 3-7.)

The whole Sioux Nation tried to meet once a year in summertime for a joint council to "renew acquaintances, to decide matters of national importance, and to give the Sun Dance" (Hassrick 1964: 7). The most important spiritual ritual of the Sioux was the Sun Dance, which included fasting and dancing several hours around the Sun Dance pole while attached to it with skewers and chains from the chest muscles (ibid.: 34-35). The purpose of the self-torturous dance was to acquire strong spiritual visions. It differed from other vision quests of the Sioux in the way that it was a group affair. There were various possible purposes for undertaking the Sun Dance. The most common was to fulfil a vow to the spirits who had saved the dancer earlier in some occasion. Another reason for Sun dancing was to acquire supernatural support for the dancers themselves or for someone else. Still another possible reason was to gain the help of supernatural powers. The event took place once a year for twelve days during the month of the ripening chokecherries. The first four days were reserved for the preparation of the event. During this time, virtuous women also had the chance of attending, as they chopped the sacred cottonwood tree and attended the dancers. During the next four days, the Sun Dance enthusiasts were given instructions by their tutors, meaning shamans to whom the candidates had told about their dancing intentions in the first place. The four remaining days were called the

Holy Days. The ceremonial camp was erected in the first day together with a circular arbour or poles and a Sacred Lodge, in which the sun dancers would acquire their final instructions. (ibid.: 279 ff.)

The Sioux culture was quite similar to that of the Crow and its core factors were told in the previous chapter (Lewis 2004: 29). The Sioux were quite a militant tribe and they fought with all their neighbouring tribes, their most important enemies being the Pawnee, Arikara and Crow (Virrankoski 1994: 205). Conquest was very important for the Sioux, perhaps mainly since they needed more land to hunt the buffalo. However, buffalo hunting was not the only way to secure their economy; the capturing of enemy property, most importantly horses, was also needed.

The earliest contacts with the white man, namely trappers, took place in early 19th century. The first more serious incident happened in 1854, as Conquering Bear, a well-known Sicangu chief, was killed while actually trying to prevent any incident from taking place. After this, most Sioux regarded the white man as an enemy. After that, there were several incidents and in 1876, after first having won their greatest victory in the Little Bighorn with Crazy Horse as their leader, the Sioux began to be put into reservations. (Virrankoski 1994: 208.) The buffalo became almost extinct due to the actions of the white hunters and government rations became essential for the survival (Spicer 1982: 109).

As the Sioux included several different subgroups, they were also scattered into 13 reservations around the state of South Dakota with the current population being about 35,000 (Spicer 1982: 105).

The writers of the autobiographies did not in general seem to enjoy the life after the coming of the white influence. For instance, as Charles A. Eastman recalls how he and his little cousin went to white schools, he notes that the change to indoor life caused so much suffering to the little cousin that she passed away some time later

(Eastman 1971: 73). Black Elk was not happy about the arrival of the white, either: “Once we were happy in our own country and we were seldom hungry . . . But the Wasichus [white men] came, and they have made little islands for us and other little islands for the four-leggeds, and always these islands are becoming smaller, for around them surges the gnawing flood of the Wasichu; and it is dirty with lies and greed”. (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 7-8.) Luther Standing Bear summarises the feelings of perhaps the majority of the Sioux Indians in his autobiography in the following passage:

We did not think of the great open plains, the beautiful rolling hills, and winding streams with tangled growth, as “wild.” Only to the white man was nature a “wilderness” and only to him was the land “infested” with “wild” animals and “savage” people. To us it was tame. Earth was bountiful and we were surrounded with the blessings of the Great Mystery. Not until the hairy man from the east came and with brutal frenzy heaped injustices upon us and the families we loved was it “wild” for us. When the very animals of the forest began fleeing from his approach, then it was that for us the “Wild West” began. (Standing Bear 1933, cited in Standing Bear 1975: ix.)

2.3 The Hopi people

The Hopi Indians originated from the Anazasi (see also Lewis 2004: 10-12), who moved to their current location in North-East Arizona (Udall 1985: 3), where they have lived from the 500-700 AD, from the north, east and south as separate groups 5-10 thousand years ago and gradually then formed the Hopi Indian tribe. They are a part of a South-Western group of peoples called the Pueblo, which comes from the Spanish word meaning village or town. The Hopis call themselves Hopitu – The Peacable People (Hopi Civilization n.d.). In fact, the Hopi were quite peaceful people but, unfortunately, all their neighbouring tribes were not. Among others, the Navajos caused troubles and, for example, in 1837 killed most of the inhabitants of the Oraibi pueblo and pillaged most of the possessions there. (Virrankoski 1994: 240.) Navajo policemen were also used by white missionaries when they began forcing Hopi

children to go to white schools, which caused feelings of hurt and insult among the Hopi (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 19-20, 105). There were also fights with other Pueblo tribes, Apaches and Utes (Driver 1969: 318). Nowadays, the Hopis number about eleven thousand (Loftin 1991: xiii). On the other hand, Whiteley (1988: 2) notes that there are currently about nine thousand Hopis.

The first recorded contacts with the white people occurred in 1540 when the expedition of a Spanish explorer Francisco Vasquez de Coronado met some Hopi Indians under Pedro de Tovar. However, there were not many encounters with the white as the tribe lived in a geographically isolated location. There were some missionaries sent by the Spanish but they were killed or expelled in 1680 during a revolt against the Spanish, which was organised by a Pueblo medicine man named PopE. (Hopi, North American Indigenous Peoples n.d.) Some of the priests in the Third Mesa were even thrown off the mesa edge by Hopi warrior kachinas (Whiteley 1988: 18). After that, the Hopi lived relatively independent lives with some unsuccessful war expeditions of the Spanish in 1701, 1706, 1716 and 1780 and some catholic monks trying to do missionary work among the Hopi.

Towards the end of the 19th century, some more reformist Hopis began to be in favour of the American white people's acculturizing ambitions and there was no turning back, despite the fact that some conservatives established their own community to protest the white influences. (Virrankoski 1994: 240-241.) These two differing communities within the tribe were called the Friendlies (for the Government) and the Hostiles (against the Government). Later on, they were also called Progressives and Traditionals. The Friendlies put their children into white schools voluntarily while the children of the Hostiles were taken by force and some of the Hostile men were put in prison. Helen Sekaquaptewa related the advice regarding being in white school that the Hostile parents told their children: "Don't take the pencil in your hand. If you do, it means you give consent to what they want you to do. Don't do it." The children of the two factions also teased one another in

the school. (Udall 1985: 13-14, 91-92.) Polingaysi Qoyawayma offers a similar view told by the Hostiles: “When a Hopi becomes a white man . . . he no longer has a face. We want to be Hopis, not white men. We want our children to learn Hopi ways and live by them.” (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 20.) An angry comment by Qoyawayma’s mother after learning that she had in secret gone to school is also revealing:

“So! You self-willed, naughty girl! You have taken a step in the wrong direction. A step away from your Hopi people. You have brought grief to us. To me, to your father, and to your grandparents. Now you must continue to go to school each day. You have brought this thing upon yourself, and there is no turning back.” (Qoyawayma & Carlson, 1964: 26.)

Whiteley (1988) has studied the split more thoroughly and found that the division into the two factions was caused mainly by political and social turmoil among the tribe. Nowadays, some Hopi Indians have already forgotten their traditional language (Virrankoski 1994: 240-241).

There are currently 12 (or 13 (Whiteley 1988:2)) Hopi villages or pueblos along the Black Mesa. A mesa means a flat-topped hill and the Hopi villages are located on top of mesas. The Black Mesa, in which the Hopi Indians live, consists of three mesas, named First, Second and Third Mesa. The Old Oraibi village on the Third Mesa is the oldest constantly inhabited village in the USA. (Hopi Indians n.d.) Each of the villages in the mesas can be considered to be an independent and self-governing unit (Whiteley 1988: 2). The houses of the Hopi Indians are prepared from mud and stone. According to Helen Sekaguptewa, they were 2-3 stories high (Udall 1985: 10). On the other hand, the house of Polingaysi Qoyawayma’s grandmother was four stories high (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 4).

Each village has its own chief. Old beliefs and religion still exist, but newer influences have also taken place. The Hopi children go to white schools, American medical services are used and the Hopi people go to work outside their villages. On

the other hand, they are continuing the struggle with the neighbouring Navajo tribe. (Hopi Civilization n.d.) This is illustrated also by Frank Waters, as he tells about the gathering of the Hopi Tribal Council in which the main concern was the fact that the Navajo Reservation of 80,000 people had colonized over three quarters of the Hopi Reservation of 5,000. In the modern American fashion, a law suit was put into action to correct matters. (Waters 1985: 44-45.) Also Loftin (1991: xiii) describes the struggle between the Hopi and the Navajo. He suggests that there is a “conflict of native cultures”, as the Hopi were a mainly farmers and the Navajo were nomadic hunters.

As was mentioned above, the Hopi Indians differ from the other two tribes focused on in this thesis in that they acquired their food mainly by farming. Since their living area has always been quite dry the tribe has suffered somewhat from draught. However, the Hopi are known to be skilled in cultivating plants and, for example, they have been able to grow corn in seemingly worthless grounds. This is also called dry farming.

The Hopi themselves believe that there have been three previous worlds where mankind has successfully lived, which had all been corrupted by evil and were thus destroyed. From these, some chosen people had been transferred to the following world. At the moment, the Hopis believe that we are living in the Fourth World and, by living a pure and undefiled life, we might have a chance to live in the future Fifth World. (Waters 1985: 57.) Prophecies are important for the Hopi. The Hopi believe that the prophecies have existed from the beginning and the events that have been prophesied have also occurred before. Therefore, for example, the arrival of the white influence has happened before in the previous worlds and it has also been prophesied to happen in this world. All of the prophecies linked to the end of the Fourth World are related to the coming of the white influence (Loftin 1991: xx, 116). Therefore, the current time could be perhaps called messianic.

The most important spiritual entity for the Hopis is the “kachina”, the “respected spirit”. Kachina means the inner spiritual form, which each matter in nature is believed to possess alongside the exterior physical outlook. Kachinas were then, and still are, invoked by dancing men wearing masks imbued with the represented spirits from dawn to sunset (Waters 1985: 65-66). The masks are regarded sacred and they are kept out of sight at the time when they are not used (Hopi Indians n.d.). There are also kachina dolls, which were made to look like the men wearing the kachina costumes. Some Hopis also believed that kachinas were gods who came down to earth to teach the Native Americans through physical interaction about agriculture, as well as law and government. (Hopi Civilization n.d.) The meaning of Kachinas does differ somewhat for the Hopis; they might involve “spirits of ancestors, dieties of the natural world, or intermediaries between man and the gods. They may bring rain, punish transgressions, or cure disease.” (Hopi Indians n.d.). Drawings about the Kachinas have been found on cave walls (Hopi Civilization n.d.).

Overall, religion is very important for the Hopi. According to Loftin, all the important aspects related to the Hopi have a religious dimension and meaning (Loftin 1991: xiv). The Hopi have also found various ways to deal with the dominant white society, while at the same time preserving their own traditions. In addition, many Hopi Indians, for example, have legal or political occupations in order to maintain their sacred lands. Some Hopis have jobs to acquire money to educate their children to become self-sufficient and able to participate in the task to reclaim the sacred lands taken by the Navajo. (ibid.: 84-85.) Thus, the Hopi seem to be quite proficient in taking advantage of the white society while preserving their own traditional values.

3 AUTOBIOGRAPHIES AS A GENRE

Autobiography, which is derived from the Greek words *auton*, 'self', *bios*, 'life' and *graphein*, 'write', is the writing of a life story written by the subject him/herself or composed together with a collaborative writer. In general, biographers rely on several different documents and viewpoints, but an autobiography may be based entirely on the memory of the writer. Autobiographies differ from neighbouring genres, such as memoirs, in the fact that memoirs focus on the "life and times" of the character, whereas an autobiography is focused on his or her own memories, feelings and emotions. (Answers.com n.d.) Furthermore, diaries and journals are writings that the author normally writes only to him- or herself, and may cover only a small portion of an individual's life and experiences, whereas autobiographies are usually directed to an audience and describe a longer series of events.

The main data of this study consists of autobiographies written by American natives, either by themselves or by people who interviewed them in their own language and then wrote the autobiographies in English. Some of the autobiographies studied for this thesis were edited by anthropologists who were non-native Americans themselves. Thus, in the context of the present study, autobiographies are seen as self-written works or works that have been written by others in cooperation with the original "author".

Of the Crow autobiographies, the story of Pretty-Shield was narrated to Frank B. Linderman through an interpreter. Plenty-Coups also told his story to Linderman through an interpreter. Linderman himself admits regarding the autobiography of Pretty-Shield, "Such a story as this, coming through an interpreter labouring to translate Crow thoughts into English words, must suffer some mutation, no matter how conscientious the interpreter may be." On the other hand, Linderman was

somewhat familiar with the sign language that Pretty-shield, and also Plenty-Coups, used and thus was able to notice if the interpreter would have made any dramatic errors. (Linderman 1972: 11.)

Two Leggings also told his story through an interpreter to William Wildschut, a Dutch-born businessman and field researcher of the Museum of the American Indians, and his original manuscripts were much later, after his death, edited into a book by Peter Nabokov. In such a case, there is a much stronger possibility of mistakes. However, Wildschut reports that he was very careful not to distort or alter any of the meanings and he even read the stories aloud to Two Leggings for as many times as it was necessary to reach an agreement (Nabokov 1967: xi-xiii).

The Sioux Luther Standing Bear wrote his autobiography by himself and, therefore, his book should be able to be regarded as more trustworthy. The autobiography was edited by E. A. Brininstool, a white journalist. However, Richard N. Ellis who later wrote the introduction to the reprinted edition in 1975 points out that there are some factual errors in the autobiography, for example regarding the Sioux sub-tribe into which Standing Bear belonged to and when he was born. Ellis suspects that the errors are related to the fact that Luther Standing Bear was in his fifties and the autobiography is based purely on his memory. Despite these blunders, Ellis considers the autobiography of Standing Bear a milestone in the development of American Indian literature. (Standing Bear 1975: xiv-xvi.) Also Charles A. Eastman wrote his own autobiography by himself.

Black Elk told his story to a poet, John G. Neihardt, through his son, Ben, and the story was additionally recorded by Neihardt's daughter. There has later been some debate questioning whether the autobiography reflects more of Neihardt's views than Black Elk's. Vine Deloria Jr, who has written the foreword to the 2000 edition, notes that the vision of Black Elk could perhaps be interpreted in a different way and the positive emphasis of the novel might be due to "poets lost in the modern world"

(Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: xvi-xxviii). However, I feel the autobiography of Black Elk complements the other Sioux autobiographies and, from the point of view of the present study, there should not be many problems related to the vision and emphasis of the book that might affect the reliability of this thesis, especially since there should not have been any need to alter Black Elk's views regarding gender issues.

Crow Dog told his story orally to Richard Erdoes, since he could not read or write. He says that he first thought what he would say in Lakota language and then told the things in English. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 1.) Richard Erdoes was born in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire and moved to the United States in order to escape the Nazi rule. It is believed that in his adolescence he read novels that cast the American Indians as heroes. (Peterson, 2001.) Such personal ideals and beliefs are, of course, also factors that may affect the reliability of an autobiography.

Helen Sekaquaptewa, the Hopi autobiographical narrator, told her story to Louise Udall during a period of time when Udall visited her weekly. Udall was the wife of a Chief Justice of the Arizona Supreme Court and she was heavily involved with issues regarding the Native Americans (Knapp n.d.).

Polingaysi Qoyawayma, the other Hopi woman used as a main source in the research on Hopi tribe, told her story to a white woman, Vada F. Carlson. Qoyawayma had gone through white schools and had skills in English, so her autobiography could be considered to be very reliable. In addition, the desire to do an autobiography originated from the fact that she had seen misinformation written about the Hopi and decided to tell the truth (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: Foreword).

As the above descriptions of the autobiographies reveals, there are some problems regarding autobiographies that are related to human cognition. First, it seems somewhat uncertain whether someone could remember everything from the past and not make mistakes; and, secondly, people's memories are affected by the differing

values and interpretations that they give to their experiences. These natural failings of human memory only compound when there is an interpreter and an interviewer both making their own interpretations and translations of the original speaker's words.

Michael Coleman had to deal with similar issues of trustworthiness in his article about Indian autobiographical accounts of Schooling (Coleman 1994). He warns that the readers should not expect to find a literal truth about the past from autobiographies, as there are several factors influencing recalling, including the present circumstances, needs and self-schemata (ibid.: 128). However, the Indians lived in an oral culture and their ability to remember correctly, for example, the dances, rituals and songs was vital for their existence (ibid.: 144). More or less the whole Indian culture was transmitted in an oral way and, therefore, it would be quite a safe assumption to suggest that they were "better" in reminiscing their past than many of us living in the literary age. Thus, the only problems of reliability come from the simple fact that the narrators and writers may have wanted to emphasise some things more than others, or cast a different light on some aspects of their past than an objective observer might choose. Mihesuah laments that many scholars have used as their source material on native women only secondary sources, such as tribal records and government documents, and not really asked from the native women themselves about past issues (Mihesuah 2003: 4). The use of autobiographies is in my personal opinion an effective way to get access to primary sources.

In his book, Ethnocriticism, Arnold Krupat, a literary scholar, discusses Native American autobiographies and literature in general. At first, he points out that the criticism of Native American literature is quite a new phenomenon, only about 200 years old. It started in the European Romantic period in the latter part of the 18th century when the Western people began to recognise that the Native Americans did produce literary pieces that might be studied in a critical way. Krupat even notes that by the year 1823 there were already some English translations of the Native

American stories, songs or other “works of the imagination”. (Krupat 1992: 173-174.) It seemed that the oral presentations of the American Indians were then already recognised as a form of literature. In order to be evaluated in the Western literary world, the oral works had to be accepted as a form of literature and also be put into a textual form. And since the literary critics rarely had knowledge of the Native languages, also transcribers and translators were needed. (ibid.: 175-176.) Examples of these can be found, for example, in the autobiographies used in this thesis. Especially translators are used by most of the authors.

Krupat also emphasises that, in order to be able to properly criticise Native American literature, it is also necessary to possess knowledge of the culture that the literature is telling about, as well as to understand the people’s cultural assumptions. As an example of this, he describes how an anthropologist tried to tell the story of Hamlet to a tribe in West Africa and the tribesmen could not make any sense of the behaviour of the characters and thought that the anthropologist had the story all wrong. Krupat notes that one of the topics causing cultural misunderstandings regarding the Native Indians is kinship relations. (Krupat 1992: 178-180.) Also Mihesuah (2003: xi, 3) comments that one of the main reasons for writing her book on the evolving identities of American indigenous women is the multitude of books written about Indians from other people’s viewpoints, ignoring the native’s own views, thus being “only partial histories”. Mihesuah later gives an example of such a book written by a white man named Ian Frazier, which tells about the Sioux Indians but is written completely based on Frazier’s own thinking and has a large amount of misinformation about the tribe. For example, the book creates an image of Indians currently as a group of drunks living in poverty. According to Mihesuah, that is not at all the case in reality and it just strengthens stereotypes and causes harm for the people trying to educate white people about Native issues. (ibid.: 14-18.)

According to Krupat there are two types of criticism of the above mentioned theory of people having to have cultural knowledge to be able to engage in literary critique.

Both of them are under the term esthetic universalism. The first of these is represented by, for example, Karl Kroeber and its main point is that, despite all the differences in the cultural customs, art is the same in all places. Kroeber argues that while reading Indian narratives there is a diversity of interpretation among the readers since the narratives are works of art. Kroeber also comments that “A majority of Indian stories appeal to enough common features in human nature to allow us at least entrance to their pleasures-if only we can relax sufficiently to enjoy them.” The second type of criticism is related to postmodernism and its main representative is Gerald Vizenor. Vizenor’s argument is that “social-scientific “knowledge” is predominantly knowledge of its own rules, codes and concepts for making sense of culture, not of culture itself.” Vizenor also suggests that all linguistic pieces are different from one another and, therefore, all phenomena are distinct, even within one given culture. Krupat does not appreciate these views, since the attitude they present causes misinterpreting cultures and make mistakes about them as a whole. Krupat even goes to say that, in ethnocriticism, one should try to achieve convergence and linguistically learn “to live another form of life”. (Krupat 1992: 180-185.) The present writer agrees with Krupat, since, for example, absolute ignorance about the American Indian culture could have produced severe misunderstandings and difficulties of interpretation, just the way members of other cultures may have trouble with Hamlet, and sacrificed the overall reliability of the study. The result could have been something similar to the above-mentioned book written by Frazier. Thus, it seems that possessing cultural knowledge is important to be able to comprehensively evaluate pieces of writing.

Krupat continues his description of Native Indian oral storytelling by pointing out that the oral performances continually evolve, and their criticism becomes often embedded into the performances themselves. In addition, the performances are restricted to particular communities and there is not a real need to produce separate criticism of them since the criticism is already included in the performances. Krupat even goes to say that to criticise a piece of Indian oral literature in the Western way

would mean to kill it. Another difference between Western and Indian literature is that, in the West, knowledge of literature can be separated from the written passages and it becomes an entity of its own that can be then translated or transferred to other contexts. On the other hand, the Native Indian literature cannot be alienated from the lived experience. (Krupat 1992: 187-189.) Krupat continues, though, by stating that there might be a possibility to be able to criticise the ethnographic oral performances. That is due to the fact that the traditional Indian performances have had to be adapted to Western standards since there might well be the possibility that the various Indian performing artists became interested in what the Western critics say about their performances. (ibid.: 191-193.) The autobiographies used in this study can mostly be considered to be a mix of Indian oral and Western written performances, and, therefore, can be criticised.

Krupat points out a difference between “good” and “bad” translations. He assumes a view proposed by Donald Bahr, who comments that “English translations of non-English poetries ought to reflect the style of the original even at the expense of looking or sounding odd in English.” Another person Krupat brings up is Robert Brightman who has observed two necessary preconditions for a successful translation. These are “some control of the original language from which the English translation is received” and “explicit specification of the syntactic, semantic, lexical, prosodic, or other parallelisms that are used to delimit the text into lines and/or more inclusive units of poetic measure.” (Krupat 1992: 194-195.) Personally, I feel that the editors of the books used as a material for this study have been quite well able to meet both of these prerequisites, as they have, for example, known something of the Indian languages and cultures in question. Thus, the autobiographies used can be considered valid for the research.

Krupat illustrates the kinds of ways to denote “self” in, for example, autobiographies: metonymic and synecdochic. The sense of self is called metonymic when the person telling about his or her life understands him/herself as different and separate from

other persons. This can also be described as a part-to-part type of relation. On the other hand, the synecdochic sense of self means that the individual's sense of him/herself is understood in relation to larger, collective social units. This is also in Krupat's terms described as a part-to-whole relation. (Krupat 1992: 212.) The Indian autobiographies are, according to Krupat, usually written in synecdochic manner and, for example, Western autobiographies in metonymic manners (ibid.: 212-).

This chapter dealt with autobiographies, especially ones written by Indians, and the possible problems that might arise with the use of them in research purposes. To conclude, the present writer believes that the use of autobiographies is a very useful way to study past issues. The chapters below will take a closer look on what can be found.

4 CROW SOCIETY

4.1 Division of labour in Crow society

Overall, the two genders seemed to have quite distinct tasks, which complemented each other. Of course, there were exceptions to this rule but, on the whole, men had their own tasks and women their own and, from the data, it seems that both the sexes were happy with their roles.

The farming activities of the Crow tribe, as those of most the tribes in the Eastern Prairies and Plains, were, according to Driver (1975: 80-81), done by women. However, the autobiographies have no mentions of any farming activities, so there is some contradiction in that sense.

The gathering of wild plants was mainly executed by women, sometimes helped by the men and usually in groups, which Driver (1975: 97, 100) thinks to have been so for mutual protection against possible hostilities with enemies during the gathering. This claim is supported on multiple occasions by Pretty Shield (Linderman 1972: 71, 99, 103, 127, 169). Men had also some say in the gathering, as is told by Pretty Shield: “We (girls) had just finished a game when my father, who had been driving his horses to water, stopped to talk to us. ‘You girls had better dig some bitter-roots,’ he said. ‘They are quite plentiful up that way,’ he pointed.” (ibid.: 112.) In all the cases, there is not just one but many women or girls doing the gathering of turnips, berries, bitter-roots or roots. On one occasion, Two Leggings also tells about berry picking (Nabokov 1967: 98) and, in that case, also men were taking part. “Scouts searched in all directions for chokecherry bushes and plum trees, finally finding both along Woody Creek. A camping place was selected and parties of men, women and

children set out each day.” However, it remains unclear whether the men were actually picking the berries or just protecting the women and hunting for game. In another instance, boys were helping the girls in picking (Nabokov 1967: 4), so it seems that boys were comparable with women.

The erection and dismantling tipis, which with the Crow Indians were portable dwellings covered with buffalo hides, as well as the preparation of the hides, were, according to Driver (1975: 121-122, 132), the work of women. The job of men was to acquire the poles needed. This is supported by Pretty Shield, while telling about the division of labour between Indian men and women: “... we (women) not only pitched the lodges, but took them down and packed the horses and the travois, when we moved camp.” Sometimes the lodges were painted, which was legal only for the wise-ones (meaning medicine men), with characters they had seen in their medicine dreams and that was a job only for men. (Linderman 1972: 134, 137.) Also in Two Leggings’ autobiography, the pitching of a tipi is done by women, namely his wife (Nabokov 1967: 115, 129). Two Leggings talks about having his wife pitching the tipi and later the new place of the camp is pointed out to the women by men (*ibid.*: 157), so the main decisions of that issue were decided by men. The tipi poles were, as Driver had pointed out, acquired by men (*ibid.*: 121).

Women were also responsible for the making of clothes (Driver 1975: 152). The main material for clothing was hide, which corresponds with the fact that hunting was the main source of subsistence in the Plains (*ibid.*: 147). On this point, the autobiographies support the views of Driver. In the same passage cited before, Pretty Shield talks about the tanning of skins, and cloth and moccasin making as women’s job while men were doing their things (Linderman 1972: 134). Women also sewed the lodge skins (*ibid.*: 138). This trend also continues in Two Leggings’ autobiography, as he is preparing to go to steal horses from the Sioux with his friend Young Mountain: “When we returned to camp I told my wife to make some extra moccasins. Young Mountain had just gotten married and told his wife to make some

extra pairs also” (Nabokov 1967: 104). In another passage, Two Leggings has his wife tanning deer hides and making robes for the wife of chief Sees The Living Bull, in order to make Sees The Living Bull happy and adopt Two Leggings (*ibid.*: 129). Later, after his wife is stolen by a member of another Crow clan, Two Leggings steals the wife of a Crow man and the new wife adapts the role of the woman according to the Crow Indian tradition. “We did not talk much the first few days, but she began her duties right away. She was a good tanner of robes, clean and good to look at, and I was happy”. (*ibid.*: 174.)

Hunting was a man’s job, although women sometimes helped with the butchering of game (Driver 1975: 97). The male Indians’ main role in hunting is supported widely in the autobiographies (e.g. Nabokov 1967: 156). In *Pretty Shield*, this comes up frequently (Linderman 1972: 82, 100, 119, 134). However, hunting was not as exclusively reserved for men as some duties were for women. Women also hunted, or were at least with the hunting posse, sometimes in both autobiographies (Nabokov 1967: 30). Women were involved in the butchering of buffalo in some rare cases, as is evident in one story told about the Indian sense of humour (*ibid.*: 73): “Sees The Living Bull ... as a boy helping his mother butcher a buffalo he had pointed to the animal’s penis, which she had just tossed into the river.” After reminiscing about her unsuccessful roping of buffalo calves, *Pretty Shield* summarizes her ideas about the division of labour regarding hunting (Linderman 1972: 94-95): “Running buffalo was a man’s business, anyhow. . . . Every time that I got mixed up with a buffalo herd I wished myself somewhere else.” When asked about whether the women often butchered buffalo on the plains and brought them into camp, she continues (*ibid.*: 141): “No. The men killed the meat, butchered it, and packed it into camp, unless there was some special reason for women having to do it.” After that, she mentions such a situation in which there were so few warriors in the camp that a man took his woman along to assist in the hunting to save time.

Fighting was also men's business. Driver (1975: 320) describes fighting as a way of achieving prestige; to get married or to be accepted as an adult, one had to slay an enemy and have the scalp as the proof. Sometimes, when there had been no success in finding enemies, there were even situations when members of one's own tribe were killed to get scalps and avoid disgrace. Also revenge was a common reason for fighting, as well as the possibility to promote tribal unity or economic position. In addition, sometimes mere adventure was enough of a reason for fighting. The most prestigious act done against the enemy was the coup, which meant merely touching an enemy without harming him. After such a feat, the warrior was able to "count coup" at the following scalp dance (ibid.: 323).

There are several instances in Two Leggings of fighting, since Two Leggings was a very ambitious man and wanted to get as much prestige as possible and rise higher in the tribe hierarchy. In Pretty Shield, there are also such instances. When asked to tell about how the fighting related to gender differences, Pretty Shield states (Linderman 1972: 38): "I cannot tell you about the fighting itself. That is a man's business. Our men were always fighting our enemies, who greatly outnumbered us. Always there was some man missing, somebody for us women to be sorry for." In another situation, also a woman takes part in the fighting, which the men do not like. This is manifested in the following comments: "... it was a woman's fight. A woman won it. The men never tell about it. They do not like to hear about it." (Linderman 1972: 202). The reason for that might have been, perhaps, that the men considered themselves strong and the fact that a woman won fights could have lowered the worth of their coups and all-important prestige.

There are also other notes in the books giving further information of the division of labour. For example, Pretty Shield notes that the carrying of babies is done by women while telling about how she practiced as a child to be like a woman and carried a doll in her back (Linderman 1972: 27). Drumming in various occasions, on the other hand, was a man's business, as Pretty Shield tells while relating a story

about the time she and other girls rode through the village dressed as mud-clowns: “There was one old man who would always drum for us, because drumming is not for women” (ibid.: 30). Dancing was practiced by both sexes, but perhaps more by women. There are several instances of dancing, especially in cases of various celebrations and happenings. There was, for example, the owl-dance, which was performed by women (ibid.: 79). Sometimes women also took part in the sun-dance. This was perhaps the most special of the various dances. It was “believed to be especially pleasing to the All High, is given to Him either in a spirit of thanksgiving for favours already received, or for desired blessings. The giver, or postulant, must be morally clean”. (ibid.: 209.) In sun-dances, also the warriors’ counting of coups was taking place and all were fed with buffalo tongues. Preparation of food was women’s business as men had their more important businesses. For instance, in Pretty Shield (Linderman 1972: 120), a man called Muskrat-that-shows asks his woman to give him food before going to hunt buffalos.

Based on all this information, it seems that there really were not many instances in which men would have performed the so-called women’s jobs, but there were some instances of women doing men’s jobs. In Two Leggings, there are also several instances of men taunting other men for “being women”, if they were not showing masculine ways of wanting to go hunting or fight the enemies or steal their horses (Nabokov 1967: 91). A telling example occurs when Two Leggings’ wife tries to prevent him from going to raid the enemies.

When he (Bull Eye) was gone my wife put her arms around my neck and cried for me not to go. I asked if she wanted a coward for a husband. ... I told her that if I stayed I would get fat and lazy like Wolf Tail and Bear Grease. Once they had been warriors but now they were women. Their wives had wanted them at home and now they did not have enough winter clothes and would not even hunt. But she put her arms around me again and spoke about a bad dream. I told her to stop talking since her dreams were only women’s dreams. I asked what would Hunts The Enemy think if I sent word I could not go because my wife wanted me home. I told her to hurry and gather my moccasins...(Nabokov 1967: 134.)

The way Two Leggings chooses his words in the above quote, referring to his wife's dreams as “only women's dreams” and thus worthless, clearly shows that the men, or at least Two Leggings, saw themselves above females.

It seems that there was a mutual agreement with the men and women about the complementary division of labour, since there are no complaints in the books about it and neither of the autobiographers mention anything negative about the issue. Regarding the information of Driver compared with the two autobiographies, the general information was on the same track but in many cases there was some minor intertwining of the division of labour in the Crow tribe, which did not go according to Driver's suggestions.

This chapter was about the general division of labour between the two genders. The next one will focus on the closer and more intimate relationships between them.

4.2 Marriage and relationships in Crow society

According to Driver (1975: 222 ff.), the marriage customs of the North American Indians varied quite drastically. All in all, men could practice sexual intercourse quite freely. Marriage was a more permanent type of relationship in both economical and sexual sense and everyone in the tribe knew who was married to whom, to avoid any mishaps in sexual activities. In addition, the opinions of parents and the elders of the ones getting married were important, and many times they even decided who married whom. With the Crow tribe, premarital chastity was valued and some ceremonial duties could be done only by virgin bride women who remained faithful to their husbands. Women were regarded as marriageable after their first

menstruation but men only after having shown their prowess in the field of battle, and the average marrying age for women was a little below 20 years. (ibid.: 222 ff..)

The ways of almost all of the American Indians to acquire a spouse included the bride price, bride service, interfamilial exchange marriage, taking captured women from other tribes as wives, adoptive marriage, and elopement. The bride price meant for a man “the right to share with her [the wife] the type of sexual and economic life permitted and approved by the society in which he lives”. However, it should be noted that the family of the bride made return gifts or repaid of equal value of the bride price to the groom’s family. In bride service, which is also called suitor service, the potential groom went to live with the parents of the sought-after bride and worked for and together with the father. If after about a year the groom had showed his skills to hunt and earn a living in the manner the society prescribed, the daughter was given to him as the bride. The interfamilial exchange marriage, which was rarer than the bride price and bride service, meant that two families exchanged their daughters and the daughters then became the brides of the other family’s sons. In warfare, women from the hostile tribes were sometimes captured and one of the ways of dealing with them was to take them as wives. Adoptive marriage was another way of acquiring a spouse, especially for patrilocal or patrilineal families. In those cases, if the family did not have a son to inherit the family possessions and perpetuate the line of descent it was possible to adopt a son to marry one of the daughters. The third generation on the line would then inherit in the normal way. According to Driver, Matrilocal and matrilineal cultures used this kind of system rarely, and he mentions, for example, that some maternal lineages and sibs among the western Pueblos have become extinct due to the lack of female heirs. Elopement was still another way of acquiring a spouse, and in those cases love, in addition to missing family connections and inability to acquire the possible bride price or other demands, was usually involved. The relatives of the bride then often pursued the eloping couple trying to break up the marriage. However, if they managed to hide until the yearly harvest ceremony, in which in Indian cultures offences more or less other than murder were

forgiven, they could come to the ritual as a man and a wife and be accepted. (Driver 1975: 224-226.)

Also affinal marriages, meaning marriages with the wife's or husband's in-laws, were practiced. The marriages emerging that way were called secondary marriages as they introduced no in-laws to the family. The levirate, a marriage of a woman to her dead husband's brother, was found among almost all the North American Indian tribes as well as sororate, the marriage of a man to his dead wife's sister. If the brother was, for example, already married and did not want to have another wife for one reason or another, he would still be obliged to take care of the widow, since marriage was considered to be a contract between the two families. If the deceased did not have brothers or sisters, the rule could also be applied to more remote relatives, such as nieces or aunts (Driver 1975: 222 ff..)

Polygamy was practiced quite frequently among the American Indians. However, cases where there would have been a woman with more than one husband (polyandry) were almost non-existent. The only solution Driver can think of, as a reason for such a thing to take place, is sexual problems of the first husband. Polygyny, the marriage of one man to more than one women, happened quite often. Still, it was limited to the more wealthy ones, as bride prices had to be paid for each of the brides. With some Plains tribes, such as Crows, sororal polygyny was practiced, meaning the marriage of the man to two or more women who were sisters. The eldest of the sisters was commonly taken first with the younger ones already in mind. (Driver 1975: 231.)

According to Two Leggings, "the ideal Crow marriage was between a man of about twenty-five years with honors to his name and a girl just past puberty who was no clan or kin relation" (Nabokov 1967: 49). For example, Pretty Shield became married when she was 17 years old (Linderman 1972: 45) and she remarks of having been of suitable age for marriage for a year when she was 14 years old (ibid.: 103). A

bit contradictory to *Two Leggings*, *Pretty Shield* says that a man had to be 25 years old or had to have counted coup to be able to get married (ibid.: 168). There were thirteen different clans and marrying to the same clan was forbidden (Nabokov 1967: 66; Linderman 1972: 130-131). “After offering horses to the girl’s brothers and meat to her mother, the young man received presents in return. When the couple went to live with his parents before setting up their own tipi the girl would be presented with an elk-tooth dress”. (Nabokov 1967: 49.) However, the writer also notices that reality was not so rosy. The fidelity of women was admired but men who acted the same way were considered ridiculous. Mainly because of that, the *Crows* had a reputation as the most dissolute ones of the Plains Indian tribes. This is also highlighted, although not in a positive attitude, in *Pretty Shield*, as she tells about her father and regrets that he also liked other women besides her mother (Linderman 1972: 43).

A woman changed hands by wife-stealing between the *Lumpwood* and *Fox* warrior societies or by the death of her husband, after which she usually became the wife of her brother-in-law. Also a seducer or a *Crazy Dog* – a warrior sworn to die on the battlefield – could acquire her for his daring. The reputation of a woman suffered with each new partner. (Nabokov 1967: 49.) Children could be adopted after having become orphans, and, for example, *Pretty Shield* had adopted a baby when she was young (Linderman 1972: 65).

Also the women had at least some kind of a say in marrying. For example, *Two Leggings*’ first attempt to get married failed. He had already proved his bravery and *Chief White On The Side Of His Head* praised him, so *Two Leggings* decided to try to pick a girl. “I rode by one girl and laid my coup stick on her left shoulder. If she kept it there it meant she was willing to be my woman. But she knocked it off, although the other girls told her not to”. (Nabokov 1967: 74.) That made *Two Leggings* depressed, especially because many people had seen the incident, and he stayed at home for some time. However, *Pretty Shield* talks twice about her husband *Goes-ahead* “taking” her, which does not seem to leave much room for her own

decisions (Linderman 1972: 98, 130). Her father had “promised” to give her to the husband a few years earlier when she was thirteen years of age (ibid.: 103, 130), so a marriage could be thought of being some kind of a deal, and, as Pretty Shield reminisces when asked about it, there was no love involved at the beginning: “No, no (had not fallen in love with the husband before marriage) I had not often spoken to him until he took me. Then I fell in love with him, because he loved me and was always kind. Young women did not then fall in love, and get married to please themselves, as they do now. They listened to their fathers, married the men selected for them, and this, I believe, is the best way”. (ibid.: 130.)

In addition, women had an important position in the men’s minds, as most of the deeds seemed to be based on the hope of the praise and admiration of women, after having been completed. There are numerous occasions in *Two Leggings* of such conduct, especially men encouraging each other in dangerous situations by the thought of women dancing for them afterwards (Nabokov 1967: 40, 129, 183, 192).

The fact that the elders of the potential wife had a lot to say about the marriage is shown, for example, in *Two Leggings* (Nabokov 1967: 98). In the same passage, it also becomes clear that a way to acquire one’s own tipi was through marrying: “I had been feeling close to one girl and sent Young Mountain with presents to her father. This time I was not refused and a few days later started life in my own tipi.” The same is also highlighted when *Two Leggings* ponders about the future: “I thought that perhaps I should stop killing and find myself a wife and make my own home . . . If I were to become a chief and a famous warrior, I realized that I could not think of marrying and staying at home”. (ibid.: 38.) The same issue is brought up in other instances also (e.g. ibid.: 78). In all the cases, presents to elders were not necessary. For example, when one of *Two Leggings*’ wives left him, he married the daughter of one of the chiefs, but no presents were demanded by the father because he thought good of *Two Leggings* (ibid.: 107).

Wife-stealing and polygamy are highlighted in many passages, such as the one where Bear White Child first steals One Eye's youngest wife, and a little later also the three remaining wives as the two had some personal issues (Nabokov 1967: 10). Also Two Leggings' wife is stolen by a member of the other clan, the Foxes. According to Two Leggings, it would have been a disgrace to get her back and so he coped with the situation without complaining about it and went to steal another wife for himself (ibid.: 174). After that, the situation becomes a little messy as the other wife escapes a bit later to her relatives:

As soon as I learned this I ran off with another girl. But Two Stars was not happy with her family. When she returned within a moon she was surprised and angry I had married again. I liked her and took her back. But my two wives were jealous and quarrelled from the first day. Although I lived with them I saw other women, and this made more fighting as each blamed the other. (Nabokov 1967: 175.)

A bit later, Two Leggings also tried to acquire a third wife, but the woman's husband caught them together inside Two Leggings brother's tipi and later beat Two Leggings up, which he had the right to do. Also, the other Indians scolded him for trying to get another man's wife. Then Two Leggings finally acquired a third wife but she got angry after having caught Two Leggings again with another woman and he went to live with his brother. Finally, after having married several times Two Leggings acquired a wife whose name he had before heard in a vision, and stayed with her. (Nabokov 1967: 175-176.) Also Pretty Shield gives an account on the polygamy issue when Linderman asks her about it:

Yes, if he wanted them (the wife's sisters). . . The women had little to say in this. A man, wanting a woman, would go first to her father, sometimes offering horses, sometimes offering nothing at all. The woman's father, if he thought the young man worthy, would talk things over with his relatives [clan] and then, if they agreed, the match was announced, a feast given, and a new lodge was set up for the young couple, even though the man might already have two or three lodges with women in them, and even children. (Linderman 1972: 17-18.)

The husband of Pretty Shield had also her older and younger sisters as his wives and had a different lodge with each of them (Linderman 1972: 131).

According to the Two Leggings, also the marrying of dead brother's wives was a common practice among the Crow Indians, and chief Sees The Living Bull is used as an example (Nabokov 1967: 73). Also the wife's sisters might be living with the husband, as is told by Two Leggings (*ibid.*: 159). However, it is not told whether the sister is also the wife of Two Leggings or not. In Pretty Shield, also the wife's aunt comes to live with her husband, but this time also it is not clear whether she is the man's wife (Linderman 1972: 98).

The fidelity of the women was not so certain, either. In addition to the above description of Two Leggings' attempt to acquire a third wife, there is another reference to a particular occasion (Nabokov 1967: 103-104): Two Leggings and Young Mountain ponder together, while planning a raid, that Medicine Crow would not come with them as his new wife was so good-looking that leaving her alone would cause other men to "visit" her.

All in all, women seemed not to have much of a say about marriages, as their parents often decided to whom they should be married and the husbands might also just "take" them. When married, the women did not have much power either, as the husbands did more or less what they wanted and might also acquire new wives. In this case, however, the women were not always happy with the way things were, since the infidelity of their men caused anger and there also were quarrelling with the husband's other wives. Nonetheless, the situation did not change over the time; it more or less just was that way and at least the men did not seem to have much to complain about.

Regarding the comparison of the autobiographies with Driver, they corresponded well this time. Only the average marrying age of men differed a bit, as Driver said it to be about 20 and Two Leggings about 25 years.

5 SIOUX SOCIETY

5.1 Division of labour in Sioux society

In general, men and women seemed to have quite diverse duties in the Sioux society. This rule did not apply in all cases but in most of them. It also seems that both sexes were satisfied with this situation and, as the living conditions were quite grim at the times, this kind of a complementary setting might actually have been the only possible way of living. There were certain daily routines that simply had to be taken care of, and, if people had not known who does what, the whole society might have crumbled.

According to Driver (1975: 80-81), the farming activities of the Sioux tribe, similarly to the Crow tribe, were performed by women. However, the autobiographies do not refer to any farming activities, so it is impossible to confirm whether Driver is correct or not. Or then Driver refers to earlier times before the 18th century of the Sioux when they lived in the area that is nowadays Minnesota and Iowa and practiced farming (Virrankoski 1994: 204-205).

The gathering of wild plants and herbs was mainly a women's duty. They were occasionally assisted by the men and the job was usually done in cooperating groups, which Driver (1975: 97, 100) assumes to have been so for mutual protection against possible enemy raids during the harvesting. This view of gender differences is supported by Black Elk (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 41, 48, 83, 86) and Charles Eastman (1971: 19, 200, 203) as they state that the women did most of the gathering activities. This is also confirmed by Eastman in the following passage:

Our native women gathered all the wild rice, roots, berries and fruits which formed an important part of our food. This was distinctively a woman's work. Uncheedah (grandmother) understood these matters perfectly, and it became a kind of instinct with her to know just where to look for each edible variety and at what season of the year. This sort of labour gave the Indian women every opportunity to observe and study Nature after their fashion; and in this Uncheedah was more acute than most of the men. (Eastman 1971: 19.)

The gathering seemed not to be just an incidental happening and there were some who were never required to take part, as is illustrated in Black Elk Speaks:

After we had been travelling awhile, we came to a place where there were many turnips growing, and the crier said: "Take off your loads and let your horses rest. Take your sticks and dig turnips for yourselves." And while the people were doing this, the advisers sat on a hill nearby and smoked. Then the crier shouted: "Put on your loads!" and soon the village was moving again. (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 41.)

In all the cases, there is not just one but many women or girls undertaking the gathering of the wild plants. On one occasion (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 48), Black Elk's grandfather goes out by himself to gather plums, which seems a somewhat peculiar event as, judging from the general atmosphere of the autobiographies, it would have been more normal that he would have sent a woman to get him the plums.

The tipis of the Sioux Indians were, just like those of their neighbouring Crow tribe, portable dwellings covered with buffalo hides (see also Lewis 2004: 29-32). According to Driver (1975: 121-122, 132), it was the women's work to erect and dismantle the tipis as well as to prepare the hides for them. The men's job was to acquire the poles. This example of the division of labour is supported by Charles Eastman. While telling about his camp moving to find new hunting grounds, he recalls: "A very warm day made much trouble for the women who had charge of the moving household" (Eastman 1971: 216). Luther Standing Bear also confirms the same (Standing Bear 1975: 8, 14, 17, 24, 27), although in his book boys are occasionally also taking part in the erection of the tipi, which could have been due to them being more agile than the women. This can be seen in the following extract where Standing Bear tells about the Sioux tipis: "A boy would then climb to the top

of the tipi and put the pins in the front to hold the tipi together. The women then staked the tipi down with larger pins made of cherry wood.” (ibid.: 14.) This source also supports that the men acquired the poles needed for the tipis, as they were stronger (ibid.: 18).

The preparation of the hides was, as was mentioned above, women’s work. Luther Standing Bear provides a lot of information about the phases of the hide preparation (Standing Bear 1975: 19-21) and there are no indications of men taking part. In fact, in almost every sentence of the description Standing Bear points out that the women were the responsible actors. Evidently, he did not see this work as too strenuous, as he says that sewing “did not seem like work to our women”.

Women were also responsible for clothes-making (Driver 1975: 152). Hide, the preparation of which is described above, was used as the main material for clothing due to the fact that hunting was the main source of subsistence in the Plains area (ibid.: 147) and hides were thus readily available. There were also occasionally contests for women where they could show their works, such as moccasins or dresses (Hassrick 1964: 42). On this point, the autobiographies support the views of Driver (Eastman 1971: 111, 116, 124, 125, 203; Standing Bear 1975: 8, 16, 26, 67; Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 28, 37, 52). For example, Charles Eastman, while telling about men preparing for the defence of their village, points out that while the men were making bows and arrows the mothers were making many moccasins (Eastman 1971: 116). Luther Standing Bear offers similar information when he describes about how the Sioux spent their days:

Although we were free to do as we pleased, there were no idlers in our camp, no lazy ones. We were like the birds, flying hither and thither. When the men had nothing else to do, they went hunting, which kept our stomachs filled. The women were kept busy making moccasins, clothing, and playing games. There was no gossiping. (Standing Bear 1975: 67.)

Luther Standing Bear in all his remarks on clothes-making has the women doing it. On the other hand, although the men did not work on human clothing, they work on

something closely related, such as, the equipment of their horses. An example of this comes up when Luther tells about what the parents were doing during the warmest hours of the day: "...our parents all sat around in the shade, the women making moccasins, leggings, and other wearing apparel, while the men were engaged in making rawhide ropes for their horses and saddles." (Standing Bear 1975: 26).

Women are also engaged in making clothes in Crow Dog's autobiography. For instance, he admires his grandmother as she would "chop wood, haul water, do the gardening, dig wild turnips and dry 'em up, plant corn, do the washing, bead moccasins, fix up clothes for the whole family". Crow Dog then regrets that at the more current times girls are not like that anymore. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 52.)

Also, George Catlin confirms in his novel Life Among the Indians that women were the responsible actors in clothes-making as he, while telling about the Sioux wigwam, mentions the women "dressing robes" (Catlin 1875, cited in Lewis 2004: 31).

Food making in the Sioux tribe, as generally in all Indian tribes, was the job of the women. They also took care of the processing of the foodstuffs (Driver 1975: 97). For example, each mention of cooking in the Indian Boyhood (Eastman 1971: 111, 116, 128, 130, 185) involves the females doing it. While the men hunted the meat, the women made the actual food out of it, as is illustrated by Charles Eastman (ibid.: 185): "All day . . . the game was brought in . . . The men were lounging and smoking; the women actively engaged in the preparation of the evening meal, and the care of the meat". Luther Standing Bear (1975: 19-20, 22, 25, 53) also describes how women did the cooking. There is also one mention (ibid.: 21) of cooking where it is not clear who is actually doing it, but judging from all the other passages it would be valid to suspect that women were the responsible ones also in this case. The duties of women are described nicely by Luther Standing Bear:

While some of the women were busy tanning the skins, others were engaged in cooking, making dried meat, and getting all the sinew on the poles to dry (Standing Bear 1975: 20).

Similarly Crow Dog describes the women cooking, while the men are performing other duties. For instance, in his opinion a reason for a chief called Iron Shell Number One having seven wives was the fact that there was so much to be done, e.g. cooking, for his many guests. Just one wife would not simply have been enough. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 28.) Also Catlin in his book notes in the description of Sioux wigwams that the women were seen in front of them “drying meat” (Catlin 1875, cited in Lewis 2004: 31).

Hunting, as has already been hinted in the above passages, was the men’s job in the Sioux tribe. Women sometimes helped with the butchering of game and occasionally hunted smaller animals or birds (Driver 1975: 97). The male dominance in hunting is supported very widely in the autobiographies. In Indian Boyhood, this comes up very frequently (Eastman 1971: 7, 20, 24, 45, 61, 74, 109, 127, 130, 132, 134-135, 171-172, 184, 188, 193, 195). However, there were some exceptions to this rule due to, for example, extraordinary conditions, such as a one illustrated by Charles Eastman:

...There was only one old man and several small boys to hunt and provide for this unfortunate little band of women and children. . . . The old man was too feeble to hunt successfully. One day in this desolate camp a young Cree maiden – for such they were – declared that that she could no longer sit still and see her people suffer. She took down her dead father’s second bow and quiver full of arrows, and begged her old grandmother to accompany her to Lake Wanagiska, where she knew that moose had oftentimes been found. (Eastman 1971: 171-172.)

The boys used to hunt smaller animals (Eastman 1971: 28, 110), possibly as a practice for the “real” hunting that they would join then they reached adulthood, or as a way of acquiring respect from the adult Indians and peers. The latter view is supported by Luther Standing Bear (1975: 10), as his father takes him to shoot birds and he does not succeed in killing any and then afterwards feels “sheepish, as I wanted to please my father”.

Other sources also support this view that men were responsible for the hunting. The issue is brought up by Luther Standing Bear (1975: 10-11, 52-53, 67). In his autobiography, there are no mentions of women partaking in hunting. Also Crow Dog (1996: 11, 28) has passages about hunting and in those instances also the men are the ones doing it.

Also fighting was reserved for men. Hassrick (1964: 76-99) describes the importance of fighting and notes that for the Sioux Indians fighting was much more important than, for example, hunting for food. By going on the warpath, men could become real heroes. And the will to fight started already during the adolescence; parents had to make an effort to prevent their boys from going to the battlefields. The thinking of the Sioux went so far as to regard war “as the purpose of life”. War also included economic matters, as it was a way of acquiring property, e.g. horses, from the enemy not to mention winning prestige and leadership. A great Sioux leader had to have war prestige. Unfortunately, the tribes neighbouring the Sioux held similar values and thus warfare was constant. There was no peace, although there might have been truces. As the most important causes for fighting Hassrick lists retaliation, defence, conquest and booty. Individual honours were gained under these larger entities. However, success in war was not a sure way to leadership, as also “generosity, kindness, and social position were equally necessary qualifications”.

As with the Crows, so-called coups were considered the most prestigious deeds in war for the Sioux. The more coups a man had done the greater the prestige. There were several ways to accomplish coups. One was to touch a living enemy male, female or child, or one whom the coup doer had killed in a hand-to-hand combat. Other ways to acquire coups included killing an enemy in hand-to-hand combat, saving a fellow tribesman in battle, scouting the enemy successfully or stealing horses. What was very important regarding the coups was that someone was there to witness them. Afterwards, men could then “count coups”, which means telling about them to all the others.

Driver (1975: 320) gives similar information regarding the ways of the Sioux, but the most important points were already discussed in the earlier chapter regarding the Crow Indians. The tribes were very similar in their ways.

There are several mentions of fighting in Indian Boyhood (Eastman 1971: 47, 122, 186-187, 191-192, 219, 223), as the boys were trained to fight already at a young age. This is illustrated in the following passage about the training of the young Charles Eastman:

All boys were expected to endure hardship without complaint. In savage warfare, a young man must, of course, be an athlete and used to undergoing all sorts of privations. He must be able to go without food and water for two or three days without displaying any weakness, or to run for a day and a night without any rest. He must be able to traverse a pathless and wild country without losing his way either in the day or night time. He cannot refuse to do any of these things if he aspires to be a warrior. (Eastman 1971: 47.)

Women rarely took part in fighting. However, there are a few instances in the autobiographies when such a thing happened. An example given by Eastman is by no means a normal one, as it begins when Canadian half-breeds ruthlessly kill a respected Indian in order to acquire his mules. This caused fury among the other Indians and “every adult Indian, female as well as male, was bent upon invading the camp of the *bois brules*, to destroy the murderer”. (Eastman 1971: 219.)

Warfare was reserved for men, according to Standing Bear (1975: 6, 9, 26, 56). Boys at a young age were taught to get ready for later fighting, as is highlighted by Luther Standing Bear as he tells that the first gift he received from his father was a bow and arrows, and his father already revealed in the same instance his hope that Luther would some day gain fame in the warpath (ibid.: 9).

Crow Dog mentions fighting several times (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 15, 20, 27, 29-30) and in this case, too, there is male dominance. While talking about Spotted

Tail, a Sioux chief, the early age of the Sioux warrior's first battles becomes highlighted:

In this long war Spotted Tail did great deeds. He was already counting coups while still in his teens. He was only fifteen years old during his first fight against the Ute, but most of the time he fought against the Pawnee. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 30.)

Based on the above information, it seems that, as in the neighbouring Crow tribe, there was a mutual agreement with the men and women about the division of labour, so that the genders complemented each other.

This section was about the general division of labour between the two genders in the Sioux tribe. The next chapter will focus on the closer and more intimate relationships between the two.

5.2 Marriage and relationships in Sioux society

As was said in the previous chapter regarding the marriage and relationship customs of the Crow tribe, there was plenty of variation in customs among the North American Indians. The Sioux people, as they inhabited, like Crows, the Plains, men had a lot more freedom in following their sexual yearnings than women. However, marriage was both economically and sexually more permanent type of relationship and misbehaviour was not respected. Parents and elders had a say in marriages, and also frequently made the final decision on them. Lack of chastity was not badly regarded, although especially higher-ranking families tried to maintain at least some kind of standards among their children. Women in the Sioux tribe, as with the Crow, were regarded marriageable after their first menstruation, and the regular marrying age for men was 20 or a bit less. (Driver 1975: 222-224.)

The common ways of acquiring a wife in the Indian tribes, the bride price, elopement, suitor service and interfamilial exchange marriage were already described in the previous chapters and, therefore, they will not be reintroduced here. The various marriage types, affinal marriages, levirate, sororate, polygamy, polygyny and sororal polygyny were similarly described in the above chapters, and thus it is not necessary to revisit them either.

According to Luther Standing Bear, women and men were taught from childhood to be apart from each other. He also gives his own opinion on that:

Among Indians, girls and boys play different games, and are always separated from each other. I think that is one reason why our girls grew up to be very nice young women. (Standing Bear 1975: 32.)

However, he later contradicts his earlier view as he tells about young women and men in their “junior age” playing a game called the ta-si-ha. On the other hand, in this game the male and female players were automatically put on opposite sides. (Standing Bear 1975: 33-34.) In another section in Luther Standing Bear’s autobiography, the Sioux play a baseball-type of game and that game was also open for everyone. Standing Bear also talks about the children practicing hunting with their toys and self-made horses and little weapons, and tells that “if we let the girls come into this game, it was more fun”. (ibid.: 46-47.) The children also prepared for their adulthood in games, as can be seen in the following passage:

As the girls grew toward young womanhood, they were taught to imitate their mothers in everything. They were taught to buckskin and sew it together to make a tipi. . . . Some of us boys had our own ponies and we would suggest having a battle and attacking the camp. . . . Some of the girls had their dolls in little carriers, and they would run, and the boys on their side would fight us. If a boy fell off his pony while in the camp of the enemy, one of us would be brave and try to rescue him.” (Standing Bear 1975: 48.)

Also Nicholas Black Elk mentions boys of 5-6 years of age upwards playing war together, and bigger boys playing another fighting game. No female Sioux were participating in these games. (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 12.)

Charles A. Eastman (1971: 42-50, 53) tells about the childhood training of young Sioux Indians in detail. He begins by noting how the expectations of the elders were formed even at the time of birth:

Scarcely was the embryo warrior ushered into the world, when he was met by lullabies that speak of wonderful exploits in hunting and war. Those ideas which so fully occupied his mother's mind before his birth are now put into words by all about the child, who is as yet quite unresponsive to their appeals to his honor and ambition. He is called the future defender of his people, whose lives may depend upon his courage and skill. If the child is a girl, she is at once addressed as the future mother of a noble race". (Eastman 1971: 42.)

Eastman then continues by describing his own childhood training. He was told stories of the ancestors, as well as taught the most important animals with his uncle as the main instructor. He describes how it was necessary for him to memorize all the stories. That way, slowly, the Indian boy was acculturated to his tribe through rigorous training. Also the necessary skills for future fighting, such as being able to be without food and water for days, were taught at an early age. Eastman summarizes the aim of a young Sioux boy's training nicely:

All boys were expected to endure hardship without complaint. In savage warfare, a young man must, of course, be an athlete and used to undergoing all sorts of privations. He must be able to go without food and water for two or three days without displaying any weakness, or to run for a day and a night without any rest. He must be able to traverse a pathless and wild country without losing his way either in the day or night time. He cannot refuse to do any of these things if he aspires to be a warrior. (Eastman 1971: 47.)

The average marrying age of women does not come up in the Sioux autobiographies. Eastman notes that if men under 22-23 years of age, not acknowledged to be brave or not being good hunters, sought for a wife it was considered to be an outrage (Eastman 1971: 49-50). Also, according to Standing Bear, men could not get women before they had been on the war-path (Standing Bear 1975: 26). So, the average marrying age for men seemed to be about 22-23 years, as the Sioux boys were usually taught to be brave warriors and skilled hunters already in their childhood.

Bride price was at least sometimes paid by the men. Leonard Crow Dog, for example, tells of a chief called Running Bear had a wife of whom he had paid many horses (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 34). In addition, Nicholas Black Elk describes acquiring wives to have sometimes been hard work. In addition to having got to talk to the aspired for girl, which was difficult in itself as the girl had to want to talk with the enthusiastic male, also the parents had to approve and be given horses for the girl. Black Elk even tells about some parents who tied their daughter to her bed at night so that she would not be stolen. The girl in question had then a chance to run away with a Sioux Indian called High Horse but “she wanted to be bought like a fine woman”. High Horse with his friend then unsuccessfully tried to steal the girl at night with the plan to give the father some horses as the price afterwards when he had already married the girl. In the end, however, the father of the girl thought High Horse to be a worthy husband because he had tried so hard, and he gave his daughter to him. (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 52-58.) Based on this story, it seems that the women had some kind of a say in marriage but the parents made the final decision unless the girl got stolen or ran away. The fact that women had at least some control in deciding whom they should marry is also confirmed by Charles A. Eastman, as he recalls his grandmother whose husband died when she herself was still quite young. Though there were chief-level suitors, she did not choose to re-marry. However, Eastman also notes that this kind of behaviour was not normal. (Eastman 1971: 22.)

The male Sioux also seemed to have an urge to parade in front of the women, which seems to indicate that the attention of the female Indians was considered important by the men. For example, Luther Standing Bear reminisces the general pastimes of the Sioux Indian village during the hottest hours of a day during the summertime. He recalls that usually at least a few men who had earlier acquired some prestige in the warpath would “dress up in their best clothes, fixing up their best horses with Indian perfume, tie eagle feathers to the animals’ tails and on their own foreheads” and then wander around the tipis concentrating on those which were inhabited by pretty women. Standing Bear also reminisces how he himself was just a little boy but

already hoped to be a man to be able to ride a fine horse and go see a pretty girl. In another sequence about the boys' playing habits, he mention that when they found round stones they would be given to mothers who would then pass them on to the girls. (Standing Bear 1975: 26, 33.) The same issue is repeated in another sequence as he reminisces about the young Indian men playing games:

. . . Some of the young men were so bashful they would cover their faces, not caring if they won or lost. All they desired was to be near the girl they loved. Some of these young men would have their fingers covered with German silver rings which they wanted the girls to see – much the same as the white youth who wears a diamond wants to 'show it off'. (Standing Bear 1975: 34.)

The fondness towards women can perhaps be traced all the way back to the ancient times, when Ptesan Win, or the sacred White Buffalo Woman, was believed to have appeared first to Sioux hunters and given them a chanumpa, a sacred pipe. She was said to be sent by the Creator and she was the one who made the Sioux people holy and taught them the way to live. She also “told the men to protect and nourish their women and children, to be kind to them and to share their wives' sorrows. She told the women that without them there would be no life.” (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 2-4.)

The Sioux men also seemed to respect their women, as they wanted to protect them from possible dangers and hardships. Leonard Crow Dog tells about a situation where the white people are trying to force the Sioux to move into a reservation. Two Strikes, an Indian chief, remembered the past actions of the white: “They have already killed many of us. They have cannons. We have women and children here. I will not see them die. I will take them back to the reservation.” (Crow dog & Erdoes 1996: 45.) Chief Crow Dog, an ancestor of Leonard Crow Dog, while responding to a same kind of demand, answered “I am not afraid to die. But while I live I will try to save these women and babies. I will take them back to the agency.” (ibid.: 46.) Men also seemed to have a responsibility to look after the women. This idea is confirmed by Luther Standing Bear when he tells about his relief about his sister at one point

suddenly deciding not to come to live with him in a white school: “I knew that I could take care of myself all right, but if she were along and anything happened to her, I would be expected, of course, to look out for her, as she was younger than I – and a girl, at that!” (Standing Bear 1975: 127). Also Nicholas Black Elk’s friend Iron Hawk notes that, after a fight with the Crows, they came home for the night to “guard the women and children” (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 78).

However, these kinds of thoughts could perhaps also be interpreted to mean, in addition to the fact that the women were most certainly needed to produce more men, that the men did not regard women to be able to be as courageous and capable as men. Eastman tells about an eight-year-old boy named Hakadah making his first offering, his beloved dog, to the “Great Mystery”. Hakadah’s grandmother chose the dog as the offering, since “the love of possessions is a woman’s trait and not a brave’s.” When Hakadah had serious problems killing his dog, the grandmother shouted: “Tears for a woman and the war-whoop for man to drown his sorrow!” (Eastman 1971: 87-92.) As the comments were made by a woman, it seems that also women regarded themselves as more sensitive than men. Also Nicholas Black Elk confirms the attitude of women being not as capable as men in certain situations, as he tells about the Sioux Indians of the past having been warriors already at the age when the modern day boys “are like girls”. In another instance, when the men practiced endurance by burning sunflower seeds on their wrists, Black Elk notes that those who could not endure the pain would be “called women”. (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 16, 46.)

The Sioux men, like the Crow men, seemed to be able to have many wives and also steal or at least acquire wives from, for example, other tribes. This becomes evident in the autobiography of Leonard Crow Dog as he reminisces about his ancestors. His earliest ancestor, Walking Bear, had two wives the other of which was Arapaho Indian. Another of his ancestors, Bear Crow, had three wives and two of them were from other tribes, namely from the Cheyenne and Pawnee. A third ancestor, Two

Dogs, had two wives the second of which was a Cree. Leonard Crow Dog also confirms the wife-stealing tradition, as he notes that “There was always a lot of marrying between the tribes and, in the old days, a lot of capturing of wives from another tribe during a raid”. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 8-9.) Charles A. Eastman also points out in his autobiography that intermarriages with captured women were common (Eastman 1971: 22-23). Another Sioux man that Crow Dog brings up in his book, Iron Shell Number One, had seven wives. That was in Leonard Crow Dog’s view due to the fact that he was an important man to whom many visitors came. Therefore, he had to have several wives in order to give them all kinds of gifts. In addition, Crow Dog mentions another of his ancestors who lived in the same period as Iron Shell Number One. This Crow Dog had two wives and Leonard Crow Dog points out that “you need a big bed for two wives”. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 28-29.) According to Leonard Crow Dog, in addition to stealing wives from other tribes it was also possible to steal wives from fellow Sioux Indians. As an example of this, he tells about a Sioux chief called Spotted Tail, or Speaking With Women, who “had a weakness for women”. He wanted to acquire a woman from another chief and, in the end, killed him in order to take the wife for himself as his fourth wife. Later, he took also a fifth wife from an old, crippled man. However, this was not approved of by everyone and a verbal dispute ensued. (ibid.: 34.) Nicholas Black Elk also mentions a case when chief Crazy Horse got injured because another man’s wife liked him and the other man was jealous of that (Neihardt & Black Elk 2000: 65). Based on the above, it seems that the women were regarded by men somewhat as possessions rather than equal members of the society.

It seems the Sioux Indians had separate tipis for the various wives. At least in Crow Dog notes that the above-mentioned Spotted Tail had a separate tipi for each of his four wives where the women lived with their children. On the other hand, the woman Spotted Tail took from a crippled man went to live with him, so there might have been some variation to this rule. (Crow Dog & Erdoes 1996: 34.) In addition, two sisters that Luther Standing Bear’s father had as his wives lived with him together

with their children (Standing Bear 1975: 28). Standing Bear also mentions that it was the duty of the children's grandmothers to take care of the children (ibid.: 29). This is also somewhat confirmed by Eastman, as he tells about his grandmother doing many kinds of things with him (Eastman 1971: 22).

According to the autobiography of Luther Standing Bear, marrying wife's sisters was practiced among the Sioux Indians. This comes up in the passage already hinted above as he tells about one day as his mother did not arrive home for supper but "some other women came to our tipi". Some days later the women called Luther "son". Later, he found out that the women were sisters and both were his father's wives. The wives also brought their children to live in the same tipi. (Standing Bear 1975: 28.)

To conclude, women seemed to have some say about marriages. However, the parents' opinion was very important, since a man whom the parents did not approve of had a very hard time acquiring their daughter as his wife. Once married, women were generally respected by their husbands. The fact that a man could have more than one wife did not seem to detract from this respect. It is clear, however, that men were taught from an early age not to be emotionally attached to others, not even their pets, and that might hint that the marriages were not as romantically loving as modern people often want them to be and men sometimes seemed to regard women as possessions.

The Sioux tribe very much resembled in their customs the Crow tribe. In both tribes, the men were viewed as masculine and powerful. Women were often regarded as the weaker sex. However, the genders complemented and also needed each other. However, there were also differing Indian tribes. The next one studied represents such a tribe.

6 HOPI SOCIETY

6.1 Division of labour in Hopi society

Overall, the two genders seemed to do quite separate duties in a Hopi society, as was also the case in Crow and Sioux societies. There were some exceptions to this rule but, on the whole, men had their own tasks and women their own and neither seem to complain about their roles, quite on the contrary.

Driver (1975: 77-78) explains some of the farming practices of the Pueblos. As the soil in the area was quite dry, special types of equipment were used to make holes deep enough for the plants to grow. Irrigation was used and the habit was also to use natural irrigation by planting in soils which were irrigated by floods or overflowing streams. Contrary to the Crow and Sioux, among the Hopi, men were the ones doing most of the farming. Women have been mentioned to be helping in the activities, but men were the main actors. (ibid.: 81.)

This view is supported by Helen Sekaguaptewa's and Polingaysi Qoyawayma's autobiographies, although in them the Hopi Indians cultivate almost solely corn, which is not mentioned by Driver (Udall 1985: 35, 37, 40-41, 72, 87, 97, 107; Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 77). In one of these references (ibid.: 40-41), all people were participating in the corn farming activities but they were lead by the fathers of the families. As Udall says it:

There was time for the common man to care for his own cornland. . . . A man farmed a certain farm all his life, and his sons could enjoy the use of it. (Udall 1985: 40.)

Irrigating, on the other hand, was, executed by all the people with the exception of very old women and mothers of very young children, who took care of the little children and made food for those doing the irrigation activities (Udall 1985: 39).

The gathering of wild plants was in all Indian tribes mainly taken care of by women, sometimes helped by the men and usually in groups, which Driver (1975: 97, 100) thinks to have been so for mutual protection against possible hostilities with enemies during the gathering. This argument is not really supported by Helen Sekaquaptewa, as in the passages telling about picking wild plants (Udall 1985: 34, 44), women are not the main actors. However, in the first reference the boys who do the gathering are in school and, therefore, women cannot be taking care of it. In addition, the boys also sold some of the oranges they had picked. In the second passage, the Hopi village was suffering from hunger due to draught, and the desperate times demand all to participate in the gathering of almost anything that could be found in the desert. Polingaysi Qoyawayma for her part does support Driver's view, as she describes how the girls played a game called begging-for-food and a Hopi mother brought them the melons needed for the game (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 5).

The houses of the Hopi Indians, as noted above, were "rectangular, flat-roofed rooms, built flush against one another to form a continuous large village unit comparable to an apartment house" (Driver 1975: 125). The main construction material was stone and the houses were one to five stories high (ibid.: 125) contrary to Helen Sekaquaptewa's depiction of them being 2-3 stories high in an earlier reference.

The building of houses was, according to Driver (1975: 132) done mainly by men. This view is supported by Helen Sekaquaptewa (Udall 1985: 51-52, 87, 107). She mentions that in general the Hopi Indians built their homes close to each other to "remind them that they are supposed to love each other". The men gathered the construction material themselves from the surrounding nature and built the houses by themselves or with the help of their clansmen (ibid.: 51). However, women seemed to have been used sometimes as help or even had a bigger role in the construction

process, as can also be seen in the following excerpt of Sekaquaptewa telling about making houses:

Whenever the community came to help they had to be fed. . . . It was easier to feed the women when they worked; they would settle for corn and beans, while the men would want meat and something better. . . . The women made the mortar and sometimes helped lay the walls; even sometimes it was all women working. (Udall 1985: 52.)

Driver does not really mention so specifically the differences of the various areas in clothe making. He says that in most parts, such as the Plains where the Crow and Sioux live, women were responsible for it, but in the northwestern Southwest men were the ones responsible (Driver 1975: 152). The main materials in the northwestern Southwest for clothing, according to Driver, were hide and woven material, as well as cotton (ibid.: 147, 152). On this case, Helen Sekaquaptewa offers a differing view. While cotton was used as the main clothing material before the arrival of the Spanish Conquistadores from the 16th to the 18th centuries, after the Spanish influence wool gradually became the principal cloth making material. This was due to the fact that they taught the Hopis to breed sheep, which provided both meat and fleece for the Indians. Sekaquaptewa says that cotton was still used in her time but mainly for the making of the traditional Hopi wedding robes. (Udall 1985: 46.)

The Hopis could be interpreted to have lived in the northwestern Southwest mentioned by Driver, since clothe making for them was a man's job, which comes up every time Helen Sekaquaptewa talks about making clothes (Udall 1985: 46-47, 144, 153). Also Polingaysi Qoyawayma mentions weaving and men are the ones doing it (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 30). The comment made by Sekaquaptewa on pages 46-47 nicely summarises the division of labour regarding clothe making and also the good quality of their clothes:

No woman ever sat at the Hopi looms. The men were expert weavers; they wove diligently all winter long in the various kivas. When one had enough to take care of

his family's needs, he continued weaving to have a surplus on hand for trading. Hopi woven items were known far and wide, and people of other tribes came to barter for them. (Udall 1985: 46-47.)

Hunting, according to Driver, was a job for male Indians, although women might sometimes have helped. Boys were also taught from childhood to make weapons and, by hunting smaller game, to actually hunt (Driver 1975: 97-98). Hunting is rarely mentioned in Helen Sekaquaptewa's autobiography (Udall 1985: 33, 44, 98) and in none of those cases are there men the main actors. However, the male dominance is hinted, as in the first instance, boys make themselves bows and arrows and hunt rabbits (*ibid.*: 33), in the second instance the whole Hopi camp is starving and therefore all together go and try, among other desperate means, to hunt rabbits and other small animals (*ibid.*: 44), and in the third instance there is again a starvation in the village and younger women in desperation go to hunt rabbits (*ibid.*: 98). Interpreting from Helen Sekaquaptewa's story, it seems that the Hopi Indians supported themselves so extensively by farming that there was not so huge a need for meat, as, for example, in the Crow and Sioux tribes. In addition, the buffalo did not dwell near the Hopis.

Fighting was reserved for men also. Driver describes the Pueblo Indians, contrary to some earlier depictions, as quite peaceful people but still there were also some military activities as suggested earlier. Driver states that "while the Pueblos were less warlike than their neighbors, they would not have survived without military activity". In this, the Hopis differ a lot from the other two tribes studied here. Each Pueblo camp also had a war priest who himself, or his lieutenant, led the fighting forces. There were warrior sodalities under the war priest's command that were then ready to fight at any time. (Driver 1975: 317-319.)

Helen Sekaquaptewa does not mention fighting very often in her autobiography (Udall 1985: 4, 16, 73). But in all these instances, male Hopi Indians are the responsible actors. In the first one, Sekaquaptewa notices that since the Oraibi village

was on a site which had steep and rocky cliffs on three sides, it was possible for a few men to defend it (ibid.: 4). The roles taken already at an early age also come up in a nice way:

With the stage all set, the little girl re-enacted family life, speaking for the characters, cooking, feeding, training her children, and as the day ended putting them to bed . . . The girls had boundless imagination as the dramatically portrayed real life. A little bone doll might go outside the village to play and come running back to report, "There is a big giant coming." . . . Whereupon the father bone would come out to defend his home. . . . Bone women gossiped and discussed their families and neighbors. (Udall 1985: 16.)

Making food in the Hopi tribe was the duty of women (Udall 1985: e.g. 5, 16, 39, 52, 55-56, 64, 110-115, 120, 154-155, 158-159, 166; Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 35, 71, 73, 103, 146). There is one instance of a Hopi man roasting corn, but that happened during the hostilities between the Friendlies and the Hostiles, so it might be that there was no woman available to take care of the food-making (Udall 1985: 77).

The books also include other notes adding information of the work division between the two genders. For instance, carrying water was done by women (Udall 1985: 18-20, 98; Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 6, 103, 146). Helen Sekaquaptewa explains that "carrying water was the task of the older women". However, she continues by saying that also bigger girls participated sometimes, which was more of a social affair for the girls than a much needed task. The older girls also used a jug specially made for them to carry the water. (Udall 1985: 18-20.) Wood chopping and gathering seemed to have been the duty of men. Helen Sekaquaptewa talks of women doing that job in one instance, but mentions that few of them had the strength to complete the task (ibid.: 102). Also, according to Frank Waters, chopping wood is the duty of men, too. However, women and children take some part in the activity. Waters tells of the Hopi fireplace and stove warming practises, using logs brought from the mountains: "So all day long, every day, you would see men hacking away these

great, twisted tree trunks, and women and children patiently gathering up chips and splinters” (Waters 1985: 2).

Based on the above discussion, it appears that there was a mutual agreement with the men and women about the division of labour, so that the genders complemented each other.

This chapter was about the general division of labour between the two Hopi genders. The next chapter will focus on the closer and more intimate relationships between them.

6.2 Marriage and relationships in Hopi society

As has already been told in the earlier chapters about the marriage customs of the Crow and the Sioux tribes, there were very differing marriage habits for the North American Indians. Driver (1975: 222) even says that almost all the variants of the ways of acquiring a partner or forms of marriage known in the world are found among the Indians. Driver continues by stating that marriage was a permanent relationship in both economical and sexual level and the marriages of the tribes were known to all in that particular tribe; there were no secret marriages. Also, Driver suggests that the parents of the bride and groom had a great influence in the choosing of marriage partners, except in poorer areas, such as the Arctic, Sub-Arctic, Great Basin and Northeast Mexico. The influence of the parents in marriage does not seem to concern the Hopi, who live in the South-West. At least the case of the marriage of Helen Sekaquaptewa does not involve much of parental guidance. On the other hand, Sekaquaptewa was already attending the white school at the time her future husband courted her and therefore there might have been some new influences in effect. More on this case is told in passages below. Also Polingaysi Qoyawayma made the

decision of marriage by herself. Her parents did not approve her marriage and that caused her great concern (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 146). However, the reason for disapproval was the fact that the man was from another Indian tribe, which was against norms of the prevailing culture. In addition, Qoyawayma had been attending white schools for a long time and new influences were definitely having an effect on her.

The ways of the American Indians to acquire a spouse, the bride price, bride service, interfamilial exchange marriage, taking captured women from other tribes as wives, adoptive marriage and elopement have already been described in the above chapters so their more specific characteristics will not anymore be presented here. None of those ways of acquiring a spouse seem to apply to the ways of the Hopi tribe, or at least in the case of Helen Sekaquaptewa and her autobiography they do not apply. The Hopi girls, according to Sekaquaptewa, had plenty to say about which boy they liked to be with. A young man interested in a girl was allowed to come to the outside of her house and call her from there through a small window. If the young lady then liked the man outside the window, she would keep on talking with him. Otherwise the man would be just ignored. Then, if things between the two got too quiet and corn was no longer heard being ground, the mother would come to check out what was going on. (Udall 1985: 119.) Thus, while the girl herself had the initial control of the situation, it seems that also the parents had some influence on the courting. However, the girl had the most control and this way would not have to marry someone she did not like. On the other hand, Helen Sekaquaptewa also describes the marriage of her parents, and that particular marriage was more or less arranged. The grandfather of the mother of Sekaquaptewa, Beecho, made a selection of a suitable man to be able to take care of the numerous flocks and herds as well as the lands that he acquired through the wife, and saw that the marriage became in effect. After getting to know what had happened, Sekaquaptewa's father did not like the situation, and did not claim the bride for a long time and did not stay in the house for long periods at a time. However, gradually the couple learned to love each other. (ibid.:

6.) It is not mentioned what the wife in this case thought about the arranged marriage but at least the spouse did not like the arrangement. Therefore, it seems that fixed marriages did not enjoy any great popularity among the Hopi tribe.

The actual proposal was, at least in Helen Sekaquaptewa's case, done in a quite straightforward fashion. Her future husband, named Emory, more or less just proposed that they get married, since they had both recently had some considerably trying experiences, which had matured them. Emory also said that he was not able to support Sekaquaptewa very well, but the love they had was rich in nature (Udall 1985: 152.) Therefore, in the Hopi tribe, contrary to, for example, the Crow and Sioux tribes, there seemed not to be any bride prices or great involvement of the parents in the decision of whom to marry with. The decision was made together by the man and woman. In addition, getting a divorce seemed to be an option for the Hopi people. Helen Sekaquaptewa, while talking about her own wedding arrangements, mentions that her future husband's parents had been separated some time before that (ibid.: 153). She does not make a big deal of it and so it seems that this was by no means the first case of divorce in the Hopi tribe. This impression is strengthened by Polingaysi Qoyawayma, as her marriage with a Winnebago Indian ended due to differing interests (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 148-149).

According to Helen Sekaquaptewa, in the time when a Hopi girl's first menstruation her mother teaches her the moral code of the Hopi: the girl should remain a virgin until marriage and only mate with her husband after that. Being morally pure was important to keep the marriage good, especially since the couple would also spend the afterlife together. The mother of Sekaquaptewa even advised her to implement a "properly placed kick" to stun a possible male trying to perform sexual acts with her before marriage. Also, the general advice of the older women was to keep away from the touching distance of men or boys, even brothers, because their desire was strong and it should not be awoken. Therefore, for example in dancing, hands were not held. Exemplary is the comment of the mother of Helen Sekaquaptewa to her while

discussing sleeping arrangements: “Never sleep away from me, even in the same house with your father and brothers. If I am away overnight you sleep in the bed with your grandmother”. (Udall 1985: 117-118.) Sekaquaptewa proceeds with the ways of the Hopi girls: “A Hopi girl does not mingle with the boys alone, even in the daytime. If there is a social, the girls walk together and the boys follow in a group serenading as they go.” (ibid.: 118.)

After the beginning of menstruation, the way of the Hopi girls to show their womanhood was to put their hair up in two whorls at each side of the head. Then, the girl was to act as a young lady, which means she stayed at home and actively learned to cook and take care of the home, “to be a good wife” and not walk alone outside or talk loud. (Udall 1985: 118.)

According to Helen Sekaquaptewa, there was not any common marriage age for Hopi girls. She says that while some girls got married when they were sixteen years old, others waited until they were from twenty years onwards, or even thirty years old, “so as to limit the size of their families”. In addition, as was already hinted in the above chapter, she says that the Hopi marriage extends into the life after death and it cannot be broken. (Udall 1985: 119-120.)

Affinal marriages, which have been already mentioned in the above chapters about the marriage habits of the Crow and Sioux Indians, and mean marriages with the in-laws of the wife or husband, seemed not, contrary to the suggestion of Driver in his book that most Indian tribes would practice it (Driver 1975: 229), to be common among the Hopi tribe. However, the Hopi do have a concept known as “borrowed wife” or “borrowed husband”. In a case when the partner is lost in death or divorce and one is going to marry again it is decent to marry someone who has before also been married. A wife acquired this way is called a borrowed wife whom the man has borrowed for the current life, and a husband acquired is similarly called a borrowed husband. Then in the afterlife the original couples would be united again. If the one

who has lost his/her marriage partner marries someone who has never been married before, the first-timer is thought to be “putting a burden on his/her back”, which means that in the afterlife the offender has to carry a big burden basket full of rocks forever. Moreover, “the basket will rest on the back and be held by a strap around the forehead, which will in time wear a groove into the skull, while the deceased spouse will claim his original partner throughout eternity”. (ibid.: 119-120.)

While polygamy, marriage to more than one husband or wife, was practiced quite extensively among the American Indian tribes, such was not the case with the Hopi. Driver (1975: 231) notes that monogamy was practiced, in addition to the Iroquois tribe and some of their neighbours, among the western Pueblos in the Southwest, which include the Hopi. Driver suggests that this kind of a system occurred in such cultures where “matrilineal descent and matrilocal residence were coupled with female ownership and control of agricultural land and houses, not to mention the unusual authority of women in political affairs.” Driver continues by saying that in these kinds of cultures men moved in with their wives and the wives could get a divorce by throwing the belongings of the men out of the door. While the female ownership and authority are not generally confirmed by Helen Sekaquaptewa, she does, while talking about her getting married with her husband Emory, mention matter-of-factly that “the groom may follow the bride to her home as soon as he likes” (Udall 1985: 165). Also in the above mentioned marriage of her parents the spouse went to live with the wife even though he did not enjoy the fact that the marriage was fixed (ibid.: 6). Thus, it seemed to have been a common practice among the tribe that the groom moved to live with the wife.

When a Hopi couple had decided to marry, the home of the groom was central in the arrangements. The duty of the father of the groom was to take care of the furnishing. He acquired cotton for weaving purposes and food for the workers doing the weaving. According to Udall, each household had a supply of cotton ready for the time the son might marry (Udall 1985: 153).

The duty of the future bride was to take care of the feeding of the wedding guests. Therefore, after deciding to get married to Emory, Helen Sekaquaptewa spent every possible moment grinding corn for the wedding attendants. Also Sekaquaptewa's female relatives were allowed to participate in the grinding. (Udall 1985: 154, 163.) Polingyasi Qoyawayma also notes that the duty of the bride was to grind the so-called piki wedding bread (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 70).

On becoming a bride, a Hopi woman was regarded as sacred for the first three days. She mainly stayed in a room with the windows covered and did not talk to anyone. The only thing she did do was grind corn, which was done also after the marriage ceremonies. The corn was brought in by the female relatives of the groom and they also got to eat the prepared corn later on. The corn of the first day was white and the second and third days' corn was blue. In addition, Sekaquaptewa went for the first three days each morning to the eastern edge of the mesa in question with her groom's cousin. Since the groom's parents had divorced and his mother lived far away, the cousin had the role of the groom's mother, and "each offered a silent prayer for a happy married life" facing the rising sun. (Udall 1985: 154-155.)

The fourth day was the day the actual wedding took place. The marriage ritual, or hair washing as it was also called, began at the crack of dawn and all the relatives were in place. In Helen Sekaquaptewa's wedding the ritual also took place, although the groom's cousin and Sekaquaptewa's sister had to play the roles of their mothers who could not be there. Tubers of yucca root were used to make suds and processed then to be foamy. The suds were then put into two pans that were put side by side on the floor. After that, the "mothers" washed the hairs of the married couple and "each took a strand of hair and twisted them together hard and tight as a symbol of acceptance of the new in-law into the clan (family) and also to bind the marriage contract, as they said, 'Now you are united, never to go apart.'." The following phase of the ceremony was that the female relatives of the bride's family took the groom

outside, stripped him to the waist and each splashed over him water from their own containers. (Udall 1985: 155-156.) Also Qoyawayma says that the traditional Hopi marriage includes washing the hairs of the bride and groom, as well as twisting locks (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 70, 146).

The final stage of the marriage ritual was that the couple, with their hair still wet, walked to the eastern edge of the Hopi village and, facing the rising sun, prayed with heads bowed “for a good life together, for children, and to be together all of [their] lives and never stray from each other.” (Udall 1985: 156.)

The hairstyle of the married woman was then changed, or at least so Helen Sekaquaptewa says happened after her marriage. She points out that her hair would now be parted from the centre in the front of to the nape of the neck and not be worn in a maiden-style anymore. (Udall 1985: 157.)

Another ritual of the fourth day of the ceremony was robe making, which began in the morning of the day. This particular ritual was performed by the groom’s uncle or father. He went to each house of the village with a bag of cotton and gave each housewife some cotton to be cleaned of seeds, little sticks and burrs. The people touching the cotton were required to wash their hands beforehand. The cleaning took place in the same day and in the evening the groom’s godfather and uncles as well as men wishing to help gathered at his house to card the cotton. The carding was done during night-time and could continue for several nights with the bride together with his kinswomen sitting nearby listening to the stories of the men and occasionally the bride thanking them for their services. (Udall 1985: 157-158.)

After the cotton was cleaned and carded all the men of the village in question worked for one day, spinning the cotton into thread. For that day, 10-15 sheep of the host family, if not their own then bought, were killed to feed the whole village after the spinning was completed. The day of the spinning included its own practices. Early at

sunrise, each kiva's custodian cleaned the kiva and started a fire to get it warm. The women were at the same time taking care of food making. The spinning was then taken care of in the kivas, each man having his own spindle. (Udall 1985: 158-159.)

After the spinning, the following phase regarding cotton was weaving, which lasted for about two weeks and started a couple of days after the completion of spinning. This was done by men. Also the groom participated, although in Sekaquaptewa's case her future husband was not able to participate as he had a day job at school. At noon on the days, the relatives of the couple brought food to the kiva. The hosts of the kivas stayed there all the time but did not participate in the weaving. (Udall 1985: 159-163.)

After that stage was done with, the bridal clothing could be made. The clothing included a robe with the size of six by eight feet, another robe covering the shoulders four by six feet and a girdle about ten inches wide and eight feet long, which covered the waist. The stitches in the corners of the robe had their own meaning. There were sixteen running stitches in two corners assuming a limit of sixteen children for one person, and four stitches in two other corners suggesting a minimum number of children for a person. The clothing also included moccasins with leggings and a reed roll for extra gifts. The men responsible for the weaving process brought the robes and other clothing to the bride to be tried on after it was finished and all ate once again. (Udall 1985: 160, 163.)

However, in the case of Helen Sekaquaptewa the marriage did not proceed more than halfway through with the Hopi tradition as she with her husband Emory decided in the middle of the ceremonies to get married in the white way and got a marriage license. At least all did not regard this a good thing, as was seen when Sekaquaptewa went to her father's house to tell what she was going to do: "I could feel the disapproval of my father and my sister as I gathered the things I was going to wear. I just could not stay there and get dressed. I took my clothes and went to one of the

school teachers, and she let me dress in her house”. Nevertheless, Sekaquaptewa and his husband returned to the village to finish the tribal wedding ceremonies after having married according to the American legal standards. After the ceremonies and starting to live in her father’s house with her husband, though, she explains that her sister acted still in such a hostile way that she could not take it and moved to live in the house of the groom. (Udall 1985: 161-163, 165-166.)

The marriage ritual ended in the morning after the bride had acquired the bridal clothing. Then, the bride went to her father’s house. Helen Sekaquaptewa explains how the situation proceeded after arriving at the house of her father: “. . . my father thanked them for the beautiful bridal apparel that would make his daughter eligible to enter the world of the hereafter. Thus ends the wedding ritual.” Afterwards, Sekaquaptewa went to the house, took off the clothing and her clanswomen came to admire them and try them on. The apparel was then stored for some time and later used as needed. It might even have been used as material to make other clothing. (Udall 1985: 164-165.)

At the time of the Home Dance, a traditional Hopi ceremony, the women who had become married in the year before dressed in their bridal costumes and went with their mother-in-laws to the kachinas, showing to their eyes that they were now married women. However, in Helen Sekaquaptewa’s case, her father, who did not approve her getting married in the white way, had cut her robe. She did make her appearance to the kachinas, anyway, using the parts of her bridal apparel that was still in tact. (Udall 1985: 165.)

Although the father and mother were responsible for the well-being of their home and children (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 16), the Hopi children seemed often to be taken care of by their grandmothers. At least Polingaysi Qoyawayma notes in many passages that her grandmother took care of her (*ibid.*: 5, 6, 14). For example, when Qoyawayma as the youngest member of a Hopi family had to feed the family

gods it was her grandmother who reminded her to do so (ibid.: 14). In addition, as an infant, she had been in one point of the proceedings of becoming a Hopi “accepted by her grandparents” (ibid.:12). Also, according to Qoyawayma, it was a traditional way of looking after newborn children that the grandmother would care for them for twenty days (ibid.:28). Since these seemed to be common rituals of the Hopi tribe, it can be concluded that the grandparents had plenty of influence overall in the child rearing. In addition, maternal uncles were important in the Hopi tradition. According to Qoyawayma, children were “advised, instructed, scolded, and sometimes punished” by them. A lecture given by Qoyawayma’s uncle to her after she had moved to live with a white family is an example of these:

“You proud and stubborn girl! Why are you straying from the Hopi way of life? Don’t you know it is not good for a Hopi to be proud? Haven’t I told you a Hopi must not pretend to hold himself above his people? Why do you keep trying to be a white man? You are a Hopi. Go home. Marry in the Hopi way. Have children.” (Qoyawayma & Carlson 1964: 90.)

All in all, differing from the other two tribes studied, women seemed to have quite much to say about marriages. The parents had some power on the issue, but the final decision seemed to be made by the man and woman themselves. Also divorce seemed to be a possibility.

7 DISCUSSION

In this short chapter, I will draw together the main findings of the previous chapters about the three Indian tribes. The aim is to compare and contrast them with Driver.

Farming activities were practiced by all the three tribes. At least so Harold E. Driver told. However, the autobiographies of the Crow and the Sioux did not mention them practicing any farming activities as they acquired their food in other ways. The Hopi Indians, on the other hand, did practice farming quite extensively as also Driver had noted. However, he failed to specify that the Hopis cultivated almost solely corn. The division of labour in the farming activities differed between the Plains tribes and the Hopi, although in this case this claim is based on the views of Driver as the Plains tribes' autobiographies did not mention farming. Among the Crow and the Sioux, women were the main actors doing the cultivating. Contrary to these, among the Hopi it was the men who took care of the farming, although women helped them sometimes.

The gathering of wild plants such as turnips, berries and roots, was mainly done by women in the Crow and Sioux tribes. Men sometimes helped but the main actors were always women. This view was also adopted by, for example, Harold E. Driver, as he explained that this was the case regarding all the Indian tribes. However, this view was contradicted while examining the Hopi tribe, as there men were also quite heavily participating in the wild plant gathering, if not the main actors.

The construction of tipis was the job of women in the Crow and Sioux tribes. Male Indians helped in the acquirement of poles, but women took care of the actual building of the tipis. In the case of Hopis, the division of labour concerning house building is again different, as the men were usually the responsible builders. That

could, of course, be due to the fact that the Hopi houses were built of stone, which was heavier material than that used in the tipis.

Clothes making was an important duty in the Indian tribes, for example, due to the cold winters in the plains. Driver pointed out that among the Native Indians in most parts of the Indian area, with the exception of the northwestern southwest, women were the ones who took care of making clothes. This was partly supported by the autobiographies. In the Crow tribe, women were found to be the ones who prepared the clothing. According to the autobiographies studied, this was very heavily a women's duty and men even admired women who were good in making clothes. The same kind of pattern was repeated in the Sioux tribe, although men did prepare, for example, ropes. However, in the Hopi tribe clothes making was taken care of by men. Contrary to Driver, the main material for clothing was for a very long time wool instead of cotton.

Hunting in the Indian tribes was usually the job of men. Especially in the Crow and Sioux tribes it was practiced extensively. Small boys were already raised to become skilled hunters. All the autobiographies support this view, also Driver. However, Helen Sekaquaptewa suggested that the Hopis did not really practice much hunting as they acquired their food by farming.

Fighting was also reserved for the men. This was so in all the three tribes, although the Hopi did not practice warfare as much as the Plains tribes did. For the Crow and Sioux men, fighting seemed to be the most important part of their lives, as successful men in the warpath could then "count coup" among their tribespeople and get honour.

The marriage customs of the Crow tribe included at least the bride price, which came up in several instances. The parents of the prospective bride, especially fathers, had plenty to say in marriages. This was seen, for example, as Pretty Shield's husband,

whom she had not even seen many times before the marriage, was chosen for her by her father. This kind of practice was judged by Pretty Shield to be a good thing as the fathers knew better and they would not choose bad husbands for their daughters. Wife stealing was also practiced between tribes and also between the various Crow clans. Polygamy was frequent for men. However, women did not seem to practice it at all. There were cases that the man married also the sisters of the bride. In addition, at least one time in the autobiographies also a dead brother's wives were taken. For men to be husbands they had to prove themselves to be courageous and able.

The Sioux Indians seemed to have very similar practises compared to their neighbouring Crow tribe. Also with the Sioux, bride price was a common habit with perhaps horses being the most used article. In addition, the husband had to verifiably be a brave man. The parents had also plenty to say about marriages in the Sioux tribe, although elopement was also practiced. This was prevented in the books by, for example, tying the daughter to her bed for the night. Wife stealing from other tribes was practiced quite frequently and sometimes wives were also stolen from other tribesmen. Polygamy was a frequent practice for the men, and also the wife's sisters were often married.

The Hopi tribe differed from the other two tribes. The Hopi men and women seemed to make a decision of a marriage together with the woman having a lot to say about the marriage. However, there was an instance in the book about Helen Sekaquaptewa where the grandfather chose a suitable man for a girl and took care that they got married. On the other hand, the man chosen this way did not like the situation at all, so it could be concluded that this kind of practice was not common. Also divorcing seemed to be an option for the Hopi people. The Hopi tribe also had a type of marriage not used by other tribes called a borrowed marriage. This kind of marriage occurred between a man and a woman who had been married before but lost their partners through death or divorce. The original couples would then re-unite in the afterlife. Harold E. Driver in his book mentioned that most Indians practiced affinal

marriages. However, the Hopi seemed to be an exception to this rule. Polygamy was not common in the Hopi tribe; there were no such practice in the autobiographies.

All in all, the Indian tribes seem to be different with each other based on the area where they lived. The nomadic tribes separated more clearly in male and female roles while the sedentary tribes seemed to share the labour more equally. Also, the role of women seemed to have areal differences with the nomadic male Indians having more lust for power in relationships.

8 CONCLUSION

This pro gradu thesis examined the division of labour and marriage and relationship habits of three native Indian tribes, the Crow, Sioux and Hopi. The period studied was the time before the White influence took hold of them in a major way and influenced their customs.

In the first background sections, general information of the three tribes was described in order to know what kind of people they were and what kinds of general habits they had. Also their current situation was described. The second background chapter told about autobiographies as a genre with the aim to describe how they can be used in this kind of a study and explain the possible problems that could arise. In addition, reasons for their use were given.

After the background sections, the actual study began with the aims to describe the three tribes' labour division between the two genders and their relationship and marriage customs, as well as to do comparison between the tribes and check whether some respected authors, mainly Harold E. Driver, had similar information in larger books telling about the American Indians. The comparison, as well as the checking, was done in the discussion chapter.

In the present author's opinion, this study has shed light to the customs of the American Indian tribes and shown what kinds of differences there were between a selected number of them as far as the gender issues were concerned. The study showed differences in the roles of the genders and the marriage customs between tribes that had been partially ignored in certain earlier general source books. Of the books used in this study, only a more recent one by Mihesuah dealt with gender issues in more detail and it had similar findings as in this study.

On a general level, a comparison between the autobiographies and the more comprehensive books about the American Indians, mainly Harold E. Driver's book, there was not much to add or clarify. Even if Driver had generalised some areas of the Indian lives, he had still drawn a cohesive picture of their culture and beliefs. The present study showed that some areas in Driver's descriptions were not perhaps completely accurate and would have needed some revising, but there were not any major issues to be added and, therefore, the book serves as a good comprehensive guide to American Indian issues and it can be recommended for anyone interested in this culture, although it does not study gender issues so much.

Autobiographies such as the ones used in this research seem a useful way of studying Indian issues and possible future research could be made in the same way as the one used in the present study. As it is, autobiographies seem the most trustworthy sources because books written by other than Indians themselves could be biased, and general purpose source books may lose many of the details of their everyday lives. Unfortunately, there are no other ways to truly study the lives of Indians before the beginning of the White influence, since Indians did not keep written records of their lives and most of their culture was transmitted orally.

A possible future line of research might be to repeat a similar research as the present one, but including more Indian tribes from more varied areas. This would allow for more definitive conclusions about the differences in the male and female roles in Indian societies according to their cultural differences. In addition, studies about the gender roles in youth and old age are a possible topic of research. It should be considered that the autobiographies offer a wealth of data also from other areas of the Indian lives as such there are many other possible topics of research that they could serve.

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