"I MUST TELL A LITTLE MORE ABOUT MY POOR PEOPLE": A CLOSER READING OF TWO NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

by

MARILYN LOUISE ANDREW FINCH

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of English
and the Honors College of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Bachelor of Arts

June 1991

APPROVED: [redacted]

Professor Mary Wood

An Abstract of the Thesis of

Marilyn Andrew Finch for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Department of English to be taken June 1991

Title: "I MUST TELL A LITTLE MORE ABOUT MY POOR PEOPLE": A CLOSER READING OF TWO NATIVE AMERICAN INDIAN WOMEN'S AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

Approved: [redacted]
Professor Mary Wood

This paper provides a close textual reading and literary analysis of the autobiographies of two Native American women: Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims (1883) by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (1844-1891) and Mountain Wolf Woman (1961) by Mountain Wolf Woman (1884-1960) and her editor, Nancy Oestreich Lurie.

Upon close examination, each text reveals the author's adept usage of traditional tribal verbal arts, and the books emerge as significant contributions toward an understanding of Native American tribal cultures and preliterate oral traditions. Through sharing myths, visions, stories and historical accounts, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Mountain Wolf Woman create strong identities for themselves as preservers of their culture and for their tribal members as self-governing, equanimous, adaptive, capable people.

Because the selves which emerge from these works are deeply enriched and informed by each woman's tribal oral heritage, and because these selves are so distinct from the selves which one normally encounters in Western autobiography or in the stereotypical views of Indian women in American culture, both the autobiographical genre and Native American feminine stereotypes are explored.

The texts of these women provide an articulation of the self which is informed by the ancient values of the Northern Paiute and Winnebago: a reliance on memory, on accurate relation of historical events, and on myth and storytelling as educational tools meant to ensure survival.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author expresses sincere appreciation to Professors Mary Wood, William Strange and Henry Alley for their assistance in the prepartion of this manuscript. All contributed their expertise in cheerful and positive ways which were most encouraging to this author. Thank you to Professor Strange for his enthusiasm for Native American literatures, and to Professors Wood and Alley for their interest in the issues facing women. Thank you to my daughters, Holly and Rebecca, for their never failing encouragement. For believing in me every step of the way and for his monumental support, thanks to Howard Cohen.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is to provide a close textual reading and a literary analysis of the autobiographies of two Native American women, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins, Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims (1883) and Mountain Wolf Woman, Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian (1961). This work should be of interest to those who wish to look beyond common dominant cultural stereotypes of Native American women and to those who perceive the need to expand the definition of the autobiographical genre in order to include the writings of ethnic women, i.e., women who are culturally different from the Eurocentric privileged classes and who construct a self which is specific to their own heritage.

Life Among the Piutes and Mountain Wolf Woman each display their author's strong use of traditional tribal verbal arts; and under close scrutiny, both books emerge as significant contributions toward an understanding of Native American cultures. Through shared myths, visions, and stories, both authors create strong identities for their tribal members as self-governing, adaptive and mutually

supportive.

Life Among the Piutes was one of the first published works of literature written in the English language by an American Indian woman. Before she wrote her book, Sarah (whose Indian name is Thocmetony, or Shell Flower) gave lectures and dramatic performances to large audiences in San Francisco and on the East Coast. She spoke on behalf of her own tribe, the Northern Paiute, a desert-plateau people native to western Nevada, southeastern Oregon, and a strip of northeastern California east of the Sierra Nevada mountain range. (The reader will encounter two variant spellings of the Paiute tribal name: Sarah spells it 'Piute' while the preferred contemporary spelling is 'Paiute.')

Mountain Wolf Woman relates Mountain Wolf Woman's life story as told to her editor, Nancy Lurie, on a tape recorder in her native Winnebago language. Mountain Wolf Woman also spoke English and later approved the English translation of her narrative, which relates her travels as a Winnebago woodlands tribal member in areas of southeast Wisconsin and corners of Illinois, Minnesota, and Iowa. Both Mountain Wolf Woman and Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins tell the story of their lives during times of upheaval while their tribes were being forced from their homelands.

The selves which emerge from these autobiographies are deeply enriched and informed by each woman's tribal oral

heritage, which instilled in each woman a reverence for memory and the importance of accurate historical information as a survival tool. Each viewed language as a sacred expression of her being. Sarah writes of her grandfather, "He told his people that his word was more to him than his son's life, or any one else's life either" (Hopkins, 20).

Through Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins' narrative we view the Paiute culture clearly as she reveals their use of myths, their festivals, and their methods of answering the white culture's accusations against them -- mainly by means of the Paiute use of historical accounting of events. From Mountain Wolf Woman, whose Winnebago tribe had experienced almost two hundred years of contact with the Euro-Americans, we get a picture of a woman who masterfully assimilates the best (at least from her own viewpoint) of both cultures. The perspective we get from Mountain Wolf Woman is complicated, though, by the fact that her editor, Nancy Lurie, was an anthropologist and was collecting the story with several of the dominant culture's perspectives in mind. This causes us to question whether her changes and additions to the text are consistent with Mountain Wolf Woman's intentions.

The unique self which we find in each of these Native American autobiographies is not of the same type that one encounters in the Western genre autobiography of the privileged-class, self-centered, Caucasian male. An

American Indian tribal woman, expressing herself through ancient oral storytelling traditions, presents a much different articulation of the self than the European model. In each work, there is a unique conception of the nature of reality and of the nature of the self, conceptions which embody a serious belief in empowerment by speech.

That case histories, life histories, and autobiographies have traditionally been Western literary genres, we are well aware, realizing that the self defined by these traditions is informed by specific perceptions of the self as an isolate, individual personality -- as Phillipe Lejeune expounds in his book, On Autobiography. But this narrow, culturally determined definition does not allow for the tribal self which emerges in Native American literature. Contemporary American theorists, such as Arnold Krupat and David Brumble, are beginning to acknowledge the need to investigate the specific Native American preliterate oral traditions which are found in books like those by Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Mountain Wolf Woman, as well as to investigate the pervasive influence of the dominant culture on these early Native literary works.

One of the pervasive influences on Indian literature has been the belief in, or at the very least the use of, romanticized stereotypes of Indian women, especially the 'Indian princess.' In serving its own purposes of domination, the Euro-centric, patriarchal culture fell into

the habit of categorizing Indian women in the same manner as they did their own women, i.e., in a dichotomy of oppositional dualism -- as either 'all good' or 'all bad.' Though Paula Gunn Allen explains that the Euro-American culture long attempted to impose its view of women on the Indian cultures, the women portrayed in Life Among the Piutes and Mountain Wolf Woman defy such stereotypes and, instead, reveal capable Indian women who are vital to their tribe's welfare, practical, compassionate, politically and religiously involved, hard-working, and productive.

The histories of the Northern Piute and Winnebago reveal the vital roles women play in their tribe's economy and survival, and the autobiographies highlight the ways in which both women relate to their tribal histories. Sarah is especially creative in the self-images she develops on behalf of herself, her grandfather and her father -- images which were meant to empower them in their dealings with the whites. [I'll use the name 'Sarah' to refer to Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins throughout this paper, because it is the name which embodies the self which Sarah wishes to create in her book. 'Sarah' is the Anglicization of a Hebrew name meaning 'princess' and therefore represents an extension of the person Sarah conceived herself to be. She also used her married name, 'Hopkins', on the title page, most likely in an attempt to gain status with her intened audience; but her true status derives more readily from her own words and

actions.] Mountain Wolf Woman reflects the ancient values of the Winnebago while, at the same time, she assimilates values from both cultures, which she employs as survival tools.

In her narrative Mountain Wolf Woman often addresses what must seem to her to be accusations by the dominant culture. She answers such claims as "Indians are lazy" by telling how hard she and her acquaintances work and how productive they were when allowed access to the land. Like Sarah, Mountain Wolf Woman is adept at quoting from the dominant culture, allowing whites to incriminate themselves. Mountain Wolf Woman's narrative remains true to Winnebago storytelling goals -- it often serves an educational purpose.

Sarah's narrative, too, stresses an educational goal, as she pleades, "Dear reader, I must tell a little more about my poor people, and what they suffer at the hands of our white brothers" (Hopkins, 89). Sarah never swerves from her goal of assisting her tribe, and she serves by employing every verbal skill that her Paiute oral tradition has to offer her: eloquent speech, educational narrative, myths and storytelling, and the accurate relation of historical events -- all ancient survival tools of the Northern Paiute.

CHAPTER TWO

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Emerging from Pre-theoretical Innocence to Find An Expanded Autobiographical Genre

Since the first whiff of egocentric individualism found emerging in the Canzoniere and the sonnets of Italy's greatest lyric poet, Petrarch (1304-74), Europeans, in their literature, have increasingly searched the machinations of the individual human soul apart from its tribal organization and apart from the large religious institution of the Roman Catholic Church which dominated the European Middle Ages. As a writer who initiates such expression, Petrarch's psychoanalytical self-examination of his own mind is probably best displayed in the 366 poems of his Canzoniere. Here are a pair of examples of Petrarch's searching examination of the paradoxical conflict between his soul's longing and his ethical responsibility, found in the first stanza of two four stanza poems:

132

If it's not love, then what is it I feel?
But if it's love, by God, what is this thing?
If good, why then the bitter mortal sting?
If bad, then why is every torment sweet?

(Petrarch, 49).

134

I find not peace, and I am not at war,
I fear and hope, and burn and I am ice;
I fly above the heavens, and lie on earth,
and I grasp nothing and embrace the world.
(Petrarch, 50).

One observes the unabashed use of the first-person singular pronoun, the exploration of private human emotions, the ego's longing to transcend the limitations imposed by the mortal body, all conditions familiar to the twentieth century reader. But Petrarch's interest was not only his own feelings, but also in his beloved homeland. In #128, he laments, "Oh my own Italy...let all your truth be heard through me, unworthy as I am" (Petrarch, 43). Though Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman differ from Petrarch in the kinds of 'selves' they create through their narrative, they do share his passion for homeland.

At the height of the European Renaissance, autobiography flourished in the 1580's under the pen of Montaigne. Characterizing himself as a man tireless in his search for the truth, he found in his 'essai' (essays or trials), an exploratory approach to truth by way of self-knowledge and self-discipline. Like Petrarch, Montaigne was hesitant to identify himself with his impressions or his passions alone; and he felt he should

refrain from following the promptings of his senses. As Montaigne saw it, the reward for his restraint was consistency: "What I do, I do habitually; and I go forward all of a piece" (Montaigne, Book Three, Chapter 10). Feeling that most things were unknowable, musing that "When I play with my cat, who knows whether she is amusing herself with me, or I with her?", Montaigne strove to reveal the ever-deepening and intimate truth about the one subject which he felt he might know: himself. "Authors communicate with the world in some special and peculiar capacity; I am the first to do so with my whole being, as Michel de Montaigne" (Montaigne, Book Three, Chapter 2,).

James Olney explains that:

> Montaigne's philosophy and his art drive steadily through all the distractions and reversals, intentional and temperamental, toward recognition of shared nature in all men (Olney, Metaphors of Self, 86).

It's significant that Olney is describing what may be the central preoccupation of European men. But upon reading the autobiographies of two Native American women, one gets a very different sense of self. The 'selves' of Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman are not European, upper-class, self-centered, leisurely, scholarly constructs; they are North American, tribal, socially engaged, pragmatic and

political.

Four centuries later, in 1975 (French edition), the contemporary French autobiographical philosopher Philippe Lejeune formulates his definition of autobiography as

> Retrospective prose narrative written by a real person concerning his own existence, where the focus is his individual life, in particular the story of his personality (Lejeune, 4).

This definition nicely accomodates Montaigne and those who followed him in a European tradition, but its focus on the self does not sufficiently accomodate the tribal nature of Native American women nor the totality of Sarah's picture of her Paiute people, nor Mountain Wolf Woman's personal reality. Lejeune's conception, that the subject treated is an individual life and the story of a personality, is not sufficiently inclusive to represent Native American sensibilities of place, tribal relationship and self.

Lejeune defines the goal of his book:

> Through a new attempt at a definition, then, it is the very terms of the problematic of the genre that I intend to clarify. In wanting to provide clarity, we run two risks: that of seeming to be caught up in an endless repetition of the obvious (because it is

> necessary to start from the very beginning), and that, on the contrary, of appearing to want to complicate things by using distinctions that are too subtle. I will not avoid the first; as for the second, I will try to base my distinctions on reason (Lejeune, 3).

Nor does he avoid the obvious. Most of his book is a belaboring of such givens as: "The identity of the narrator and the principal character that is assumed in autobiography is marked most often by the use of the first person" (Lejeune, 5). But in his ninth chapter, "Autobiography of Those Who Do Not Write," he uncovers some fairly subtle distinctions between pure autobiography and the entire field of "collaborative" literature. He exposes the present vogue of the "taped" autobiography (such as Mountain Wolf Woman's narrative) of common people as a possible paternalistic imposture. When there is secret collaboration in writing an autobiography, Lejeune considers that the implicit contract between author and reader has been twisted; and further, he reminds us that just as an autobiography written by an author and a "ghostwriter" reveals the multiplicity of authorities, the authentic autobiography is no less than such a multiplicity itself. Far from imitating the unity of an authentic autobiography, the collaborative autobiography emphasizes its indirect and calculated character.

> A person is always several people when he is writing, even all alone, even his own life...By relatively isolating the roles, the collaborative autobiography calls into question again the belief in a unity that underlies, in the autobiographical genre, the notion of author and that of person. We can divide the work in this way only because it is in fact always divided in this way, even when the people who are writing fail to recognize this, because they assume the different roles themselves. Anyone who decides to write his life story acts as if he were his own ghostwriter (Lejeune, 188).

The question at issue with an 'as told to' autobiography such as we have with Mountain Wolf Woman involves the extent of influence by the editor upon the informer, in addition to changes imposed solely by the editor. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century, when the role of the author began to be highly personalized, the employment of a "ghostwriter" or heavy-handed editor has created distrust, at least among the literate population. One may readily ask, "What is the hidden political agenda of the ruling class which is writing this book?" Lejeune

freely admits that "...we find nothing in France that resembles the stories of fugitive slaves in the United States, instigated (and sometimes written) by Northern abolitionist whites intended for the white public" (Lejeune, 200). But there did develop in France an interest among the ruling class for taped autobiographies of common people. And the very things which are suspect about these collections are also suspect in American collections of Native American lives: their stories derive value, in the eyes of editors and readers, from the fact that they are perceived as belonging to a culture other than their own, a culture defined by the exclusion of writing; the publisher exploits an ethnological type of curiosity; and the writer appears as a mediator between two worlds. Further, because for every ethnobiographer there may be hundreds of thousands of potential models to choose from, the selected model is supposed to consider himself happy to attain a notoriety for which he was in no way destined. As Lejeune explains, "All merit in his story is a merit added by the writing" (Lejeune, 196). In a very real way, the model becomes the creation of his ethnographer; the writer has the authority because he/she has the power to determine the type of effect the book produces. Due to the mediated nature of so many Native American autobiographies, the "I" is literally someone else; and in the case of the Native Americans, the "I" was virtually the enemy and conqueror.

An excellent example of this is the 'as told to' story of Black Elk Speaks. Tellingly, John G. Neihardt left his name on the book cover as the author, as perhaps he should, considering his claims regarding the book.

> "The beginning and the ending are mine," Neihardt has written, "they are what [Black Elk] would have said if he had been able....And the translation -- or rather the transformation -- of what was given me was expressed so that it could be understood by the white world" (Krupat, For Those Who Come After, 128).

Though Black Elk repeatedly asserts thoughout his narrative that he was given a vision that he might keep the sacred hoop of his people unbroken and make the tree flower once more, preserving the traditional culture of the Sioux in the face of the whites' massive assault upon it, Neihardt's ending is a different story.

> And I, to whom so great a vision was given in my youth, -- you see me now a pitiful old man who has done nothing, for the nation's hoop is broken and scattered. There is no center any longer, and the sacred tree is dead (Neihardt, 276).

I agree with Krupat that it is very much open to question

whether this is what Black Elk "would have said" or whether it is the way in which he would have ended his story. Krupat explains that Neihardt edited and deleted the portions of Black Elk's narration which emphasized his persisting desire to return to the old ways. Krupat describes Neihardt as "essentially a christianizer and civilizer of the Dawes-Friends of the Indian type" (Krupat, 129) who believed they could break up tribal relations and reservations by re-educating young Indians in government schools with the purpose of eventually individualizing Indians onto 160 acre homesteads (Krupat, 58). So the telling of Black Elk's story has an overlay of Neihardt's perspective on the Indian future. This sometimes conscious and, I think many times unconscious, cultural bias away from the old Indian ways is precisely the veil which must be recognized and lifted aside if our society is ever to have any real understanding of the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Native American collected literatures and autobiographies.

Fortunately for us, there are those who are willing to tackle this monumental task, specifically, Arnold Krupat, Brian Swann and David Brumble. Swann and Krupat observe that, with a few possible exceptions,

> ....it might even be said that a fully informed awareness of the problems and possibilities of this heritage on the

> part of students of literature dates from no earlier than 1975...(Swann & Krupat, 1).

They attribute to such men as Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock the pioneering studies which raised the questions of poetics and performance, of transciption, translation, and interpretation with which students of literature are prepared to engage.

In the foreward to Krupat's For Those Who Come After (in which Krupat defines Native American autobiography as something which could emerge only from cross-cultural contact), Paul John Eakin begins with Candice Lang's criticism of James Olney and William Spengemann.

> Candace Lang extended Krupat's strictures [i.e., that the autobiographical critics remained at some virtually pretechnological level of critical naivete] to the whole field of autobiography studies. In Lang's view, critics of autobiography remain stubbornly attached to the idea that the self is a fully constituted plenitude, an essentialist view that she presents as a quaint survival from an earlier time of pretheoretical innocence (Krupat, xi).

Yet, with even the slightest knowlege of the tribal nature of Native Americans, one would expect the kind of 'self' which a Native would portray to be quite distinct from the type written by a white person from the dominant culture.

> In Krupat's account, no aspect of Native American autobiography escapes the shaping power of the discourse of the dominant culture: character, plot, culture, history -- the influence of white theories and models is pervasive (Krupat, xviii).

If the influence is indeed this pervasive, then it follows that the development of the genre reflects shifts in white thinking and especially in anthropological style trends.

Under the influence of Franz Boas, who challenged earlier evolutionist and ethnocentric premises, replacing them with a dedication to the objective recovery of ethnographic facts, Paul Radin's Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian (1926) takes a much different approach than the earlier S.M. Barrett's Geronimo's Story of His Life (1906). The subject of this autobiography was no longer a 'great individual' but rather the presentation of a representative type of a vanishing culture.

The premise of Radin's telling was one of an "ironic" mode, a story which simply lists events as they happen.

Krupat finds it significant that Radin confused information from Jasper and Sam Blowsnake in Crashing Thunder; and regarding the Medicine rite, Crashing Thunder's comments on the falsity of the old ways are most likely changes in the text which were made by Radin (Krupat, 101). Krupat concludes that whatever words may have come out of Crashing Thunder's mouth, those are not the words we readers have. In this instance, Radin is most likely displaying his concern with having a text with which his readers can relate. Subtle are the hidden agendas of anthropologists!

Krupat takes us just so far in his analyses, mainly because he stops short of dealing with any women's autobiographies and dismisses Sarah Winnemucca's autobiography by ignoring her altogether:

> Despite this continued interest in Patterson's work [concerning Black Elk and published first in 1833 and again in 1882] the remaining years of the nineteenth century present no other fully developed instance of Indian autobiography (Krupat, 53).

As far as Mountain Wolf Woman is concerned, Krupat only mentions her in connection with Crashing Thunder.

Once Krupat established the pervasive collaborative nature of Native American autobiography, the door was open for David Brumble to look more carefully at the Indians' own

contributions to the collaborative autobiographies. Brumble found that the preliterate autobiographies put forth conceptions of the self that are foreign to modern, individualistic societies. Often men of the tribe, such as White Bull (a Sioux born in 1850), would define themselves by their deeds, deeds which were essentially shaped by the tribe's specific expectations of a man and warrior. Several autobiographers grew up in traditional ways but were abruptly transplanted into the white world: Sarah Winnemucca, Mountain Wolf Woman, John Rogers of the Ojibway, Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, etc. Brumble notes that developments which took place in their own lifetimes took millennia to take shape within the history of Western autobiography.

Refreshingly, Brumble deals with the preliterate traditions at work with respect to White Bull, Two Leggings and Sarah Winnemucca. Sarah's life was very different from the other two because they grew up with little white interference. Although Sarah's band of Paiutes were not in contact with the whites much before 1848, when the settlers moved onto the desert lands (naturally, close to the sparse supplies of water), the white presence was immediately and unremittingly disruptive of the old ways.

In reference to LaVonne Ruhoff's comparison of Sarah's book to the slave narratives (i.e., mention of sexual violence and daring adventures), Brumble says:

> I think it is unlikely that Winnemucca

> herself was familiar with such literature; indeed, aside from the hymns she quotes occasionally, it is unlikely that Winnemucca was much aware of literary influences at all (Brumble, 62).

However, I hardly see how this could be true of a woman who was several times employed as a school teacher and who, during an interview with a newspaper correspondent from the Sacramento Record "asked that old school books be sent to her at Camp McDermit, as she and her father and brother were interested in starting a school there for the Paiute children" (Canfield, 65). School teachers are exposed to histories, and one would think that by 1881 -- when Sarah was appointed as an interpreter and school teacher by O.O. Howard in Vancouver -- that the children were being taught about the Civil War and slavery issues. It is difficult to believe she was not aware of abolitionist activities, having spent time among the intelligensia of Boston.

Sadly, we do not know specifically what books Sarah might have read, but we know for sure that she was well-acquainted with the Pocahontas story because of her theatrical dramatizations of that story and by virtue of the fact that the media often compared her to Pocahontas. For example, the San Francisco Morning Call reported:

> In the history of the Indians she and

> Pocahontas will be the principal female characters, and her singular devotion to her race will no doubt be chronicled as an illustration of the better traits of the Indian character (Canfield, 222).

In other words, Indian women who sacrificed themselves for whites were just about the only type that the Euro-Americans could tolerate. "The only good Indian -- male or female, Squanto, Pocahontas, Sacagawea, Cochise, the Little Mohee or the Indian doctor -- rescues and helps white men" (Green, "The Pocahontas Perplex", 20).

And why do you think that Pocahontas is more widely known than Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins? My guess is that even though Sarah did save the lives of white soldiers, she never gave up caring for her own Paiute people. In order to be thought of as "good", Sarah would have had to do what Green describes as the Indian woman's dilemma: "....defy her own people, exile herself from them, become white, and perhaps suffer death" (20). Holding onto your Indianess in the easy way Sarah did was not conducive to being remembered in history books.

So what prompted Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman to write autobiographies?

CHAPTER THREE

STEREOTYPES OF NATIVE AMERICAN WOMEN

New Perspectives Necessary for Native American Women

In her book, The Hidden Half, Patricia Albers comments that "The Plains Indians gua American Indians that figure most predominantly in popular stereotyping are men" (Albers, 1). The image of a chief wearing the plains Indian costume of fringed buckskin and a full-feathered headdress has dominated the classic characterizations of Indians in the mass media. Posters, greeting cards, and postcards made from photographs and paintings of Sitting Bull, Quanah Parker, Red Cloud, and Geronimo have proliferated as tourist trade items. Closely following the chiefs in popularity are the warriors (as portrayed in Hollywood movies and dime novels) as they fiercely clash with the U.S. cavalry, and the hunter stealthily stalking herds of bison or the lone antelope.

In other words, the women are the hidden half of the Indian populace, most often seen only as backdrops to the actions and dialogues of men. They are portrayed most often as fleeing from burning tipis while the men fight off the cavalry or as scraping hides and preparing food. Woman are

rarely depicted as carrying on conversations or displaying political savvy of the kind which Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman seem amply capable. Unfortunately, even in Kevin Costner's recent attempt at showing the Indian perspective (the movie Dances With Wolves) there are no remarkable Indian women; the one woman in the Lakota tribe who has a speaking part is a Euro-American whom the tribe has raised from girlhood.

If the Indian woman is not ignored altogether, she is frequently modeled in terms of the "noble" Princess or the "savage" Squaw, images which originated with the ethnocentric observations of early European explorers and traders, who were used to viewing the world in terms of civilized versus primitive, male versus female, Christian versus pagan. Intrinsic to such a world view are European ideas of social castes, gender inequality, and the rigid distinction between the public market sphere and the private domestic sphere. As this view was inevitably transposed onto Indian societies by early European observers, creating gender splits and inequalities which were previously unknown, Indian women were forced into a submissive categorization of the "pure" versus the "fallen" woman.

Such a categorization must assume significantly more harmful proportions when it is applied to the women of a race which is considered to be more "savage" than one's own. Rayna Green laments the long-lasting effects of the

"Princess/Squaw" stereotype in her article, "The Pocahontas Perplex: the Image of Indian Women in American Culture." Green traces the "Princess" phenomenon back to traditional European ballads about swashbuckling handsome male adventurers and the beautiful foreign princesses (perhaps Arabian or Far Eastern) who saved them from the wrath of the local pagans. The Pocahontas tale, and subsequent variations, dramatically injected this folktale into American fiction. This perspective handily portrays the natives as noble only when they serve the encroaching "civilized" conqueror.

In keeping with the European tradition of oppositional dualism, the "Princess" received a negative counterpart, the "Squaw" who was defined as sullied by sexual liaisons with white men. As one may imagine, not too many Indian women qualified as princesses, leaving the vast majority in the category of squaw, i.e., subservient, vulnerable, and fallen. Rayna Green likens this stereotypical labeling to the "Virgin/Whore paradox," a dichotomy which does nothing to describe the historical realities of Indian women. Certainly the Indian woman was defined by the dominant culture solely in terms of her relation to males, and little attention was paid to the relationships she had with other Indian women, her children, or her in-laws.

Eurocentric distinctions between public and private spheres and gender-role differentiation often become

meaningless when applied to traditional Indian systems. Characteristic of European gender categorizations is the tendency to rank duties into hierarchical layers defined by status, thereby ascribing women's work as less public and politically inferior. However, Patricia Albers outlines the traditional Sioux ideal of tribal existence as one which promoted the ideal relationship between male and female as complementary and based on principles of individual autonomy and voluntary sharing. Sarah, herself, paints a picture of men and women mutually sharing such responsibilities as child rearing. For example, she explains that, for twenty-five days after childbirth, the husband assumes all of his wife's household work and that "If he does not do his part in the care of the child, he is considered an outcast" (Hopkins, 50).

One can find clear examples of this type of autonomous behavior on the part of Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman. Both initiate important decisions. For example, on her own Sarah makes the enormous decision to ride into the Bannock camp and rescue her father, Old Winnemucca, and his Paiute band from their detainment by the Bannocks (after that tribe had declared war on the whites). Her father was delighted that she had unexpectedly arrived, and he and his band dutifully followed her away from their Bannock captors. Mountain Wolf Woman also made significant decisions on her own: in one instance, she gives many presents to an old and respected

medicine man, thus declaring her desire to acquire his knowledge and become a healer in her own right.

Paula Gunn Allen and Albers are in agreement that U.S. Government policies -- actuated by Euro-American patriarchal tradition -- recognized only male political leaders and heads-of-households. In The Sacred Hoop, Allen discusses the effects of European colonization on the "gynocratic" social and political systems of the Iroquois and Cherokee tribes (Allen, The Sacred Hoop, 41). In those tribes, the pre-Colonial political and social structures were guided by women; but the Federal government would have commerce only with male leadership. In Sarah's description of Paiute council meetings, we find an egalitarian view of rulership. Sarah explains that in the Paiute chief's council tent where "everything" was discussed, that "...if the women are interested they can share in the talks" (Hopkins, 52).

During the five hundred years of Anglo-European and Euro-American colonization, "the tribes have seen a progressive shift from gynecentric, egalitarian, ritual-based social systems to secularized structures closely imitative of the European partriarchal system" (Allen, The Sacred Hoop, 195). For a time, young Cherokee men were sent to England to be schooled in proper patriarchal procedures (Allen, The Sacred Hoop, 37). In addition to exerting pressure to disenfranchise the sunksquaw, or queen (hereditary female head of state) of a

number of women chiefs who held office among the Mid-Atlantic Coastal Algonkians during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Allen, The Sacred Hoop, 34), the colonists failed to recognize the Native American emphasis on individuality. Europeans ignored the fact that Indian women often played key roles in all of the major political, religious and economic institutions of the tribe (Tsosie, 6).

The anthropologists of the early twentieth century (and earlier) showed interest almost exclusively in the lives of males. In 1920, Paul Radin wrote Crashing Thunder, which is considered by Ruth Underhill to be the first full-length autobiography of an American Indian edited and published by an anthropologist (Lurie, ix). It's the life story of a member of Mountain Wolf Woman's family, her older brother, Sam Blowsnake, though Radin called Sam by the eldest brother's name, Crashing Thunder. It is a possibility that Radin actually combined incidents from both brothers' lives into one convenient telling (Krupat, For Those Who Come After, 91). Nonetheless, it wasn't until 1958 that an anthropologist showed an interest in recording the life of a Native American woman, and Nancy Lurie began to record Mountain Wolf Woman's own voice in the interests of recording a Native American woman's life story.

With a new interest in and appreciation of the roles of Native American women, new information is being collected

and old data is being reinterpreted. Albers asserts that

> ...scholars are beginning to remedy the oversights and prejudices of their predecessors by incorporating women into the analysis of total social formations. Today, models of society and history are being reconstructed in which women occupy a more visible and vital place (Albers, 5).

A careful analysis of the narratives of Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman reveal women whose lives and words far exceed the insipid and droll stereotypes which have dominated American literature to date. Beatrice Medicine's article on Native American women's contributions to ceremonial art (Albers, 123) makes the important point that the variety of women's experience in the native Plains has been glossed over in a literature which seeks to discover "ideal" or "modal" feminine types. The testimonies of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Mountain Wolf Woman stand in marked contrast to such Euro-partriarchal pursuits. Again in Alber's The Hidden Half, Alice Kehoe asserts encouragingly that

> A paradigm shift is certainly occurring in our generation. The iceberg of frozen beliefs, of which the patriarchal dogma is the tip, that impeded the

> observations and theory-building of the classical ethnographers is drifting out of the channel of anthropological voyaging (Albers, 66).

We may look to the strong tribal identities evidenced in the autobiographies of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Mountain Wolf Woman in order to begin an appreciation of the vital roles that Native American women play in their tribes.

CHAPTER FOUR

WINNEBAGO TRIBAL HISTORY

Five Thousand, Four Thousand, Three Thousand Indians.... Until Only 1500 Winnebago Remain In Their Homeland

Between 1908 and 1913, Paul Radin, fresh from his tutelage under Franz Boas at Columbia University, collected a five-hundred page description of the history, archeology, social customs, education, clans, religion and ceremonies of the Winnebago tribe of Wisconsin. Though it is impossible to say when they arrived in that area, Radin believes that they were part of the second of four Siouan migrations coming from the east. Though Radin says, "....we are right in assuming that they are the builders of the effigy mounds" (Radin, The Winnebago Tribe, 1), he cannot explain why there are no effigy mounds (which are closely associated with clan organization and usually depict animals such as the panther, turtle, mink and birds) in Illinois from whence the tribe is supposed to have come.

> The Winnebago themselves have no traditions telling of their migrations from the east. The majority of the people questioned asserted that the tribe had originated at Green Bay (2).

The tribal members have, however, some recollection of their separation from their Siouan relatives. "Band after band kept moving away until only one was left -- the present Winnebago" (2).

When they first encountered whites in 1634, the Winnebago were living entirely surrounded by Central Algonquian tribes: the Menominee, Miami, Saux and Fox, and Ojibwa. They called themselves Hotcangara, which was interpreted by James Owen Dorsey as "people of the parent speech" (5). There were stories then that the tribe had at one time gathered into one village of five thousand men in order to escape their enemies. At that time, an epidemic occurred and left a remnant of 1500 from which 500 warriors were sent out across Little Lake Butte des Morts, and this entire company was lost in a tempest. Interestingly, over three hundred years later,

> The Winnebago still tell of these events and practically in the same words as Perrot [circa 1640] obtained them, as can be learned from the....versions obtained in 1910 (7).

The Winnebago oral tradition appears to be long and accurate.

The primary food for these Northern peoples was fish, and what they grew agriculturally: corn, squash, beans and small fields of tobacco. The tobacco was used only for

sacrificial purposes and was considered to be very sacred. In general, each family owned and cultivated its own field. Also, from the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of cranberries and whortleberries. In common with the Menominee and Ojibway, the tribe also spent a few weeks each year harvesting wild rice from birchbark canoes.

Children were given names immediately upon birth from a set of six birth-order names, and later a clan name was bestowed at a special feast. Women were isolated during their first menses, and were considered to be marriageable after that time. Marriages were arranged but if the young people refused, the parents could usually be dissuaded. There was no ceremony connected with marriage, but there was a gift exchange between the families. Generally, the man lived with his parents-in-law for a period of two years, acting as a servant to his father-in-law.

The Winnebago had shaman and medicine men, and a practical religion.

> My son, when you grow up, you should try
> to be of some benefit to your fellowmen.
> There is only one way in which this can
> be done, and that is to fast (229).

Their religious ideals had a practical content and were connected to values concerning daily survival; in their every prayer they sought "success, happiness, and long life"

(230).

The Peyote cult has played an important role in the Winnebago religious life since about 1901, when John Rave returned from Oklahoma and introduced peyote to other members of his tribe. The general concensus among the members was that if one "will eat this peyote he will abandon all his bad habits. It is a cure for everything bad" (344). Mountain Wolf Woman had refused on many occasions to try peyote but tried it for the first time as she was dreading the suffering connected with the birth of her third child (Mountain Wolf Woman, 40).

The Winnebagos ceded their homeland in Wisconsin and northern Illinois by a series of treaties in 1829, 1832 and 1837. Between 1846 and 1865 (at the same time that the Nevada Northern Paiutes of Sarah's tribe were inundated by gold miners and new settlers)
the government forced the Winnebago to exchange one reservation for another until they finally settled on their present reservation in northeastern Nebraska. Originally 100,000 acres, it was rapidly reduced by two-thirds after 1888 when the Indians were coerced into private sales. About half the tribe is enrolled on the Nebraska reservation, but a portion of the tribe, who claimed that the 1837 treaty was fraudulent, refused to leave Wisconsin. The last forcible removal of Wisconsin Winnebago took place in 1874 (Lurie, 113), and Mountain Wolf Woman writes about

that important event. After 1875, Mountain Wolf Woman's mother and others were allowed to use forty-acre land parcels on public domain (Lurie, 113).

In the early 1960's, when Lurie published her book, about 1500 Winnebago made their home in their original tribal territory, ironically the same number in the tribe in the early seventeenth century. This fact certainly indicates a long history of hardship for the Winnebago.

CHAPTER FIVE

NORTHERN PAIUTE TRIBAL HISTORY

Pre-Contact Territory and Language

At the time of Euro-American contact, the people who are today called the Northern Paiute consisted of several bands who were linked by a common language but who were, nevertheless, culturally and politically distinct (Sturtevant, Fowler & Liljeblad, 435). The recognition of a Northern Paiute nationality is based primarily on people who speak the same language.

These semi-nomadic groups covered a vast area of over 70,000 square miles (437). They ranged in their hunting, gathering, and fishing activities northward to the Columbia and Snake rivers, eastward to Mono Lake, their eastern border running approximately through central Nevada along the Desatoya Ridge. South of Mono Lake extending east to west across a 50 mile strip lived the Owens Valley Paiutes, close linguistic kin of the Northern Paiute. As they shared a similarity of culture, communication and exchange was common between the Owens Valley Paiute and the Northern Paiute. When the Northern Paiutes ventured along the area which now defines the Oregon/Idaho state borders, they mingled with the Shoshone, who spoke a closely related

language. Bilingualism prevailed in this area then as it does even today.

Northern Paiute is the native language of the peoples in this area. Western Numic language, an offshoot of the Uto-Aztecan linguistic family, consists of the two languages of Northern Paiute and Mono. Though there are minor grammatical and pronunciation differences between the northern-most and the southern-most speakers in this broad group, the differences are not so striking as to affect understanding. The Bannock language which lacks some Southern dialects, is otherwise identical to Northern Paiute (435), a fact which undoubtedly explains how Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins found herself, as an interpreter, so useful to General Howard during the Paiute-Bannock Wars.

In historic times Northern Paiute speech extended beyond the area outlined, and Northern Paiute speakers made a continuous migration eastward from their territory in Oregon to the Snake River Plain in southeastern Idaho -- predominantly Shoshone territory.

Before contact with the whites, Northern Paiutes generally assembled their extended families semi-annually. When not forgathered, individual households or "camps" formed smaller clusters whose composition varied seasonally and also throughout the years. Even when they only inhabited foraging territories for short periods, they thought of them as their own. The term 'ti-biwa' (436)

referred not only to the area where they set up camp but also to the foraging districts nearby. The derivative 'ti-biwaga^yu' ('possessor of a home district') was used to denote the migrant group whose habit it was to seasonally return to each named region, especially the winter encampments. Home districts overlapped to a certain degree and sharing of the resources habitually occurred. Food-named designations such as 'ti-badi-ka^a' ('pine nut eaters') were used by peoples of the north to designate those in the south with access to pin^ons, or 'kucuti-kadi-('bison eaters'), used by people in the south to designate the Bannock and Northern Shoshone.

Although all groups foraged broadly within their home districts, some areas were richer in resources than others and it was not uncommon for outside groups to ask permission to fish or hunt. If proper procedures were followed, permission was always granted. This traditional attitude toward sharing the resources sheds light on the Paiutes' initial hospitality toward the settlers.

Two regions within Northern Paiute territory contained freshwater lakes with major inlet streams -- Walker Lake (with the Walker River) and Pyramid Lake (with the Truckee River). A big attraction to large groups of gathering Paiutes were the large (15-30 pound) winter and spring migrating cutthroat trout. The lakes were popular gathering areas for fishing, trading, feasting and dancing. These

fertile areas offered, in addition to the fish, seeds, roots, waterfowl, and other small and large game. There are at least four areas within Northern Paiute territory which qualify as freshwater marshes. These areas were the source of cattails for building houses, tule balsa boats, duck decoys, matting bags, sandals, skirts, and dresses of tule and other marsh plants. These places were often chosen as winter residences (438).

The Columbia-Snake River drainage area was home district to several groups who depended on salmon, roots and bulbs such as bitteroot and camus, and large game such as deer, elk and occasionally bison and moose. This region is well watered by tributaries of the Snake River, and it became one of the last refuges for the Natives who were displaced through white contact and settlement (438).

The implements used for hunting and fishing differed throughout the Northern Paiute's extensive territory. For large game, bows and arrows of stone, bone and wooden points were employed. The straight stemmed plants used for the shaft of the arrow usually bore the maker's mark in color striping (439). This fact is emphasized in an 1859 incident related by Sarah (Hopkins, 59-65). Two white men, one of whom is described as being "dearly beloved by my people" (59), were on their way to a general store, about 30 miles away, with a large amount of money with which to buy their winter supplies. They were robbed at their camp and killed

with bullets. The killers then placed Washoe arrows in the wounds to make it appear as if the murderous deed had been accomplished by Indians. Major Ormsbey sent for Sarah's brother Natchez, who was known then as the "peace-chief" (60), and he was able to identify the arrows as belonging to the Washoes. Subsequently, the three innocent Washoe men who were taken into custody by Major Ormsbey's men were shot and killed without the benefit of a trial; and later, the white men who had actually committed the crime were apprehended. Sarah said that this incident was the first trouble the poor Washoes had experienced with the white people, and understandably the Washoes were not too happy about it, nor about the role which the Paiutes played.

Occasionally groups lived in tule mat-covered houses the year-round, but more commonly these shelters were abandoned in the summer for cooler brush windbreaks or shades with the cooking done outside. Even in the winter, houses were not too closely spaced so as not to put undue pressure on fuel or water supplies. Approximately 50 persons at a good site was typical for winter camps. Summer camps were typically smaller, with separate foraging sites for related families (Sturtevant, Fowler & Liljeblad, 443).

For his/her entire life a Northern Paiute individual was surrounded by a network (of kinspeople and friends) that consisted mainly of his/her immediate family, a larger group of close relatives, the camp group of which the family was a

part, associated camp groups in the district, and individuals who resided outside the local area and sometimes even outside the general area of the Northern Paiute language (446). At times the family would consist of three or even four generations.

Marriages were most often arranged by parents with the middle to late teenager's wishes in the matter given consideration. Reasons for choosing a certain partner were usually based on good hunting skills for the men and good foraging skills for the women. Marriage was not marked by ceremony. A young man made his intentions known by visiting a young woman's household, and after several weeks he might move in if he secured her and her family's consent. The new couple typically resided with the woman's parents for the first year or until the birth of their first child (449).

It is thought that Sarah's first marriage was to an Indian and little is known about him or their life together. There was also a German, a friend of her grandfather's, whom a newspaper writer reported was married to Sarah. It is thought that he died on a visit back to his home country. Neither of these men are mentioned in her book, though she does briefly mention her next two husbands, Bartlett and Hopkins. Sarah's first officiated marriage, by a Justice of the Peace, was to First Lieutenant Edward C. Bartlett, a native New Yorker, in 1870 in Salt Lake City. Bartlett was a serious drinker and the marriage did not last a year,

after which Sarah returned to Fort McDermit. In San Francisco, on December 5, 1881, she married a Virginia man five years her junior, Lewis H. Hopkins. He turned out to be a gambler, losing much of Sarah's money while he was with her, dying on October 18, 1887 (Canfield, 65).

Because subsistence was difficult and game sparse in these high desert environments, the family groups were put in the position of having to depend on one another, but also in the position of not wanting to overcrowd any one district. During the summer, the groups dispersed, often coming back together near the lakes or marshes in the winter. The organization of tribal life was loose and variable with decisions being made on the small scale by family groups. Sarah describes the political climate among her people:

> At the council, one is always appointed to repeat at the time everything that is said on both sides, so that there may be no misunderstanding, and one person at least is present from every lodge, and after it is over, he goes and repeats what is decided upon at the door of the lodge, so all may understand. For there is never any quarreling in the tribe, only friendly counsels. The sub-chiefs are appointed by the great chief for special duties. There is no quarrelling about that, for neither sub-chief or great chief has any salary.

> It is this which makes the tribe so united and attached to each other, and makes it so dreadful to be parted (Hopkins, 54).

The loose structure of the tribal community suggests that Sarah's emphasis on her grandfather and father being the main chiefs may be of her own devising.

CHAPTER SIX

MOUNTAIN WOLF WOMAN

When Mountain Wolf Woman was asked by her editor, Nancy Lurie, to record on tape in her Native language the story of her life, Mountain Wolf Woman related her life history in the seemingly effortless manner of someone very familiar with storytelling. Upon reading the English translation of the transcription (which was approved by Mountain Wolf Woman) one can imagine that she relates incidents to us in much the same way she would to a friend. Like traditional Indian storytellers who envision what they tell (Sturtevant, Liljeblad, 650), Mountain Wolf Woman would

> ....close her eyes and begin to relive events as she recalled them. Sad incidents often caused tears to well up, and funny stories evoked chuckles (Lurie, xvi).

Her story was, for herself, a reliving which remained in the present and in which she utilized direct quotations by the people involved.

After settling into a routine in Nancy Lurie's home, with the intention of recording her life story, humorously, Mountain Wolf Woman's first telling was quickly accomplished on the very first day, when she filled somewhat less than

half a tape (approximately eight typed pages), and concluded:

> I always say that I am happy the way I am and that I hope to continue in that fashion. If I am good to people, after while, when my life ends, I expect to go to heaven. I say no more (Mountain Wolf Woman, 91).

Mountain Wolf Woman illustrated her practical, no-nonsense propensity for expediency in this swift accomplishment of her task.

Though Lurie was highly disconcerted by the shortness of the document and endeavored to hide her feelings, her disappointment must have been evident, as Mountain Wolf Woman observed that the story could be made much longer. Mountain Wolf Woman then set out to expand the details of her outline by recording on the average of four hours a day for a period of almost five weeks during January and February of 1958.

Nancy Lurie, an anthropologist who studied under Paul Radin, had a unique relationship with Mountain Wolf Woman. Mountain Wolf Woman considered Lurie to be her niece as a result of Lurie's adoption by Mitchell Redcloud, the parallel cousin (considered by the Winnebago to be a "brother") of Mountain Wolf Woman. Lurie first met Mountain Wolf Woman in the summer of 1945, but she did not realize

that she was "Crashing Thunder's" sister until a year later. While she had already considered the desirability of gathering Mountain Wolf Woman's lifestory as a woman, and as a valuable informant in her own right, Lurie then realized that

> a unique opportunity was presented to obtain an autobiography which would be valuable not only for its own sake but also for its comparative importance in regard to Radin's work [Crashing Thunder, 1920] (xiii).

Radin's involvement in Lurie's project may have exerted some influence on Mountain Wolf Woman's narrative. Though his death in 1959 prevented its completion, Radin had planned to write an extended commentary comparing the autobiographies of Crashing Thunder and Mountain Wolf Woman.

Lurie writes, though, that Radin visited them while Mountain Wolf Woman and she were still transcribing the Winnebago version of her story; and that, before she reached the section concerning her peyote vision, Radin had questioned her about peyote, speaking in what Mountain Wolf Woman felt was an offhand manner about Crashing Thunder's first vision of snakes. This caused Mountain Wolf Woman to withhold speaking about a matter which held deep emotional significance to her, "so she confined herself to telling him a funny incident in regard to an early peyote experience"

(127). We can only surmise what else she may have withheld from her further storytelling.

To her credit as an anthropologist, Lurie writes that

> I endeavored not to influence Mountain Wolf Woman except to provide supportive interest in anything she might choose to discuss (94).

Nevertheless, there are two unknown incidents which Mountain Wolf Woman did not want to include because she feared they would "sound boastful and cause her to be ridiculed" (94). Additionally, she expressed concern over relating her vision in which she was an 'angel,' fearing that her non-Peyotist friends would think she was trying to elevate herself. Considerations of modesty were very real, and Lurie feels that Mountain Wolf Woman only consented to risk such censure because of the obligation she felt to fulfill the request of a niece.

In what she does consent to reveal, though, Mountain Wolf Woman proceeds with confidence, placing an emphasis on her own family, the welfare of the entire Winnebago tribe, and her children, grandchildren, and great grandchildren. Hers is a steady relation of events, with much less of the emotional intensity of personal crisis, indecision or violence found in Crashing Thunder's autobiography. From Mountain Wolf Woman's perspective, having accepted Lurie as her niece, she is relating the incidents of her life to a

relative, indicating a degree of trust and intimacy; however, on Lurie's part, we know she defines herself as both niece and anthropologist, doubtlessly a stance which will affect Lurie's agenda in the production of the book.

Unfortunately, it appears than the title of the book was not of Mountain Wolf Woman's own making. Lejeune had an obvious point, in his observation about the author being the person with his/her name on the title page. Lurie is considered to be the author/editor of this book, and we must conclude that she is at liberty to make important decisions concerning the finished text and that one must be on the lookout for any bias which may exist on the part of the dominant culture author. Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian, does not sound like something Mountain Wolf Woman would say about herself. Doubtlessly, if she had her choice of titles it would probably not have included her own name, just as Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins' title does not. In this reference to being the sister of Crashing Thunder, it looks as if Lurie is trying to make sure that her mentor, Paul Radin, will view the book as worthy of being used in his projected comparison to his book about Crashing Thunder. It seems very unlikely that a Winnebago woman who was worried that other tribal members should not see her as boasting, would either have used her own name or have called her book an 'autobiography.'

The chapter titles, too, seem to miss the point of the narrative, and are presumably Lurie's. For instance, in the second paragraph of the narrative, Mountain Wolf Woman relates to her readers a list of her qualifications in order to establish her possession of the trait that for her tribal listeners would have given her story its credibility: her memory. She relates two incidents of her early memories, one when she was a one-year-old and another as a two-year-old. Memory at this early stage would have been considered quite remarkable, and these stories are probably not told for their own sake, but rather to impress the listener with her qualifications as a accurate storyteller. Lurie's chapter title, "Early Recollections," clouds the issue of establishing Mountain Wolf Woman's storytelling credentials and could be construed as the conventional Eurocentric chronological ordering of an autobiograhy. This is a most subtle example of how an anthropologist's Eurocentric expectations can cloud the purpose of something which is related by an informant.

Mountain Wolf Woman shows that she is aware of her audience when she explains why her father is not interested in homesteading some land.

> Indians did not look ahead to affairs of this sort. They never looked to the future. They only looked to the present insofar as they had enough to sustain

> themselves....he was a member of the Thunder Clan. "I do not belong to the Earth," he said, "I do not belong to the Earth and I have no concern with land" (5).

Mountain Wolf Woman is indicating that the other tribal members would have understood why her father did not want to homestead. But she is making concessions in explaining to 'her reader' what is meant. Not only is her narrative affected by Lurie's and Radin's expectations of her, but it is most likely also affected by Mountain Wolf Woman's own perceptions of how ignorant her audience may be.

Assuming ignorance on the part of her audience, Mountain Wolf Woman spends a good deal of time explaining something which holds great significance for her tribal members: the naming process. Children are at first given names which describe their birth order, and later, at a special feast, are given names by an older member of the community. Though her father was from the Thunderbird clan and her mother from the Eagle clan, Mountain Wolf Woman explained that she was named by a woman from the Wolf clan. When Mountain Wolf Woman was about three years old, she became very ill, and her mother sought help by "giving" her to an older woman who wept with joy and said,

> You have made me think of myself....My life, let her use it. My grandchild,

> let her use my existence. I will give
> my name to my own child. The name that
> I am going to give her is a holy name.
> She will reach an old age (6).

The name "means to make a home in a bluff or a mountain, as the wolf does, but in English I just say my name is Mountain Wolf Woman" (7). Mountain Wolf Woman reveals another layer of meaning to her name and is also, obviously, telling of an early prophesy about herself living to an advanced age, which has come true. But this passage makes one realize how difficult it is to translate the 'sense' of another language. What does it mean to "think of myself?"

Mountain Wolf Woman often describes incidents the significance of which can only be understood if one knows the traditions of the Winnebago. To justify leaving her first husband, she stated, "that man was jeolous" (33). As it turns out, this is considered by the Winnebago to be the best reason a woman can give for leaving a husband (122). In another incident, Mountain Wolf Woman says about her son-in-law, "He did not want to be a soldier" (71). The implications of this assertion are enormous, and as Lurie explains in a footnote, because he did not want to be a warrior he was considered cowardly and that meant that Mountain Wolf Woman should expect the worst in his behavior.

The way Mountain Wolf Woman relates the things which happen to her are oftentimes connected with the performance

of correct rituals. One time when the tribe was holding a victory dance with a scalp brought back from Germany, Mountain Wolf Woman expresses dismay that the young people "disregarded the rules". They did not stay up for four nights in a row; "They went to sleep. They held nothing sacred" (66). After she has carefully observed all the rules, she had a vision of a "young man with blond hair" wearing a khaki uniform and dancing, presumably the German whose scalp had been properly honored by her careful keeping of the ritual. Later, when she told her nephew, Lone Man, about her vision he affirmed to her

> ....you respected the scalp dance. Some do not respect it. They just remain for a short time....you followed through to the end....You were the only one left, and this did not go unobserved. You certainly spoke the truth (67).

Here it is not Mountain Wolf Woman who tells us the meaning of her vision but her male relative. Mountain Wolf Woman is relating this incident as an edifying story meant to instruct the younger people of the tribe in the old ways (which, she feels, clearly have their rewards if people will only adhere to them).

She tells many stories which illustrate commonly held beliefs of the Winnebago.

> Even Among Christian Winnebago, it is

> not considered unusual that people who are about to die are able to foretell the future and that their spirits wander and communicate with each other before actual death occurs (132).

Mountain Wolf Woman uses direct quotations, just as any tribal storyteller would, to illustrate that her last husband foretold the future just before he died. "Oh, poor Xorajawinga is standing outside the door. She is to be pitied. She wants to leave with a man" (57). That was Mountain Wolf Woman's sister, and the next morning she found out that her sister had died. He also said to her, "Have they finished the house, yet?" (57). She didn't know what he was talking about, but later, after he died, a house was built for her. Mountain Wolf Woman and Sarah Winnemucca closely resemble each other in their careful use of quotations in telling their stories.

Like Sarah, Mountain Wolf Woman is obviously addressing what she considers a dominant culture when she tells her stories. Instead of directly criticizing the way things are today, she tells what it was like in the past. In explaining how her tribe used to experience free access to all the slippery elm bark they desired to harvest, she says

> Today the white people who have timber land keep it for themselves. Years ago it was not that way and the white people

> used to say, "Help yourself, do whatever it is that you are talking about" (26).

Here she uses a direct quotation from the dominant culture to show its present hypocrisy. Often enough, Sarah seems to do the same thing by using ironic quotations in which the whites incriminate themselves. Mountain Wolf Woman goes on to make a valid point about her culture, a point which is derived from this moral tale. She says,

> Whatever the situation they [Indians] always found something to do and were able to obtain food for themselves by such methods. Whatever the circumstances, the Indian is always doing something useful (26).

She is at once refuting the dominant culture's stereotype of 'lazy Indians,' and she is also explaining that they were willing to work but were nowadays prevented by the selfishness of the land owners. Both Mountain Wolf Woman and Sarah repeatedly address such negative stereotypes of their people, and illustrate with their narratives that there was so much more to their people than what the whites perceived.

At one point, Mountain Wolf Woman and her husband fulfilled the dominant culture's expectation that they, as Indians, should become 'civilized' by becoming farmers. But it was ultimately an unfulfilling role for them as Mountain

Wolf Woman explains:

> Here we say we are farming and we make money for the white people and we never see any money. I do not like this (44).

Understandably, since it is the universal preoccupation of most cultures, Mountain Wolf Woman spends a good deal of time explaining what they ate and the kinds of foods her family raised in their gardens or gathered in the wilds. It's an illustration of Mountain Wolf Woman's flexibility to observe how she and her husband rented their eighty acre farm in Nebraska and quickly acculturated to farming corn, even hiring people to work for them. But it is not farming which impresses Mountain Wolf Woman; apparently her values are elsewhere and she felt trapped in a no-win situation as a farmer. As she decribed in the above quotation, she instead admires her people's ability to survive in a variety of circumstances. Here is an insider's view of Indians, representing a far cry from the stereotype of 'lazy Indians!' She and her tribe value flexibility and adaptability, and the freedom to move seasonally to find available food.

But far beyond any western cultural stereotype of an Indian woman, Mountain Wolf Woman defines herself in terms of a rich and varied spiritual life. She describes becoming a Christian, her initiation into the medicine lodge, her later involvement with the Peyote cult, and the way in which

she became a medicine woman. In her mind, these varied pursuits were not mutually exclusive; she takes what she considers the best from each and uses whatever is helpful in living her everyday life. In describing her peyote religion, she says:

> ....if someone sees something holy at a peyote meeting, that is really true. They are able to understand things concerning God. I understood that this religion is holy. It is directed toward God. I even saw Jesus (42).

Perhaps there is more she could have told us, but Mountain Wolf Woman lets her audience know that there is no conflict between her peyote religion and Christianity. She knows her Indian and white audiences' questions, and she describes her experiences in terms that her readers, as she perceives them, will most likely understand.

Mountain Wolf Woman also values the 'old ways.' She studies under the mentorship of an older man, and he teaches her the use of medicines. "You are going to cure sickness. This redounds to your honor, my granddaughter" (64). She lets us know, by direct quotation, that she has the approval of her elders.

So carefully did Mountain Wolf Woman incorporate a variety of (what may appear to an outsider as conflicting) philosophies into her life that, after her death on November

9, 1960, she was accorded by her friends three funeral celebrations: one traditional Winnebago wake, a peyote meeting, and Christian services at the mission church (107).

Mountain Wolf Woman was a person who expressed in her life and in her words an enormous capacity to assimilate cultural differences and spiritual experiences and to survive.

Her conclusion, which brings the story into the present tense, indicates her belief that the story is never ending and cyclical. She creates an immediacy in the story which leaves the reader with a feeling of continuity. She explains that after her relative, Mitchell Redcloud, died his daughter by adoption came to visit her.

> She wanted me to do her a favor. "Auntie," she said, "if you come and visit me we will write down Indian stories in a book." That is why I am here, saying this at her home. I even rode in an airplane, and I came here. And here I am, telling in Winnebago how I lived my life. This I have written" (83).

Continuing in a centuries old Winnebago storytelling tradition, Mountain Wolf Woman tells an Indian story which illustrates "how" to live a life.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SARAH WINNEMUCCA HOPKINS

T.S. Eliot wrote that a "historical sense, which is a sense of the timeless and of the temporal together, is what makes a writer traditional" (Eliot, 52). He might have been accurately describing the carefully constructed story of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins' Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. As the first member of her Northern Paiute tribe (which had had an oral tradition for centuries) to write in English, Sarah is easily understood as a woman who expresses herself as a tribal member deeply rooted in Paiute oral tradition. Sarah remembered aspects of her culture which changed after the late 1840's when there was increasing contact between her tribe and the white settlers and gold seekers.

In 1857, though, by the time she was thirteen, Sarah and her younger sister Elma had already worked for several white settlers' families and found themselves living and working in the household of Major William M. Ormsby in the bustling town of Genoa, Nevada. In addition to doing the housework, the two girls were constant companions of the Ormsby's only daughter Lizzie, who was four years younger

than Sarah. It was here that she probably adopted her Christian name of Sarah and also here that "English became Sarah's major language, and she picked up the rudiments of reading and writing" (Canfield, 11). Displaying a natural talent in linguistics, Sarah spoke fluently at least three Indian languages in addition to English, making her proficient in at least four languages.

Though Life Among the Piutes was her own unique creation through her individual talents, the structure of the work in many ways reflects the general patterns of her oral heritage. Not only does Sarah incorporate the traditions of her oral culture, but she intends that her work become part of that oral heritage. Her many uses of direct quotations, her accurate identifications of characters and dates, and her descriptions of the landscapes upon which the events of her narrative occur -- these are the narrative elements which express a deep historical sense. It's quite amazing, in fact, to contemplate that during most of her wild adventures (i.e., while saving her people from the Bannock tribe and while scouting for the U.S. Army), that she probably did not take notes, and that, while in Boston in 1892, she most likely wrote this book from memory. The Paiute people traditionally re-tell age-old myths in new social contexts, interpreting new challenges to the tribe through the historical perspective of myths. In this way their myths and historical

interpretations are continually interwoven.

Because of the many elements of Northern Paiute verbal arts which she incorporates into her narrative, Sarah's book represents an extension of her oral tradition. Important to an understanding of the significance of Sarah's contribution to the Native American autobiographical genre, is an appreciation of the ways in which her autobiography differs from those of many of the literate male Native American autobiographers. For instance, William Apes (1829) and George Copway (1847) have at the center of their books their conversions to Christianity. Charles Alexander Eastman (1902, 1916) and Joseph Griffis (1915) portray themselves as embodiments of Social Darwinist ideas about the progression of the races. "In this way, at least, all four are typical modern autobiographers in the Western tradition" (Brumble, 63).

Unlike these authors and "Crashing Thunder," who define themselves as experiencing some crisis-like turning point in which they throw off Indian ways, become members of the dominant white culture, and criticize the old ways, Sarah includes no turning points of self-definition in her narrative. Apparently, she saw her life differently from Christian converts and Social Darwinists; even though she is capable of living in the white world, she never distances herself very far from her tribal interests, and she has a reverence for the old ways which is very poignant.

> Many years ago, when my people were happier than they are now, they used to celebrate the Festival of Flowers in the spring....Oh, with what eagerness we girls used to watch every spring....all the girls were named for flowers....[they sang] I am so beautiful! Who will come and dance with me while I am so beautiful? Oh, come and be happy with me! I shall be beautiful while the earth lasts. Somebody will always admire me..." (Hopkins, 46-7).

Understandably, Sarah lamented that, because of the disruption of her tribe by the white settlers, she had attended only three Flower Festivals in her lifetime. Powerfully, the reader is treated to a glimpse of the feelings that the young Paiute girls experienced during their celebrations, and one feels along with Sarah what it must have been like to be a Paiute before the disruption of their world by Euro-Americans.

Sarah not only yearns for the peace which her tribe had formerly experienced, but she also insists that her people used to be more civilized. Soon after the tribe's first contact with the whites, even while Captain Truckee was busy being impressed with the guns and soldier's uniform which he

had been given, Sarah observes: "Then my people were less barbarous than they are nowadays" (Hopkins,10). This is opposite to the stance made by Joseph Griffis, who, in his introduction of his 1915 autobiography, Tahan: Out of Savagery, into Civilization, is spoken of as having progressed from being a leader of savages to being "the friend of the scientist and the literary critic" (Brumble, 138). According to Sarah's viewpoint, contact with the whites was not an improvement; this is a strong indication to us that she is speaking not from the perspective of the dominant culture but rather from a Paiute perspective. After a short period of contact with the whites, Sarah shares with the reader how Paiute mothers feel:

> My people have been so unhappy for a long time they wish now to disincrease, instead of multiply. The mothers are afraid to have more children, for fear they shall have daughters, who are not safe even in their mother's presence (Hopkins, 48).

The entire purpose of her chapter on "Domestic and Social Moralities" is an intimate account of family life with emphasis on the contrast to the ways in which their lives had necessarily changed since contact with whites. Sarah takes every opportunity to disclaim that the Paiutes are warlike: "I never saw a war dance but once. It is

always the whites that begin the wars...." (51). Because the Euro-Americans had for at least two centuries labeled the Indians as savages, Sarah is surely attempting to dispel this distorted negative image of her people. As Roy Harvey Pearce explains, "The Indian became for seventeenth-century Virginians a symbol not of a man in the grip of devilish ignorance, but of a man standing fiercely and grimly in the path of civilization" (Pearce, 11). Sarah is flying in the face of such stereotyping as she defines her pre-contact people as more civilized than whites.

Sarah had experienced the white culture and its religious beliefs enough to compare them to her tribe's beliefs:

> But the whites have not waited to find out how good the Indians were, and what ideas they had of God, just like those of Jesus, who called him Father, just as my people do, and told men to do to others as they would be done by, just as my people teach their children to do (51).

Sarah provides a statement of Paiute belief and practice, and then an example of white trangression: "I never in my life saw our children rude as I have seen white children and grown people in the streets" (51). Perhaps because she sees no women in power among the white government agents, the

U.S. Cavalry officers or the Washington politicians with whom she must bargain continually, Sarah tells us that among her people "The women know as much as the men do, and their advice is often asked" (53). Sarah may also be justifying her own influential status.

There are other clues which lead us to the conclusion that Sarah's account is a continuation of traditional oral narration. The self-definition which Sarah seems interested in developing is one of a person who, like a typical chief of her tribe, tells the truth, provided witnesses to verify that truth, relates his/her deeds as the basis for his/her reputation, and is, above all, concerned with the welfare of his/her people. Just as Black Elk relates the deeds of his life, so does Sarah; just as Black Elk claims "...if it were only the story of my life I think I would not tell it" neither would Sarah have told the story except for her peoples' sake; and just as Black Elk brought his friends to sit by him while he told his story, so does Sarah include her 'character witnesses' in the form of her 27 letters from titled acquaintances in the Appendix to her book. Such a self-vindication -- a use of references from members of the dominant culture -- was traditional in any non-white text, such as the slave narratives. This convention reflects a rigid class structure whose demands for authenticity translate themselves into an autobiographical literary tradition.

In her book, Sarah describes herself as a person with a good memory which operates in the service of justice and truth. She characterizes as verbal the help she offers her people. As interpreter for her tribe, she realizes that to have language is to have power and responsibility. When her people were accused by the Indian agent Newgent, this is how she and her brother defended them:

> We were soon on the road to see the soldiers. We went like the wind, never stopping until we got there. The officers met us. I told him everything from the first beginning of the trouble. I told him that the agent sold some powder to an Indian, and that his own men had killed the Indian. I told him how brother and I went to him and asked him and his men to go away, as we had heard that our people were going to kill him. I told him that he talked bad to brother and me, because we went to tell him of it. I told this to the officer right before the agent. The agent did not have anything to say, and then the officer asked my brother what he knew...(Hopkins, 83).

Sarah and her brother seem to assume that information, or a

"historical answer", will clear up the issue. Their main complaint about the agent was that he had refused to listen to them in the first place, and Sarah is quick to notice that her careful relation of the facts silences the agent into submission.

Sarah expressed her frustration with the refusal of many of the agents to communicate. Immediately after agent Reinhard threw a little Indian boy down on the ground (by his ear!) and kicked him, he said to Sarah who witnessed the incident,

> I won't have any of the Indians laughing at me. I want you to tell them that they must jump at my first word to go. I don't want them to ask why or what for (128).

Shortly after this incident, Sarah's cousin, Jarry, advises her to be quiet and not to bother to stand up against agent Reinhard. Sarah's strong response to Jarry clearly exemplifies her purpose in her life as well as in her Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims.

> I am ashamed of you, you talk so heartlessly. I am going to see my people dealt rightly by, and to stand by them, and I am going to talk for them just as long as I live (129).

Sarah's self-definition is as one who speaks for her people.

In contrast to herself and her people, who desire to relate the sequential historicity of events, Sarah depicts whites as deficient in this essential survival skill. While the Paiutes prided themselves on remembering their history, and while they gave special meaning and interpretation to the past events, thus mythologizing accounts of their adeptness at survival, the whites seemed not even to remember the past. Surely from the Paiute perspective this forgetfulness, or lack of mythology, would seem to doom the whites to repetition of past failures. Once, when Sarah's people were accusing her of making unkept promises, her father defended her by saying that she had only told her people what had been related to her by the whites. Then Sarah's uncle, Captain John, rose to her defense:

> My dear people, I have lived many years with white people. Yes, it is over thirty years, and I know a great many of them. I have never known one of them do what they promised. I think they mean it just at the time, but I tell you they are very forgetful. It seems to me, sometimes, that their memory is not good, and since I have understood them, if they say they will do so and so for me, I would say to them, now or never, and if they don't, why it is because

> they never meant to do, but only to say so. These are your white brothers' ways, and they are a weak people (225).

Sarah describes how the tribal memories of her people sometimes prevented them from helping the whites. She gives the example of the Donner Party who, on their way through the Paiute territory, wantonly burned the Indians' entire winter supply of food. Later, when the Donner Party was trapped in the snow of the mountain pass, the Indians observed them cannibalizing each other. Sarah states that "We could have saved them, only my people were afraid of them" (13). The point is clear: the Indians had observed what had happened, and their response was based on remembered grievances.

Drawing directly from Paiute mythic history, Sarah tells a tale of "many hundred years ago" about "barbarous people" who lived near her tribe and used to dig holes in their trails to capture the Paiutes and eat them! She carefully explains that "My people took some of them into their families, but they could not make them like themselves. So at last they made war on them" (73-4). This story not only refutes the charge that Paiutes are "blood thirsty savages" but, at the same time, vindicates the Paiute treatment of the Donner party as traditionally cannabalistic enemies who probably were unsalvagable, and who posed a very real threat to Paiute existence. One can

imagine that this narrative typifies the ancient oral tradition of the Paiutes and that, to Sarah's mind, it convincingly implicates the encroaching white settlers as a dangerous threat.

Like her Grandfather, Sarah does display a certain amount of good will toward whites both in her work as interpreter and scout for the army and in the connection she establishes between herself and Pocahontas. Because she dramatized the story, we know she knew it well. Sadly, the racist public could revere Sarah for helping the white soldiers (as per all the letters in the Appendix), but hardly -- with the noted exception of Elizabeth Peabody -- applauded her at all for helping her own people. But Rayna Green explains that the particular Virgin-Whore complex represented by the Pocahantas/Squaw dicotomy is made quite complex by the specific American race conflict and national identity surrounding the identification of Indian women.

> The Indian woman finds herself burdened with an image that can only be understood as non-functional, even though the Pocahontas perplex affects us all (Green, 20).

Implicit in the Pocahantas image is the belief that the Indian woman is only "good" if she saves and becomes submissive to a white man; and in order to accomplish this she must violate the customs of her own "barbarous" people.

In many paintings, she is portrayed as considerably lighter in hue than her own people (20). She was usually called a princess, and was depicted as the go-between for the endangered white man to her "cruel" father. After she saved the white man, he usually departed and did not return, leaving her to commit suicide. Thus, Pocahontas was neatly disposed of and would never have to suffer being a burden to her white man once he needed to return to his own society.

Paradoxically, the images of both Pocahantas and the squaw were ultimately ones which embodied powerlessness. After her death, Sarah seems not to have retained her popularity nor to have captured the popular imagination over the long term precisely because she did not condemn her father, nor ever denounce her people or their ways in favor of the dominant culture. She had always defended her people and refuted the accusations that they were savages. "There is nothing cruel about our people. They never scalped a human being" (54). She couldn't fulfill the image of the perfect 'Pocahantas' because she published her book and after that she started an Indian school, acts which probably subverted any romantic notions about herself as a champion of the whites.

That Sarah leaves out large parts of her personal life is another indication that Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims is not a typical western autobiography. She probably was not comfortable talking about all of her

marriages. Though Canfield thinks Sarah may have been married at least four times, Sarah mentions only two of her marriages, both to white men. She neglects to discuss her possible marriage to an Indian and another one to a German, who, it seems, was a friend of Captain Truckee's and who may have died on a visit to his homeland (Canfield, 65). There are other personal incidents which Sarah leaves out of her record, which we know about from newspaper accounts. In 1875, during a few weeks stay in the town of Winnemucca, the Winnemucca Silver Slate reported that Sarah had been engaged in a jealous tussle with another Indian woman. Soon after that, another incident was reported in which she was accused of "cutting one Julius Argasse with a knife on the sidewalk in front of the Winnemucca Hotel" (92). She had felt her dignity had been threatened because a man had touched her without her permission. In a "tell all" autobiography of our day, of course, all of this would have been in her book. It may be that she cherished the possibility of presenting a upstanding image to her audience, composed of Christians as well as her own people: "....no man can be a leader among Indians who is not a good man" (Hopkins, 194). The inevitable fact remains that Sarah chose to relate tribal history and not to emphasize personal incidents, and this focus informs her entire testament, making it similar to traditional Paiute history.

Even after the publication of Life Among the Piutes:

Their Wrongs and Claims, Sarah's energies remained focused on her people. Now, she believed that she could best help her people by teaching English to the children and giving them a basic education, empowering them through language the way she was herself. "She also wanted to help the children to take pride in the old attitude of concern and caring for one another and to respect the sacredness of life around them" (Canfield, 228).

To the end of her life, and throughout her book, Sarah's self-definition was none other than that of a "good chief": one who vindicates, speaks for, and cares for the people.

CHAPTER EIGHT

AUTHORIAL INTENTION IN LIFE AMONG THE PIUTES

How a Nineteenth Century Native American Woman Created a Public Self in a Desperate Quest to Save Her People, Who Faced the Gravest Threat to Their Collective Existence

Very differently from individualists such as, say, Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin in their autobiographies (respectively, Personal Narratives and The Autobiography of Benjamin Franklin) Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins tells the story of her life in relation to her tribal community, defining herself as someone who works untiringly for the good of her people. In Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims, Sarah relates her active and difficult life as she learned to operate within the political world of her people's soon-to-be oppressors. The self-image Sarah created was carefully constructed to empower herself and her people, for in her heart, Sarah believed in the ability of her tribe to survive and prosper.

Sarah establishes the innocence of her tribe's attitude toward the whites at the beginning of contact by relating to her readers the myth told to her by her grandfather. Her Grandfather, Captain Truckee (so named by Captain Fremont,

alongside of whom he fought in California during the Bear Flag Rebellion against Mexican control), was jubilant when he heard a report that men with "hair on their faces, and were white" had been seen. He cried aloud, "My white brothers, -- my long-looked for white brothers have come at last!" (Hopkins, 5). Captain Truckee had also served as a guide for some of the earliest white parties in 1844 and 1846. His first impulse was to think of the new settlers as 'brothers' with whom there was plenty of land and game to share.

Sarah reveals the stories which she and her relatives heard from the elders of the tribe concerning the newly arrived strangers. Captain Truckee told his people a remarkable old myth in which two pairs of dark and white brothers and sisters belonging to the same family are separated because they cannot get along. Because the children in his family will not stop fighting, the father in the myth declares:

> Depart from each other, you cruel children; -- go across the mighty ocean and do not seek each other's lives. So the light girl and boy disappeared by that one word....And by-and-by the dark children grew into a large nation; and we believe it is the one we belong to, and that the nation that sprung from the

> white children will some time send some one to meet us and heal all the old trouble...I want you one and all to promise that, should I not live to welcome them myself, you will not hurt a hair on their heads, but welcome them as I tried to do (Hopkins, 7).

By her inclusion of this myth, Sarah is at once explaining why, in spite of all the evidence to the contrary, she has persistently hoped for good treatment of her tribe by the whites; and, additionally, she is revealing a good deal about the way in which her people perceive themselves. More than merely revealing Captain Truckee's attitude toward the whites, this myth demonstrates to us that the Native Americans conceive of themselves and others as one big human family. It is as a member of the human family that Sarah insistently defines herself, and as someone who listens respectfully to the stories of the older tribal members.

The self-definitions which Sarah adopts are most naturally ones with which she hopes to give herself status among her own people and negotiating power with the United States government, which in the mid-nineteenth century often misrepresented itself through various U.S. Army soldiers and agents as a benevolent father-figure toward the Paiutes. Sarah, even as a young girl, found that her English language skills were needed in her tribe's communications between

themselves, the army, the agents and the government. Sarah, hoping to save her people from involvement in the Bannock uprising, served as a translator to General Howard throughout the long campaign.

Ironically, in placing herself in the position of relating the white man's desires and decisions to her tribe, Sarah began to draw the suspicions of her tribe as someone who told lies. The disparity between the government's representation of itself and its actions held a major significance for the Paiutes:

> Now, my dear reader, there is no word so endearing as the word father, and that is why we call all good people father or mother; no matter who it is, -- negro, white man or Indian, and the same with the women (Hopkins, 39).

The Indians saw little evidence of the benevolent father with whom they expected to be dealing. The soldiers and agents promised much and delivered little. Sarah recalls with gratitude the protection the soldiers sometimes afforded her people; she speaks more critically of the agents who, though there were a few exceptions (i.e., Agents Smith and Parrish) (Hopkins, 136), were mainly motivated by personal ambitions and greed, and whose actions were guided by a distinct misunderstanding of the tribal value of communally sharing any resources. Unlike their favorite

agent, Sam Parrish, (who distributed equally, without recompense to himself, the issue of clothing and blankets to all the tribal members), Agent Major Reinhard at first promises that the government "...will pay you one dollar per day; both men and women will get the same" (Hopkins, 124). After a week's work was done, however, Reinhard's story has changed: he has no intention of paying the money nor of distributing the much needed clothing. He figures, "The rations they have had are worth about four dollars a week, and then they have two dollars left to get anything they want out of the storehouse" (Hopkins, 125). Unlike their common practice of sharing equally among themselves the meat from a hunt or buckskin clothing, Reinhard had (in their minds) both lied to them about the payment for their work and he denied them the government issue, which they viewed as rightfully theirs.

Sarah credits as a good agent such men as Spencer (Hopkins, 87), who distributed blankets, land and wagons. The troubles with the agents started when the agents demanded payment for the goods, and when they started to demand that each Indian must work for what he received. This policy worked to subvert the tribal communal system of sharing which had hitherto safeguarded the survival of all members (young or old, blind or able).

After the incident with Reinhard, Sarah does in her narrative what she typically does in response to perceived

mistreatment by whites: she quotes the verbal response by an Indian who was directly involved in the incident. Readers gain much insight by listening to the voiced humiliation in the following speech by the Paiute sub-chief, Egan:

> Why do you want to play with us? We are men, not children. We want our father to deal with us like men, and tell us just what he wants us to do; but don't say you are going to pay us money, and then not do it. If you had told us you wanted us to work for nothing, we would have done it just as well if you had said, 'I will pay you' (Hopkins, 125).

Sarah's use of quotations is powerful; the reader gets a deep sense of the effect Reinhard's action has had on tribal members. In addition to the shame they are feeling, one also detects a respect for the agent expressed by the appellation of 'father.' In addition to the respect, there is also expressed a willingness to listen, to work and a desire to be dealt with honestly. Sarah is well aware of the power of the spoken word. She calls upon centuries of oral tradition, which incorporates the skills of a good memory and of quoting accurately.

It appears that even at an early age, Sarah was responsible for redefining her tribe as a single unit when

dealing with the new agent of the U.S. government. In 1857, when she was approximately thirteen years old, Sarah was living with Major and Mrs. Ormsby. It happened that Major Ormsby played a leading role in the Carson River Valley as a store owner and sometime trial judge (Canfield, 15), and that while living with the Ormsbys, Sarah was introduced to many prominent local figures such as Frederick Dodge, who was the first U.S. Indian agent to work exclusively in the western part of the Utah territory. Dodge gathered the various Paiute bands (totalling, he figured, approximately 6,000 souls) for a council rendezvous with their new agent. He claimed that he had personally

> ....seen and given presents to 3,735...Wun-a-Muc-a (The Giver) is the head chief of the nation. He generally stays on Smoke Creek: near Honey Lake. His family and small band that stays with him number 155 (Canfield, 17).

Canfield continues,

> As has been noted, there had been no head chief of the Paiutes up to this time. Since the settlers now felt a need to communicate with a responsible tribal representative, it is probable that Sarah, when she talked with Dodge in Genoa, gave him the impression that

> her father held the honors. She continued to support the notion of Old Winnemucca's predominance from this time on. That is not to say that he did not deserve the status that was awarded him. He was well-known to the many Paiute bands and was a respected leader (Canfield, 17).

Here, as her people meet the challenge of the encroaching Euro-American culture, Sarah's resourcefulness and ingenuity are manifest.

As the daughter of the chief, Sarah could define herself as someone who took care of her people. Here's her conception of a chief:

> The chiefs do not live in idleness. They work with their people, and they are always poor for the following reason. It is the custom with my people to be very hospitable. When people visit them in their tents, they always set before them the best food they have, and if there is not enough for themselves they go without (Hopkins, 54).

She later expands on the nature of a chief's rule: "We Indians never try to rule our people without explaining

everything to them. When they understand and consent, we have no more trouble" (Hopkins, 91). Sarah internalizes such hope when she sets about to 'explain everything' to her white audience. It must be evident that there is some contrast implied by Sarah between the way agents such as Reinhard deal with them and the way in which the Paiutes' own chiefs treat their people:

> The Chief's tent is the largest tent, and it is the council-tent, where every one goes who wants advice. In the evenings the head men go there to discuss everything, for the chiefs do not rule like tyrants; they discuss everything with their people, as a father would in his family...if the women are interested they can share in the talks (Hopkins, 52).

Clearly, the implication is that Sarah and her tribe are used to a communal decision-making model.

Sarah's first attempts, in 1864, to educate whites took the form of lectures and oral presentations addressed to audiences in Virginia City, Nevada, and later in San Francisco. At first, Sarah translated the messages delivered by her father, Chief Winnemucca, and later the family of two daughters and eight braves presented "Tableaux Vivants Illustrative of Indian Life" (Canfield, 39). With

such experiences as these, and the numerous lectures she delivered in such distant places as Boston, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Maryland and Pennsylvania (Canfield, 201), we can certainly believe that Sarah was aware of her audience. In fact, she exhibited a dramatic flair in her presentations as well. "She even included the affectation of a gold crown on her head..." (Canfield, 201). Sarah was not opposed to dramatizing her cause with the inclusion of Anglo-European symbology.

"Dear reader," Sarah addresses her pleas for the attention and understanding of her book's readership (Hopkins, 89). Certainly this book was an effort to reach more people than she could expect to meet on her grueling lecture circuit. "When Sarah found that she could cover only a few points in each lecture, she became determined to write about her people at length" (Canfield, 201). As she had spoken personally to so many, her salutation of "Dear reader" was probably meant to appeal on a very personal and intimate level. It also echoes the salutation Captain Truckee used when he spoke to his beloved people, addressing them as "My dear children" (Hopkins, 42).

For Sarah, the role identities which she observed in her grandfather and father most likely provided the models for the pattern of self which she wished to create, i.e., someone who cared for her people. Thus, her personalized "Dear reader" appeal is a plea for compassion toward her

tribe directed toward those whom she believed controlled the political power with which to better conditions for the Paiutes. Doubtlessly, Sarah felt she was appealing to citizens who could possibly influence the politicians in Washington. Thus, it was in her people's interest that she look good, morally and politically, in the eyes of those citizens.

In order to establish the fact that she enjoyed the approval of her own people, Sarah pointedly includes the incident when her own father proclaims her chief:

> Oh! how thankful I feel that it is my own child who has saved so many lives, not only mine, but a great many, both whites and her own people. Now hereafter we will look on her as our chieftain, for none of us are worthy of being chief but her, and all I can say to you is to send her to the wars and you stay and do women's work, and talk as women do (Hopkins, 193).

In her father's pronouncement of her as 'helper to the whites,' Sarah fulfills the Pocahontas image. As a person caught between two cultures, Sarah felt she had to establish credibility with both. Perhaps also persuaded by Mary Mann, her intellectual Boston editor, at the end of her autobiography Sarah includes the twenty-seven letters

written by well-known white males who knew her and who served in the government or the military. One is reminded of the letters which Linda Brent and Frederick Douglass included in their books, in order to establish their legitimacy to their readers. In this sense, Sarah's book reminds us of the typical captivity narrative in which the author must first attain the endorsement of at least some segment of the oppressing class in order to be taken seriously by other members of that same class, i.e., the segment which the authors hope will exert political power to help their cause.

As her family acted a "series of five tableaux's representing Pocahontas saving the life of Captain John Smith" (Canfield, 40), we know that Sarah appreciated the romantic appeal and easy acceptance that an Indian princess might obtain from her white audience. That familiar story presented one side of the Princess/Squaw dichotomous stereotype through which whites commonly romanticized Indian women. Of course, Sarah billed herself as "Princess Winnemucca" because she must have hoped that the Euro-American's admiration and respect for royalty might be accorded to her and her cause. Neither did her image as "Princess" and her father's as chief go unexploited by the Metropolitan Theatre in San Francisco in 1864 when they billed the debut of

The Chief of the Piutes

Accompanied by his

Two daughters and eight braves

Now on their way to Washington...(Canfield, 39).

This announcement, which was published in the amusement section of the Daily Alta California, goes on to label their appearance as 'romantic entertainment.'

Her persona as "'Piute Princess', as the newspapers of the day chose to call Sarah" (Canfield, 92) was in part derived from the media; but since it served her in her goal of gaining political influence, Sarah did not reject that image. As Princess-emissary and dramatic actress, Sarah's roles were certainly unique and inventive in the way in which she employed them outside the experience of her native culture. Though her stage presentations may not have been so different from tribal dances or story-telling sessions, presenting Indian stories to a white audience provided an entirely new cultural and dramatic context.

In our attempt to understand Sarah's motives for writing her story, perhaps as important as her inclusion of the story of her father's naming her "chieftain" is Sarah's silence about her marriages. It was not Sarah's authorial intention to write a typical Eurocentric autobiography which explores each detail of an individual life. The omission of the details (and her feelings) about her marriages is a strong indication that her purpose was to focus on the

struggles and post-contact events in the history of her people as a whole. The title of her book confirms this viewpoint: Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims. Her own name is not included in this title, but the name of her people is given central importance. "Their Wrongs and Claims" shows an open-mindedness on Sarah's part which indicates that she was capable of admitting mistakes on the part of her tribe, and that she was willing to look, to the best of her ability, at both sides of the conflict between Washington and her people. In her search for truth and justice, she seems willing to remain objective.

Having left unmentioned her possible marriage to a German named Snyder and a 1870 marriage to First Lieutenant Edward C. Bartlett (unfortunately, a drunkard who pawned Sarah's jewelry), it is significant that Sarah chose to publish her book with her last name given as 'Hopkins.' Why? Because "...Sarah grew to understand power in the white men's terms, and she became adept, in collaboration with Natchez [her brother], in using it to her advantage..." (Canfield, 191). Presumably, she preferred to identify herself (as author of an appeal for the Paiutes) as the wife of a white man because, by identifying herself as closely associated with the whites, she most likely hoped to gain white confidence and sympathy.

Despite the emphasis on her tribe and the withholding of some personal details, Sarah is very much present in her

book as a champion for her downtrodden people -- an aspiration for an autobiographer that is no less noble than the revelation of an autobiographer's personal spiritual liberation. In taking a stance as spokeswoman for her tribe, Sarah's purpose may be similar to the purposes which are evident in black slave narratives whose authors also wished to speak for their entire race. Another similarity to the black slave narratives occurs in her emphasis on education, which is seen as a way to escape oppression.

> Oh, my dear good Christian people, how long are you going to stand by and see us suffer at your hands? Oh, dear friends, you are wrong when you say it will take two or three generations to civilize my people. No! I say it will not take that long if you will only take interest in teaching us; and, on the other hand, we shall never be civilized in the way you wish us to be if you keep on sending us such agents...their wives and sisters, who are always put in as teachers, and paid from fifty to sixty dollars per month, and yet they do not teach (Hopkins, 89).

Sarah, like the freed slave Frederick Douglass, believed in education as an solution to her people's

troubles. She explains that her people were happy when they attended the Agency school and when they were learning farming methods. In narrating the description of their first school, Sarah paints a scene of joy, openness and song:

> On the first day of May Mrs. Parrish and I opened the school. She had her organ at the school-house, and played and sang songs, which my people liked very much. The school-house was full, and the windows were thrown open, so that the women could hear too. All the white people were there to sing for them. I was told to tell the children to sing. All of them started to sing as well as they could. Oh, how happy we were! We had three hundred and five boys, Twenty-three young men, sixty-nine girls, and nineteen young women. They learned very fast, and were glad to come to school. Oh, I cannot tell or express how happy we were! Mrs. Parrish, the dear, lovely lady, was very kind to the children. We called her our white lily mother (Hopkins, 117).

Sarah honors Mrs. Charles Parrish with a traditional Paiute

flower name, certainly a sign of high regard. Three weeks later, because he was not a declared Christian, agent Parrish was transferred away from the Paiutes, and the school was closed.

At first Sarah hoped that by educating the whites and their politicians she might save her people; but after the scattering of her tribe (as described in Life Among the Piutes: Their Wrongs and Claims), Sarah established (and served as the sole teacher for four years) a Native language speaking school for Indian children. Obviously, she still believed in education as an answer: she simply reversed the focus of who needed to receive the education from the Euro-Americans to the native children.

Sarah describes the conditions of her tribe, before the advent of the new settlers, as one of a closely knit community of inter-dependent hunters and gatherers, who relied on one another for survival. Barely able to conceive of the new way of life being forced upon them (a way of life which would eventually separate them from the land on which they were dependent for continuing survival), and also because of traditional myths which taught assimilation, her people had difficulty in responding to their oppressors as someone other than their 'benevolent father.'

To her credit, though we may never know the extent of her effectiveness, Sarah at least developed a response to the oppression. Sarah begins to define herself as someone

who is not so naive as her ancestors. Early in her book, she tells about her Grandfather who believes in the powers of the first treaty (or 'rag friend' as he called it) which a white soldier had given to him. He attributed to the 'rag friend' almost magical qualities, and he told his people that his paper talked for him:

> Just as long as I live and have that paper which my white brothers' great chieftain has given me, I shall stand by them, come what will...if I should lose this, he said, we shall all be lost" (Hopkins, 22).

This early story stands in stark contrast to Sarah's later revelations about the many treaties signed and broken by the hypocrites in Washington. Sarah also relates a further example of cultural misunderstanding when she tells the story of her Grandfather's pride in another gift, a tin plate given to him by a white man: "You see I used to wear it on my head, because my white brother did not tell me what it was for" (Hopkins, 26). Captain Truckee laughed about the matter, but do you think Sarah could laugh it off, when, later, she observed how her people were continually deceived by the white agents? The 'rag friend' of her grandfather must have seemed curiously inept and powerless by then.

The more Sarah learns about the ways in which whites treat others the more she begins to define herself and her

people in opposition to the white culture. When her sister is threatened with rape by some ranch hands in California, Sarah relates what her mother says:

> I cannot see for my life why my father call them his white brothers. They are not people; they have no thought, no mind, no love. They are beasts... (Hopkins, 37).

Sarah has a strong culture against which to measure the new oppressors. She demonstrates the disparity by showing the differences between mythic and tribal values and the heartlessly cruel actions of the whites. Doubtlessly, by defining herself as an effective, energetic, resourceful tribal member, and by including instances when her father also defines her in this way, Sarah hopes to establish herself as a figure who can be a spokesperson for her tribe. She blends this tribal definition of self with foreign elements which she calculates will appeal dramatically to the white culture, i.e., herself as 'Princess' and as wife of a white man. Thus, Sarah draws from each culture what she feels will give her the best chance of achieving her goal of helping her tribe to survive the prospect of extinction -- the gravest peril her Paiute people would ever face.

CHAPTER NINE

PAIUTE MYTH

Sarah's Dazzling Use of Traditional Paiute Myth and Storytelling

Though Mountain Wolf Woman told her story in her Native Winnebago language, and then made the English translation herself, she made fewer open references to the myths of her tribe than Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins (who wrote her story directly in English) did. The manner in which Sarah presents the Paiute creation myth closely associates her with her traditional tribal oral history, and it provides one of the dazzling differences between her narrative and Mountain Wolf Woman's.

Sarah draws an direct parallel between the Christian Bible and the Paiute creation myth. In the third sentence of her book, in reference to the coming of the white people, she says,

> They came like a lion, yes, like a roaring lion, and have continued so ever since, and I have never forgotten their first coming (Hopkins, 5).

Sarah, perhaps from living with the Ormsby's, knew enough of Scripture to be reminded of this King James Version of I

Peter, 5 v.8: "Be sober, be vigilant; because your adversary the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about, seeking whom he may devour." Sarah is defining her adversary in his own terms, and she is identifying him as an old adversary of her tribe, the cannibal who used to devour her people. Additionally, she identifies her tribe's traditional manner for dealing with such threats to their survival: "...I have never forgotten....". Here, like Mountain Wolf Woman, she remembers, and she will tell the story. In the traditional oral manner, she will arm the next generation with the weapon of remembrance, with knowledge.

Also in this first paragraph Sarah reveals another traditional strategy: the establishment of hierarchical authority.

> My people were scattered at that time over nearly all the territory now known as Nevada. My grandfather was chief of the entire Piute nation, and was camped near Humboldt Lake, with a small portion of his tribe...." (5).

Through necessity, these heretofore loosely knit and relatively autonomous bands of Paiutes were consolidating for protection; and Sarah gives herself status as the granddaughter of the chief.

The incredible second paragraph of her book contains

the powerful, myth-generated declaration of her grandfather: "My white brothers, -- my long-looked for white brothers have come at last!" (5). Sarah's grandfather, Captain Truckee, was excited to become friends with the first whites he saw. When they remained aloof, he expressed the hope that perhaps they would come again the next year; and after they left, he told a version of the creation story to his little band. He began immediately with the section about the four children, two girls and two boys. Significantly, he described them as two dark children and two white children; and he went on to explain that because they quarreled too much, the original parents of all of us separated them:

> Depart from each other, you cruel children; -- go across the mighty ocean and do not seek each other's lives (7).

The dark nation grew large and Captain Truckee explained that that was the nation to which his people belonged.

> ....and that the nation that sprung from the white children will some time send some one to meet us and heal all the old trouble....I want to welcome them. I want to love them as I love all of you" (7).

Sarah immediately pinpoints his motives: "How good of him to try and heal the wound, and how vain were his efforts!"

(7).

In studying five versions of Paiute creation tales (which were collected during the summer of 1930 by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, and by the Bureau of American Ethnology, during an ethnographic field trip to the Northern Paiutes) one can detect the individual biases of Captain Truckee and his granddaughter Sarah. Most of the tales contain long discussions of how the original parents came to find each other, with lengthy descriptions of how the original mother had to escape from Numuzoho, who was a "big man who ate other men" (Kelly, 366). Captain Truckee left out this part of the tale, though it had taken up major parts of almost all the versions.

One of the versions was by Billy Steve, a 70-year-old from the "Sucker eaters" band who had formerly lived at Pyramid Lake, a place which Captain Truckee often frequented (364). Significantly, the two sets of children who were separated in Steve's tale were two Paiutes and two Pit Rivers (a neighboring California tribe). In the second version, the two couples were not identified as either Indian or white and were simply sent "in opposite directions" (370). In the third version, they were described as two good people and two bad ones. The woman got the good ones and the man got the bad ones. When the man tires of their fighting, he tells them to "Go over there and eat yourselves....That's how they were always enemies.

They were enemies before the white people came" (371). In the fourth version, in which Coyote is involved, the storyteller says that the father became angry and says: "Go out somewhere and eat yourselves." Then the storyteller adds, "We don't know whether it was the white man or some other kind of Indian" (372). In Deward Walker's collected version, the pairs were separated to Stillwater Valley and Lovelocks (both in nearby territories). It seems pretty clear that in all the versions the two sets of children (who were relatives and then became enemies), were originally Indian; and the myth attempted to explain why the tribe had enemies. Thus, it appears that in telling the story with one white and one Indian couple, Captain Truckee was very likely inventing his version.

Sarah, on the other hand, clearly accentuates the cannabalistic section of the creation tale in her elaborate narrative about the Donner Party and the "barbarous" tribe of cannibals (who could never learn to live peaceably with the Paiutes and who were eventually conquered out of necessity for survival). From her own tribal creation myth, she weaves at once a subtle vindication of the actions which the tribe takes to ensure their survival and an indictment of the whites as the dreaded and untrustworthy cannibals.

According to Sven Liljeblad, an expert writing for the Smithsonian Institute on the verbal art of the Native American Great Basin languages, the phrases used in

storytelling were understood to have both a literal, and openly manifest, meaning and another, connotative or figurative sense; and that

> Figurative speech, common in the Numic languages, can seldom be interpreted by simply analyzing the literal meaning of a verbal sequence. The social context is decisive (Sturtevant, Liljeblad, 641).

Lacking an anthropomorphic deity, tribal members were free to develop highly individualized associations with the supernatural. Commonly, a supplicant communicating with the source of his supernatural power would develop a prayer style of his/her own. Thus, it was not unusual for the village headmen or band leaders (called 'poinabi', or "talker") of the Northern Paiute to practice elaborate public speech in free form. For these "talkers" then, their mythological tales, representing centuries of metaphoric fiction, remained "a never-failing repository of allegorical ideas" (642). For example, a famine might be personified as a hunger demon, or frost which kills chokecherries as a sort of personage. Even today, a disobedient Northern Paiute child may be reproved with a saying such as, "the Stranger is outside" (643).

> Special aptitude for producing and interpreting figurative speech in

> connection with concepts of power seems to have been a traditional predisposition.... (642).

In other words, the way in which Captain Truckee and Sarah creatively revise tribal myths to face their present confrontations with the encroaching white culture was both acceptable and traditional within their oral heritage.

Liljeblad also informs us that the Northern Paiute often employed an ironic touch to their speech when being critical or disapproving, just as Sarah does when she observes: "It is the way we savages do when we meet each other; we cry with joy and gladness" (Hopkins, 101). Sarah's well-known eloquence and her uses of myth and styles are well-founded traditional Paiute habits of oral expression.

Even Sarah's descriptions of the old ways of peaceful living, the Flower Festival and the antelope charming by her father (Hopkins, pp. 46, 55), are similar to the structure of all Great Basin Round Dance songs: "each song is an image in miniature of a scene from nature" (647). Sarah's descriptions of these nature scenes in the Paiute life are like songs singing in one's memory forever.

A highly significant point made by Liljeblad concerns the nature of both public and private Northern Paiute storytelling, or 'nadigwinaba' (literally 'telling each other stories'); that is, storytelling, by definition, is a

reciprocating actvity. After finishing some detail in the plot, the storyteller would pause for response or questions before rephrasing or repeating his utterance. The presence of the "other" was considered absolutely essential in order for the storytelling to occur:

> The fact that storytelling used to occur within the frame of conversation between the narrator and his audience is obscured in published tale collections, owing either to incomplete recording or to omission of repetition. Later, when phonographic recording became available, it sometimes happened that a storyteller refused to cooperate unless another speaker of the language was present to "answer" him properly (650).

I'm proposing that in addition to Sarah's acute awareness of her audience (an awareness we know she had as a result of her many successful theatrical presentations in front of audiences) and in addition to the common practice of utilizing terms of endearment among tribal members, there also existed a traditional requirement for a storyteller to recognize his audience in the way in which Sarah does so often with her appellations of 'my dear reader.' Sarah fulfills so many expectations of traditional storytelling techniques.

CHAPTER TEN

SUMMARY

An Appeal For Expansion

In spite of their need to define themselves against an encroaching Euro-centric culture, and in a great sense also because of that need, Sarah Winnemucca and Mountain Wolf Woman create selves which are deeply enriched and informed by their individual tribal oral heritages. Though their autobiographies were written 75 years apart and were initiated under different circumstances, each echoes ancient values regarding the importance of memory and the remembrance of historical information to ensure survival. "Oral tradition is only as strong -- or as fragile -- as the memories that carry it and the relationships that sustain it" (Hirsch, 8), and both women's memories and relationships were strong. They dazzle us with their abilities to recall landscapes, those who people the landscapes, and what was spoken in those settings. In relation to their tribes and themselves, they each write with loving care for their people, dignity and confidence. Because Sarah writes from a less assimilated stance, she conveys to her reader a more purely Paiute perspective. The Winnebago having two more

centuries of involvement with the encroaching culture, Mountain Wolf Woman writes more from a dynamically assimilating perspective.

To understand the influences exerted upon Mountain Wolf Woman's narrative we come face to face with the serious theoretical difficulties related to the problematic anthropological practice of writing for those who do not, and we attempt to identify the biases which motivate the editor/writer. There are always submerged politically -- and therefore culturally -- induced agendas. This necessitates the constant re-reading of anthropologists by each generation. Only in this way can the veils across our understanding be removed one by one. The noted anthropologist, Vincent Crapanzano, calls for "a continuous movement of construction, deconstruction, and reconstruction in the field and in the academy" (Crapanzano, 3). He feels that anthropology only retains its life as long as its constructions and reconstructions -- and the deconstructions as well (!) -- are questioned, and that it loses its life as soon as it is petrified into rigid theoretical confabulations which are regarded too often as truth rather than as "a mode of expression with a certain rhetorical force" (3).

The same can be said for the literary genre of autobiography. A genre which deals with a subject as nebulous, complex and elusive as the 'self' deserves to be

expanded to include an appreciation of the creative efforts of two Native American women of such fine caliber as Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins and Mountain Wolf Woman. Each individual, regardless of origin or personal history, must create his/her own equation against chaos in this life; and there are as many ways to do this as there are people. Crapanzano states this succinctly:

> ....the articulation of the self and thereby of memory, the past, and its significance, are not to be taken for granted....Personal history -- and its various objectifications into the case history, the life history, the biography, and the autobiography -- are indeed presumptions on our part...(3).

In the case of Mountain Wolf Woman, the very idea of an autobiography is an alien construct to her; and Lurie's intentions to fulfill certain cultural expectations certainly would not have gone unnoticed by Mountain Wolf Woman. In fact this creates a double editing process, once in the telling and again in the literary re-telling by the editor. "Like the autobiography and the biography, the case history and the life history are distinctly Western genres" (4) with Euro-centric expectations attached. In other words, we need to recognize the extent to which "stylistic manouevres [of neutality], generic constraints and the

literary conventional limitations" (4) impose upon ethnographic studies.

We must take into account that the conceptualization of the self, as Sarah and Mountain Wolf Woman so adeptly illustrate to us, varies from society to society (and from gender to gender), and that it is not necessary to impose old world restraints on new world definitions of self.

Because the genre of autobiography in the past has been defined by European assumptions of the nature of reality and the nature of the self, it may exclude as valid the ideas of self found in an opposing culture. So in our efforts to appreciate another culture we may find it necessary to follow the model of our expanding universe and expand our genre of autobiography (and the assumptions imbedded in it) to include a greater variety of created selves.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albers, Patricia, Beatrice Medicine, eds. The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. Washington, D.C.: UP of America, 1983. The ten papers in this volume draw upon data from ethnological, ethnohistorical, and contemporary field research; new questions are asked of the available data, providing a corrective to earlier accounts in which Plains Indian women are typically seen through the lens of U.S./European values and experience. All but two articles focus on the Pre-reservation period.

Allen, Paula Gunn. A Cannon Between My Knees. New York, New York: Strawberry Press, c1981.

--- . The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions. Boston: Beacon Press, c 1986. Allen relates historical findings which indicate that many Eastern tribes were in many ways gynocentric before the Euro-American ideals of patriarchy were forced upon their political structures.

--- . Spider Woman's Granddaughters: Traditional Tales and Contemporary Writing by Native American Women. Boston:Beacon Press, c1989.

--- . Studies in American Indian Literature: Critical Essays and Course Designs. New York, New York: Modern Language Association of America, c 1983.

Bartlett, Mary Dougherty. The New Native American Novel. Albuquerque: New America, U of New Mexico P, 1986.

Bataille, Gretchen M., Kathleen Mullen Sands. American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1984. Provides a detailed examination of Indian women's autobiographies distinguishing carefully between autobiography and biography.

Bataille, Gretchen M. The Pretend Indians: Images of Native Americans in the Movies. Ames: Iowa State UP, 1980. An excellent collection of essays revealing the sad condition of the continuous stereotyping of Indians in the media and motion pictures.

Bataille, Gretchen M., David M Gradwohl, Charles L.P. Silet. The World Between Two Rivers: Perspectives on American Indians in Iowa. Ames: Iowa State UP, 1978.

Benstock, Shari, ed. The Private Self: Theory and Practice of Women's Autobiographical Writings. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, c1988.

Blasing, Hutlu Konuk. The Art of Life: Studies in American Autobiographical Literature. Austin: U of Texas P, 1977.

Blowsnake, Sam, ed. Paul Radin. Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of an American Indian. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1983: Reprint of original, pub. 1926. This is the autobiography of Mountain Wolf Woman's brother.

Brumble, David H. (III). American Indian Autobiography. Berkeley: U of California Press, 1988. A wide-ranging historical, formal and thematic overview.

Bruss, Elizabeth W. Autobiographical Acts: The Changing Situation of a Literary Genre. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP, 1976.

Buckley, Jerome H. The Turning Key: Autobiography and the Subjective Impulse Since 1800. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1984.

Canfield, Gae Whitney. Sarah Winnemucca of the Northern Paiutes. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, c1983. An excellent biography of Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins describing her relationships to her supporters and her tireless efforts to help her people.

Clements, William M. "Folk Historical Sense in Two Native American Authors". Melus Journal, 12, No.1, (Spring 1985): 65-78. This is an enlighting discussion of the storytelling techniques of Scott Momaday and Leslie Marmon Silko.

Cochran, Jo, J.T. Stewart, Mayumi Tsutakawa. Gathering Ground: New Writing and Art by Northwest Women of Color. Seattle: Seal Press, c1984.

Coe, Richard N. When the Grass Was Taller: Autobiography and the Experience of Childhood. New Haven: Yale UP, 1984.

Cook-Lynn, Elizabeth. Then Badger Said This. Fairfield, Washington: Ye Galleon Press, c1983.

Cooley, Thomas. Educated Lives: The Rise of Modern Autobiography in America. Columbus: Ohio State UP, 1976.

Cox, James M. "Recovering Literature's Lost Ground Through Autobiography" In Autobiography: Essays Theoretical and Critical. ed. James Olney. Princeton: Princeton UP, 1980.

Crapanzano, Vincent. "The Life History in Anthropological Field Work". Anthropology and Humanism Quarterly. N.P. Vol.2, no.2-3, 1977, p.3-7. Crapanzano brilliantly warns against being taken in by an illusion of sensitivity to cultural differences and being blinded by one's own presumptions.

Dearborn, Mary. Pocahontas's Daughters: Gender and Ethnicity in American Culture. New York, Oxford UP, 1986.

Douglas, Frederick. Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass: An American Slave, Written by Himself. Ed. Benjamin Quarles. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960.

Egan, Susanna. Patterns of Experience in Autobiography. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1984.

Eliot, T.S. The Sacred Wood, Essays on Poetry and Criticism. Seventh Edition. London: Methuen, 1950.

Fowler, Don D. and Catherine Fowler. Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscripts on the Numic Peoples of Western North American, 1868-1880. Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, No. 14. Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971.

Geary, Hobson, ed. The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native American Literature. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1981.

Green, Rayna. Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983. A comprehensive guide.

---. That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1983. Green affirms that stories have always been told by native women. This is a collection from several tribes representing the diversity of experience.

---. "The Pocahontas Perplex: The Image of Women in American Culture". Massachusetts Review, 16, no.4 (Autumn 1975): 698-714. Green reviews the use of Princess (Pocahontas) and squaw images in American folklore, arguing that they "offer unendurable metaphors for the lives of Indian women" (p.714).

Gunn, Janet Varner. Autobiography: Towards a Poetics of Experience. Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania P, 1982.

The Gray Wolf Annual. Port Townsend, WA: Graywolf Press, 1985.

Grosscup, Gordon L., et al. Paiute Indians IV. New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1974.

Hale, Janet Campbell. The Jailing of Cecelia Capture. New York: Random House, c1985.

Haslam, Gerald W. Forgotten Pages of American Literature. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1970.

Hattori, Eugene Mitsuru. Northern Piautes on the Comstock: Archaeology and Ethnohistory of An American Indian Population in Virginia City, Nevada. Carson City, Nevada: Nevada State Museum, 1975.

Hirsch, Bernard A. " 'The Telling Which Continues': OralTradition and the Written Word in Leslie Marmon Silko's Storyteller". The Native American Studies Progam. Vol. 12, No. 1 (Winter 1988): 1-25.

Hoffman, Leonore and Margo Culley, eds. Women's Personal Narratives: Essays in Criticism and Pedagogy. New York: Modern Language Association, 1985.

Hogan, Linda. Calling Myself Home. Greenfield Center, New York: Greenfield Review Press, 1978.

Hopkins, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. Life Among The Piutes. Bishop, CA: Sierra Media, Inc, 1969. Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins describes the history of her tribe and the injustices they suffered at the hands of the majority of Indian agents.

Howard, Helen Addison. American Indian Poetry. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1979.

Hurdy, John Major. American Indian Religions. Los Angeles: Sherbourne Press, c1970.

Jelinek, Estelle C., ed. Women's Autobiography: Essays in Criticism. Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1980.

Jensen, Joan M. With These Hands: Women Working on the Land. Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press: New York: McGraw-Hill, 1981. A brief overview and a series of short documents on native women's relation to the land before and after European colonization.

Kelly, Isabel T., ed. "The Creation of the Indians". Northern Paiute Tales. JAFL 51. New York: (1938): 364-372.

Kidwell, Clara Sue. "The Power of Women in Three American Indian Societies." Journal of Ethnic Studies 6, no. 3 (Fall 1978): 113-121. Examines women's access to power in traditional Ojibwa, Winnabago, and Menominee cultures.

Knack, Martha and Omer C. Stewart. As Long as the River Shall Run: An Ethnohistory of Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation. Berkeley: U of California P, 1984.

Krupat, Arnold. For Those Who Come After: A Study of Native American Autobiography. Berkeley: U of California P, 1985. A theoretical discussion on such notable Indian autobiographers as Geronimo, Crashing Thunder, Yellow Wolf, and Black Elk.

--- . The Voice in the Margin: Native American Literature and the Canon. Berkeley: U of California P, 1989. A rigorous discussion of the unique voices heard in Native American writings and an appeal to include these autobiographies into the canon of truly American literature.

Lee, A. Robert, ed. First Person Singular: Studies in American Autobiography. Totowa, N.J.: Barnes and Noble, 1987.

Lejeune, Philippe. On Autobiography. Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 1989. Lejeune gives a detailed definition of the autobiographical genre and includes a wonderful chapter on the collected "as told to" autobiographies.

Levitas, Gloria, comp. American Indian Prose and Poetry; We Wait in the Darkness. New York: Putnam, 1974.

Mason, Mary G. "The Other Voice: Autobiographies of Women Writers." In Olney.

Lurie, Nancy Oestreich, ed. Mountain Wolf Woman: Sister of Crashing Thunder: The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1961. A wonderful "as told to" autobiography by a Winnebago woman who successfully assimilated the encroaching Euro-American culture into her own.

Medicine, Beatrice. "Indian Women: Tribal Identity as Status Quo." In Women's Nature: Rationalizations of Inequality, pp. 63-73. Marian Lowe and Ruth Hubbard, eds. New York: Pergamon Press, 1983. "Beatrice Medicine examines the complex and frequently contradictory ideas of woman's nature among Lakota Sioux due to the interplay of the values of the dominant white culture with native values" (63). She examines some of the ways that native cultural norms are being revived and reinterpreted as a means of resisting continuing encroachments of the white economy and society, especially as they affect women.

Medicine, Beatrice. The Native American Woman: A Perspective. Austin, TX: National Educational Laboratory Publishers, 1978.

Momaday, N. Scott. American Indian Authors. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1972.

Momaday, N. Scott/Charles L. Woodward. Ancestral Voices: Conversations with N. Scott Momaday/Charles L. Woodward. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989.

Momaday, N. Scott. The Names: A Memoir. New York: Harper & Row, c1976.

Neihardt, John G. Black Elk Speaks: Being the Life Story of a Holy Man of the Oglala Sioux. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1961. (1932). The 'as told to' story of Black Elk's childhood vision of the Sacred Hoop which was seen as a sign of his peoples'flourishing.

Olney, James. Autobiography, Essays Theoretical and Critical. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1980.

---. Metaphors of Self: The Meaning of Autobiography. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton UP, 1981. A book which delves into the philosophy and psychology of autobiography. Olney theorizes that "to make one's metaphor, is to live."

---. Studies in Autobiography. New York: Oxford UP, 1988. Oral History Center, Suzanne Julin. American Indian Research Project Index.

Paper, Jordan. "The Forgotten Grandmothers: Amerindian Women and Religion in Colonized North America." Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la femme 5, no.2 (Winter 1983): p48-51. According to Paper, male bias among the missionaries, travellers, and ethnologists who have described native spirituality has obscured the significant roles of women. He briefly discusses these roles in selected pre-contact cultures, transformations resulting from contact, and the contemporary situation.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind. Berkeley: U of California P, 1988. Pearce theorizes that the American revolution of 1776 demanded a committment by the colonists to a new world vision of a glorious civilization which had no place for the American Indian. The original Anglo-French primitivistic notion of the noble savage gave way to dashed hopes of ever 'civilizing' the Indians, especially as the land they possessed became more and more desirable to the colonists.

Petrarch. Selections from The Canzoniere and Other Works. Oxford: Oxford UP, 1985.

Quimby, George Irving. Indian Life in the Upper Great Lakes, 11,000 B.C. to A.D. 1800. A discussion of early cultural diversity and the later breakdown of tribal culture after about 1760.

Radin, Paul. The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian: Life, Ways, Acculturation, and the Peyote Cult. New York: Dover Publications, 1963 (1920). Radin tries to reach the inner workings of a Natives mind and emotions in order to get a truer picture of his culture.

---. The Winnebago Tribe. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1990. (1923).

Riddington, Robin. Trail to Heaven: Knowledge and Narrative in a Northern Native Community. Iowa City: U of Iowa P, 1988. An intimate glimpse by an anthropologist at the mythical song life of the Dunne Za Indians of Northern British Columbia.

Ruby, Robert H. and John A. Brown. Indians of the Pacific Northwest: A History. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1981.

Salisbury, Ralph. A Nation Within. Hamilton, New Zealand: Outrigger Publishers, 1983.

Schubnell, Matthias. N. Scott Momaday: The Cultural and Literary Background. Norman and London: U of Oklahoma P, 1985.

Scott, Lalla. Karnee: A Paiute Narrative. Reno: U of Nevada P, 1966. Wonderful descriptions of daily life among the Paiutes.

Silko, Leslie Marmon. Ceremony. New York: Viking Press, 1977. The story of Tayo, a Luguna Pueblo Indian who rediscovers an ancient healing ceremony after he returns from serving in World War II.

---. Storyteller. Silko brilliantly demonstrates that the oral culture among Native Americans is alive and well as she spins a web of stories not only with a voice of her own but also with a collective voice. She juxtaposes traditional myths with modern stories.

Silko, Leslie Marmon, James Wright. The Delicacy & Strength of Lace: Letters Between Leslie Marmon & James Wright. St. Paul MN: Greywolf Press, 1986.

Smith, Sidonie. A Poetics of Women's Autobiography; Marginality and the Fictions of Self Representation. Bloomington: Indiana UP, c1987. Discussions of specifically feminine perspectives in the metaphors of creating the self.

Spencer, Anne. Cultural Value Systems in Southwestern Utah. Boulder, Colorado: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1973. A discussion of traditional Paiute ways of life, the Mormon influences, and Paiutes' growing impoverishment in the twentieth century.

Spengemann, W.C. The Forms of Autobiography. New Haven: Yale UP, 1980.

"Stages of Life: Notes on Autobiography and the Life Cycle." Boston Univ. Journal 25, no 2 (1977): 7-17.

Stanton, Domna C., ed. The Female Autograph. New York: New York Literary Forum, 1984.

Stone, Albert E., ed. The American Autobiography: A Collection of Critical Essays. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1981.

Sturtevant, William C., gen.ed. Catherine S. Fowler and Sven Liljeblad, eds. Handbook of North American Indians. Volume II, Great Basin: "Northern Paiute", pp.435-65. A history of the Paiutes from the time of Euro-American contact. Discussion of territory, language, environment, culture, clothing, and political organization.

---. Sven Liljeblad. "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts", pp. 641-659.

Swann, Brian and Arnold Krupat, eds. Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature. Berkeley: U of California P, 1987.

Taylor, Gordon O. Chapters of Experience: Studies in Twentieth-Century American Autobiography. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.

Third World Communications. The Third World Woman: Minority Women Writers of the United States. San Francisco Third World Communication, 1972.

Tsosie, Rebecca. "Changing Women: The Cross-Currents of American Indian Feminine Identity". American Indian Culture and Research Journal. Vol.12, No.1, (1988).

Velie, Alan R. Four American Indian Literary Masters: N. Scott Momaday, James Welch, Leslie Marmon Silko, Gerald Vizenor. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, c1982.

Walker, Deward E., ed. "The Creation of the Indian". Myths of Idaho Indians. Moscow, Idaho: 1980, pp.165-170. This is a version of the Paiute creation myth.

Weintraub, Karl J. The Value of the Individual: Self and Circumstance In Autobiography. Chicago: U of Chicago P, 1978.

Weston, Ruth. "Women as Ghost in Cynthia Asquith: Ghostly Fiction and Autobiography." Tulsa Studies in Women's Literature 6:1 (Spring, 1987), pp.79-96.

--- . "Women's Stories, Women's Selves." Hudson Review 30 (1977): 29-46.

Zeidenstein, Sondra. A Wider Giving: Women Writing After A Long Silence. Goshen, CN: Chicory Blue Press, c1988.

Zolbrod, Paul G. Dine bahane': The Navajo Creation Story. Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1984. Zolbrod attempts to give as comprehensive a creation story as he can while retaining social and religious significances.