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Art, like morality, consists of drawing the line somewhere. But when is a line or a group of lines elevated to the realm of art? When is a person who draws these lines called an artist? Does only man have art, or, is art possible among other animals? Is there a basic aesthetic sense which permeates all life?

This paper will discuss these questions while exploring the concept of the biology of art.
INTRODUCTION

Man is the terminal product of some 65 million years of primate evolution. And "if we are to understand man, if we are to be anthropologists in a real sense of the term, our knowledge of every aspect of the human organism and its functioning should extend downward to its lower primate origin" (Hooton in Gaven 1955:9). Not only should we attempt to trace the morphological evolution of man, but we should also attempt to reconstruct his behavioral evolution as well.

The reductionist school of anthropological thought holds that since man is an animal, everything about him, including cultural phenomena, must have a simple biological explanation. Extreme reductionism leads directly to the naturalistic fallacy (Bidney 1953), in which modes of thought and action, taken individually and collectively, are attributed to innate human nature when, in fact, they are cultural products and achievements. Conversely, many of the numerous opponents of reductionism fall victim to the culturistic fallacy whereby all human actions are viewed as totally determined by culture and the element of nature is either too greatly minimized or completely ignored.

Similarly, many art theorists are also divided into two opposing camps. Some view aesthetic art as being totally reflective of the culture and times; others feel
that art is merely the visible manifestation of the
artists' innermost (sub-conscious, unconscious or pre-
conscious) emotions and/or feelings.

Somewhere on the continuum between these polar
extremes lies the most probable explanation for the
relationship between art and both biology and culture.

WHY STUDY APES?

A better understanding of the evolutionary nature
of man will be achieved when we know: (1) the world of
the animal, gaining insight from it with which to view our
own world; and (2) the evolutionary course by which man
arose (Arbrey in Marais 1969:38). Both of these areas
are currently under active investigation.

Since it is almost impossible to completely divorce
most aspects of man's complex behavior from its intimate
dependence on human culture and since sub-human primates
have not developed complex cultures, it is often possible
to clarify and/or formulate the basic elements of many
human problems by studying animals.

As human beings, we know too much about man - too
much to be able to pull out from this tangle the fundamental
and elementary threads that form the basis of a systematic
theory. The essentials escape us because our personal in-
formation tends to fuse itself with scientific information.
We have less involvement with animals and, therefore, should
be able to look at them more dispassionately (Zajonc 1969).
However, "the more an animal resembles our own general organization, the more we expect it to share the type of experience we are familiar with ourselves" (Portman 1961: 145). Each animal has its own *umwelt* - the universe as known to each species as a result of its sensory perceptions and the meaning it attributes to objects (Graven 1967:13). And the characteristics of this *umwelt* are dictated, to a large degree, by the animal's sensory mechanisms (Klopfer 1967:126). Since the sensory mechanisms of the higher primates have been shown by numerous investigators to be extremely similar to man's, it is not an unreasonable assumption that their *umwelt* should also be similar and observed similarities in behavior might be the result of similar motivations. But, we must always remember that "similar" does not mean "identical". 

In discussing the biology of art, a basic assumption of primatology must be recalled: those factors that are common to both contemporary great apes and man are probably derived from the basic anthropoid complex. Of course the behavior of non-human primates has not been static during the 12 to 14 million years since morphological diversity from the hominids, but their contemporary behaviors probably do offer insights into the possible origins of numerous human actions.

"The specific evolution of lower forms does not stop when they are by-passed by higher forms. The stages or levels of general evolutionary development are successive, but the particular representatives of successive stages need not be"
WHAT ABOUT MENTAL EVOLUTION?

Darwin, in *The Descent of Man*, concluded that phylo-
genic differences in intelligence were of degree, not kind, and any seemingly unique property which made its appearance in the animal series really was not unique at all. Some hint or promise of it always could be discovered at an ear-
lier point in the series.

Using unpublished material from Darwin, Romanes, in the late 1880's, argued even more strongly for the essential similarity of reasoning processes in man and the higher ani-
mals. He saw the evolutionary course as a progressive de-
velopment of discrimination ability and an enhancement of the power of adapted response. Consciousness developed gradually in phylogeny and its presence is indicated in various species by continuously increasing response latency. However, the presence of consciousness is known ejectively; i.e., our knowledge of another's mental state is inferred. And this inference is possible only because of the similarity in re-
sponse patterns between ourselves and others when confronted with the same stimuli.

"Ethology...provides strong evidence that something like conscious mind must have evolved a number of times in the course of the evolutionary history of the animal kingdom" (Thorpe; quoted in Dobzhansky 1967:65). And "mind" can be equated with awareness and defined as "a body in action, a peculiar pattern of action of a special kind of bodily appa-
ratus" (Dobzhansky 1967:66-67). In this sense, each species has its own characteristic mind - its own umwelt. But man possesses a type of awareness that's unique in the animal world: self-awareness which is "the most fundamental characteristic of the human species (and) developed along with the capacity for abstract thought, symbol formation and the use of language" (ibid).

Recent laboratory and naturalistic studies of the primates are revealing behavior repertoires that were formerly considered unique to man. It appears that the crucial questions to investigate might concern the difference between their capabilities and their actual achievements. It appears that sub-human primates are capable of human-like behavior - up to a point - when nurtured by human surrogate parents. But, so far as is known, they draw the line on human acculturation when they reach adolescence. If this end point is determined by biological limitations, then can we not justifiably assume that a chimp subjected from an early age to human enculturation is representative of some early stages in our own ancestors' cultural development?

THE SOUL OF THE APE

Any discussion of mental evolution should include the relationship between innate/instinctive and learned/acquired behavior.

Eugene Marais, writing in the early 1900's but only recently published, has posited the simultaneous existence of two kinds of memory: phyletic and causal. The phyletic
memory forms the unconscious portion of the psyche, is inherited and may be viewed as producing innate behaviors. The causal memory is the conscious portion of the psyche, is learned, and springs from experiences within one's lifetime. It depends on the ability to accumulate experiences and memorize the relation of cause and effect. Psychic evolution is then viewed as the gradual ascendency of causal memory over phyletic memory; yet one never succeeds in displacing the other. Hence, the character or nature of the "mind" of any animal would depend upon the relative predominance of these two different memories. In the primates, the causal memory is clearly dominant.

The degree of development of any animal's mind can be inferred by the following criteria (Yerkes in Washburn 1926:32): (1) structural; (i) the general form of the organism; i.e., its organization; (ii) the nervous system; i.e., its neural organization; and (iii) its neural specialization; and (2) functional: (i) general form of reaction; i.e., discrimination; (ii) modifiability of reaction; i.e., docility; and (iii) variability of reaction; i.e., initiative. On all counts, by all these criteria, the higher primates are amazingly similar to man.

Therefore, if a chimp displays behaviors observed in humans, the human behavior should be interpreted by first applying Lloyd Morgan's canon (1890): in no case may we interpret an action as the outcome of the exercise of a higher psychical faculty if it can be interpreted as the outcome of the exercise of one which stands lower in the
psychological scale.

Is man, then, merely a primate with the most dominant causal memory? Or, is man something more?

According to Morgan's doctrine of emergent evolution (1891), as evolution progresses, new traits and properties emerge which are radically different from anything that had gone before. An emergent is something really new which appears and which can't be predicted from a knowledge of the system in which it arises. The most graphic example of an emergent is the beginning of life in evolution. The problem then becomes one of distinguishing emergents (which are different in kind or nature) from things which are different only in degree.

Mind has, throughout the process of evolution, been molded to the external world. "...Mind is a constant luminosity; consciousness is intermittent, a series of flashes of different intensities" (Dewey 1934:272). The sense impression of external origin gives rise to an impression of similarity or dissimilarity, which is part of the internal reaction to the external stimulus. Thus, impressions are raised to the level of sensations. A sensation is an impression that has been discriminated from others and recognized as being of a certain nature. Our perceptions, then, do conform to outside experiences. But they conform not in exact resemblance, but in mental symbolism which depends on the *umwelt* and mind of the perceiving organism.

Sensation implies the first stage of mental activity. But it is very difficult to distinguish between perception
and actual conception. An example will illustrate this point. A child and an adult observe a helium filled balloon rise in the air and eventually burst. The child perceives the event; but the adult conceives that the balloon rises because helium is lighter than air and it bursts when the pressure inside the balloon is greater than the surrounding air pressure. The child and the adult see the same event and react similarly, but they actually "see" it differently.

Transferring this example to the chimps, when a being whose structure resembles our own receives the same stimulus and behaves in a similar manner as a result of the stimulus, we assume that it has an inner experience which resembles our own. But, does it conceive the event in the same way? or, does it merely perceive and react to it? Could it possibly have the same cognitive maps?

All psychic interpretation of animal behavior must be on the analogy of human experience, but we should always remember that different animals have different umwelts. Realizing that humans cannot study chimps emically, we must also realize the dangers in unbridled anthropomorphizing.

AESTHETIC ART

We can now attack the question: is aesthetic art an uniquely human activity - an emergent? Or, is it an activity which is common to the primates, or, possibly, even to the animals in general?

"The values within the domain of art are firmly anchor-
ed in the biological...We observe art because of its basic
and common roots permeating life... Everyone is equipped by nature to receive and to assimilate sensory experiences. Everyone is sensitive to colors, everyone has a sure 'touch' and space reactions, etc. This means that everyone by nature is able to participate in all the pleasures of sensory experience, that any healthy man can become a painter. That is, he can give form to his reactions in any material..."(Maholy-Nagy 1947:13-17). Art is the most intimate language of the senses, a direct linking of person to person.

"What art contains is not basically different from the content of other utterances, but art attains its effect mainly by subconscious organization of its own means... (The content of art) can be generally grasped directly through the senses, on a subliminal level, without a conscious thinking process" (ibid:76). To state it differently, according to Maholy-Nagy, art may be grasped primarily by our phyletic memory.

In the same vein, Ehrenzweig (1967:77-78) states: "It is the glory of great art that it can tolerate the arbitrary manipulation (interpretation) of its conscious surface, because its real substance belongs to deeper untouched levels... The complex diffuse substructure of all art has its source in the unconscious and our own unconscious still reacts readily to it, preparing the way for ever new (conscious) reinterpretations... The undifferentiated inner fabric of art can never be fully appreciated. We transform it into
something more solid and definite by the very act of per-
ceiving it...The hidden structure of art is created on
lower levels of awareness that are nearer to the undiffer-
entiated techniques of the primary process. But once it
is created, it can only be observed on a higher level of
awareness."

Art’s conscious superstructure may be largely composed
by intellectual effort, but its vast substructure is shaped
by unconscious spontaneity. Therefore, if we want to dis-
cover the basic substructure of art - the primary aesthetic
qualities - it is necessary to study art produced with a min-
imum of human conscious control. Primate artists are one
conceivable way of doing this.

"The preconscious mode is a basic oneness and unity -
a mode of experiencing and feeling - a common experience that
finds expression in all the various phases of man’s activi-
ties...in the creative products of the artists...and it stems
essentially from the basic organic unity that is the phyletic
inheritance of man...The sense of inner completeness and the
feeling of continuity with all things is the essence of this
mode" (Burrow 1964:71). Burrow attributes the development
of this universal unity in humans to the mother-child rela-
tionship fostered during early infancy. And the importance
of this relationship to the normal growth and development of
all higher primates have been conclusively demonstrated by
numerous workers, most notably Harlow and his associates.
"Pre-language man shared a commonness in the impressions felt. He was at one with the world and experienced a harmonious functioning of the total man...With the increase of symbol usage, a radical biological change took place in our species. Our feeling-medium of contact with the environment and with one another was transferred to a segment of the organism - the symbolic segment...what had been the organism's whole feeling was transformed into the symbol of feeling" (ibid:111).

Nevertheless, there is a distinction between expressions of feelings which are art and expressions of feelings which are not art; e. g., yawning, laughing, stretching, etc. This distinction is the critical control which is consciously applied to produce a result which satisfies some specified condition. Art, then, can be defined as "the conscious objectification of one's feelings" (Ducasse in Tomas 1964:76). Objectification of feelings implies that the artistic expression is creative of something which is capable of being contemplated by the artist and that in contemplation, that thing yields back to the artist the feeling, meaning or volition of which it was the attempted expression.

The creative act or process is still a mystery to both artists and psychologists. "We know, of course, something about observable aspects of the creative act - but what we know is superficial and trivial compared with what we do not know. It is not an exaggeration to say that in respect to its hidden factors, we know nothing about the creative process, except that it does occur, and chiefly, of course, because
the active imagination performs the synthesis of the old (form) and brings about the creation of its new product (style) unobserved, in the depths of the unconscious, if you will, after conscious effort gives it its first push" (Vivas in Tomas 1964:91). "The freedom to create is somehow linked with facility of access to those obscure regions below the conscious mind" (Eiseley 1962:50).

To be judged as creative art, the work must have coherence and lucidity to the degree that it is a unified whole and the relations between its parts are felt by aesthetic intuition as necessary, not fortuitous, connections. A lack of coherence is interpreted as a lack of control by the artist over the activity to which the work owes its origin. This often facilitates distinguishing between works of creative art and products of passive imagination (Tomas in Tomas 1964:101).

Coherence produced by conscious control may not be evident to all persons who experience some examples of abstract art. However, no matter how abstract art is, it is never entirely meaningless. As conceptualized by Mumford (1952), when art seems to be empty of meaning, such as some highly abstract works, what the painting is saying, indeed what the artist is shrieking at the top of his voice, is that life has become empty of all rational content or coherence. And that, in times like these, is far from a meaningless statement. But it is a culturally induced statement and about as far removed from a simple, basic aesthetic sense as is possible. It is art in the highest stage of development. Art which is the highest
level of expression of a period. Art that refines the sensibilities and also invents and perfects symbols of discourse. Art which exhibits both self integration and inter-communication. Is a chimp capable of producing this type of art? It seems highly unlikely.

Nonetheless, some primate paintings might be considered beautiful. Our aesthetic sense of beauty involves a number of complex perceptual, conceptual and emotional elements. It "appears to involve a pleasurable stimulation of the sense organs concerned, together with perceptions of symmetry, or diversity and contrast, and of proportion, with a basis of unity" (Morgan 1890:410). But beauty is a difficult quality to define. Why are some combinations of form or color valued as beautiful?

"(Beauty) is associated with a pattern, a Gestalt, an orderly arrangement of impressions...Beauty is orderly, not chaotic. It is an organized pattern of sights or sounds or words or images which strikes a chord within us; which vibrates, so to speak, on our particular wave lengths. These vibrations may be in different keys, depending on our aesthetic background and thus may seem at first to be out of harmony with each other; but each, in its own way, arouses a sense of the beautiful. This suggests that there may be a relation between an organized pattern that we call beautiful and the organized protoplasmic pattern that each of us is...Beauty is something associated with life. The goals set up in protoplasm lead to its creation...Beauty is something that must be experienced, not measured" (Sinnott 1957:156-164).
If beauty is indeed associated with organized patterns which permeate the natural world as well as the cultural world, then it is very possible that all higher animals, especially the sub-human primates, have an aesthetic sense. To quote Graven (1967:155): "There are... aesthetic tastes common to a great number of species, and it may not be by chance or just by habit that we react to the song of a bird or the perfect formation of a nest, for our tastes and our colors have biological roots which it would be useless to deny."

Does this mean, then, that "the artist is merely a channel whose only function is to transmit the forces of nature into the forms of art"? (Paul Klee, quoted in Read: 1965:14). It seems unlikely. In the words of another artist, Maholy-Nagy: "The young painter passes beyond mere subconscious doodling when he begins to discover problems for himself and then tries to solve them...(But) the complexity of an expression is usually beyond conscious grasp. The conscious part is a small component, which helps to synthesize the elements, apart from the act of intuitive coordination...The intuitive is most accurately understood as a speeded-up, subconscious logic, parallel to conscious thought in all save its greater delicacy and fluidity. Usually the deeper meanings so often ascribed to the intuitive more properly belong to sensory apprehension. Here resides the ineffable. This kind of experience is fundamentally non-verbal but it is not inarticulate to the visual and other
sense. Intuitive in the plastic sense, in all the arts, is a matter never, probably, capable of conscious verbalization" (P.68).

"The purpose of non-discursive forms in art is to articulate knowledge that cannot be rendered discursively because it concerns experiences that are not formally amenable to the discursive projection. Such experiences are the rhythms of life, organic, emotional and mental (the rhythm of attention is an interesting link among them all), which are not simply periodic, but endlessly complex, and sensitive to every sort of influence. All together they compose the dynamic pattern of feeling. It is this pattern that only non-discursive symbolic forms can present, and that is the point and purpose of artistic creation" (Langer:1953: 240-241).

Hence, as important as the forces of nature are to art, they must be "felt" and subconsciously interpreted by artists — artists capable of consciously rendering universally encountered experiences which are often ineffable.

THE ENIGMA OF ANIMAL PAINTERS

Are the sub-human primate painters, some of whom have had their paintings sold, artists in any of the previously defined senses of the term? If not, what are they?

"Ape picture makers provide a new source of really SIMPLE-aesthetic material for analysis of human art" (Morris: 1962:14). They exhibit composition control, but a minimum of it; limited calligraphic development; and some aesthetic variation. Therein, says Morris, lies the basic fundamentals
of aesthetic creativity.

In the past 50 years, 32 infra-human primates have produced drawings and paintings (23 chimps, two gorillas, three orangutans and four capuchins). During their "creative" periods, the following tendencies were observed: (1) filling in a blank page, but not scribbling outside it; (2) marking a central figure; (3) balancing an offset figure; and (4) becoming calligraphically bolder with time (simple lines to multiple scribbles). Furthermore, since these pongids were not rewarded for their efforts, their art-works are classified as self-rewarding activities; i.e., an activity performed for its own sake, not to attain some basic biological goal. Morris 1962:144 feels that self-rewarding activities occur only in animals which have all their survival problems under control and have surplus nervous energy which requires an outlet. "When external needs are taken care of, attention is paid to internal sensations which are manifested in movements, especially those not related to locomotion" (Washburn 1926:312).

One outlet for this excess energy is play. But, in humans, play is engaged in with the purpose of enjoying oneself; whereas, drawing is done to produce something - to create - and the enjoyment of the act is incidental to the primary end of creation.

And that creation is the purpose of some of the chimps' art is well illustrated by Bella, a five year old female observed by Kortlandt, who exhibited such intensive concen-
tration while scribbling that she became very upset if the paper were removed before she considered the drawing finished. If "the concentration of the attention is directly proportional to the intensity of the emotion evoked" (Morgan 1890:384), then Bella was apparently consciously aware of what she was producing. And her attention probably involved a state of suspended reaction involving careful discrimination of stimuli. This suggests a connection with the refining and modifying influence of individual experience and she was, then, "creating" in the artistic sense of the term.

"To create something means to make it nontechnically, but yet consciously and voluntarily...The created thing is made deliberately and responsibly, by people who know what they are doing, even though they do not know in advance what is going to come of it" (Collingswood in Tomas 1964:7-8. cf. Langer 1953: chapter 20). Apparently the only part of these statements that is inapplicable to Bella is the word "people."

The first "artistic" ape in the record was Joni, an infant chimp which Nadie Khots presented with drawing materials in 1913 as part of a multi-dimensional reaction sequence (Morris 1966:43). Khots observed that Joni's scribbles exhibited visual control and gradually developed into patterns of increasing complexity which culminated in criss-crossing lines.

In the late 1920's, the Kelloggs raised the chimp, Gua, along with their infant son, Donald. Donald scribbled spontaneously at 14½ months of age while Gua scribbled only after demonstration at 12 months of age.
Betsy, a female chimp at the Baltimore Zoo, excelled at finger paintings which were sold at $75.00 apiece, thus enabling her to raise her own dowry and acquire a mate. Two child psychologists, who understandably prefer professional anonymity, analyzed her paintings without knowing they were infra-human and concluded that they were produced by (1) a fiercely belligerent 10 year old girl of schizoid type, and (2) a 10 year old girl, paranoid type, showing strong father identification. Both psychologists were correct about her gender, but it makes one wonder about Betsy's mental health.

Congo, Morris' chimp, produced his first drawing at age one and one-half years. He was given no instruction other than how to hold a pencil. Over a three year period he produced a grand total of 384 drawings and paintings. His drawing sessions usually lasted about 30 minutes after which time he got bored; additionally, he didn't seem to desire more than a few sessions each week. Maybe he had to be inspired!

Although many of Congo's pictures appear to be random scribbles, some later ones show distinct patternings and evidence of calligraphic development. Small jerky lines were replaced with broad sweeping curves that suggest a fan pattern - his distinguishing trademark. His ultimate achievement was the construction of a circle which was then marked inside. This was as close as he ever came to producing a representational picture.

To ascertain whether the scribbles were only random muscular actions or really disciplined marks, Morris prepared
sets of test papers bearing various geometric shapes and lines and offered them to Congo who promptly reorganized his scribbling pattern: if the test figure were a central square, he concentrated his marks on it; if the square were placed to one side of the paper, he concentrated his markings on the other side of the paper, thus exhibiting very definite balancing tendencies. Congo was tested 172 times and Morris "obtained results that showed conclusively that the animal possessed a basic sense of graphic composition, crude admittedly, but nevertheless distinct."

It is highly probable that Congo and other higher primates are capable of composition because "composition is directed by an unconscious sense of order in regard to the relations of color, shape, position, etc., and often by a geometrical correspondence of elements" (Maholy-Nagy 1947: 71). The manner in which lines are related carry a rich message because lines are often interpreted as being diagrams of inner forces. When these lines are arranged to produce a balanced effect, symmetry is achieved. As for the origin of this symmetry, Weyl (1952:8) states: "the mathematical laws governing nature are the origin of symmetry in nature: the intuitive realization of the idea in the creative artist's mind is its origin in art.

**BIOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF ART**

Morris (1962) delineated six biological principles of art from his comparative study of higher primate drawings and scribbles:
(1) **Self-rewarding Activation.** The animal finds his reward in the pleasure of drawing itself, in the creative process. He becomes upset when disturbed and there were cases of very mild animals biting their trainers who tried to interfere. Additionally, when a reward was offered for each drawing produced, the chimp soon lost interest in the creative process and hurriedly scribbled random lines anywhere on the paper to obtain his reward. The creation of an art-work was no longer the principal motivation.

(2) **Compositional Control.** The primates tested seemed to have a "feeling" for balanced masses and for rhythm in the image. There was a definite tendency to complete one central figure.

(3) **Calligraphic Differentiation.** Graphic development of the splotches or lines is made in spurts, but the primate discovers forms in a slow and continuous process. In this respect, apes are quite similar to young human children.

(4) **Thematic Variation.** Apes seem to enjoy exploring the field of such variations and they study the effect created by the slightest changes.

(5) **Optimum Heterogeneity.** An art work begins with extreme homogeneity (blank sheets of paper) and goes towards greater and greater heterogeneity. Maximum heterogeneity (proliferation of detail) is not necessarily what's desired and the artist should, in theory, be able to feel when his work is completed. This is well documented for pongid artists. This optimum heterogeneity is not shown with colors. The apes used everything at their disposal, indiscriminately
and without thrift. But, we should remember that the experimenters usually hand the paint-dripping brushes to the apes who must, therefore, use whatever is given to them in order to finish the pattern they've started.

(6) **Universal Imagery.** This was convincingly illustrated by Rensch (in Morris and Graven) who demonstrated the overwhelming preference of several species for symmetrical over non-symmetrical objects. According to Morris, its presence in ape pictures can be attributed to three factors: a) muscular - certain movements are more pleasing, more motorically gratifying; b) optical - some arrangements form more pleasing patterns; and c) psychological - a similar **umwelt** should produce similar sensations within a species.

**CHILDREN'S ART**

"Perhaps the affinities between children and animals are different from those which can occur between animals and adults" (Graven 1967:121). "The infant chimp, when properly handled in the home situation, reacts in many ways as a young child does. It...shows strong attachment for its caretaker or experimental mother, passes a good many of the preschool developmental tests designed for children, and imitates acts performed by adults without special training. Up to the age of perhaps three years, its 'mental age' is not far behind that of a child" (W. Kellogg 1968:423).

As seems likely in apes, "painting for the young child expresses his own personal reaction and feelings and he...."
draws (scribbles) not what he sees, but what he knows and understands" (Hoover 1961:26). Although many structures and functional capacities are present in the cognition of the young child, his ability to express these capacities is limited because his memory and attention span are not fully developed. As the child accumulates experience, he develops cognitive heuristics which help him to overcome these basic behavioral limits. Hence, cognitive competencies reflect the influence of maturational and experiential determinants under the control of an internal self-regulating mechanism (Beyer et al 1968:923).

Therefore, as the child matures, his behavior diverges further from the apes because the self-regulating mechanisms, or hereditary endowments, of the two genera are different. But comparison of young, pre-language children with young apes reveals striking behavioral similarities. And both young children and young apes like to scribble.

"Art need not be representational to be rewarding. We should look at scribbles for their shapes, colors and balance" (R. Kellogg 1967:93). And in regard to shapes and balance, apes and children show the same developmental trends.

"...The artistic impulse is universal...All children everywhere draw the same things in the same way at the same age...(and) all pass through the same stages of development" (R. Kellogg: pp.11-13). This might be explained by what Ehrenzweig (1967) calls syncretistic vision: the recognition of objects from cues rather than from the analysis of abstract detail. (Piaget, in numerous writings, has stressed the
"concreteness" of young children over abstraction abilities and neurophysiology has established the dominance of pattern recognition in the visual systems of most of the higher primates.

"The two year old doesn't start out with a plan in mind, but when he looks at a scribble after it is finished, he sees a visual whole, an entity" (R. Kellogg:p. 29). Apparently the apes do, too, or they wouldn't exhibit non-typical and/or violent behavior when their artwork is removed before they "consider" it finished.

"Each child is striving always for balance, design and variety within a set of self-taught aesthetic formulas. As long as children feel free to draw naturally, balance remains a prominent feature of their work" (ibid p. 67). Until children reach about five years of age, their drawings are so much alike; i.e., the universal imagery is so prominent, that a trained observer finds it difficult to distinguish between the drawings of girls and boys. And, as we have seen, two trained observers didn't even distinguish between human and non-human!

By the time the representational stage is reached, the child already is talking and well on his way to becoming humanly acculturated. As explained earlier, this changes his world-view. Language enables him to integrate his various awarenesses symbolically; hence, his art will no longer reflect a basic, simple aesthetic sense - it will become more influenced by his culture. At first, this cultural influence is general, universal and associated
with a human way of life. At later stages, the influences of each particular human culture will be felt and expressed. "Every culture has its own collective individuality. Like the individuality of the person from whom a work of art issues, this collective individuality leaves its indelible imprint upon the art that is produced" (Dewey 1934:330). Nevertheless, the children "are building upon the creative impulse which is the heritage of all mankind and is limited to no one land or culture" (R. Kellogg:p.77).

But does this creative impulse which is "the heritage of mankind" spring from man's early ancestors; i.e., does it come, ultimately, from the basic anthropoid complex? Morris believes it does. By isolating his biological principles of art, he believes that any rules that are basic enough to apply to several related species, rather than to one species or to one epoch of one species, must indeed be fundamental to the activity concerned.

**STAGES OF ART**

Mumford (1952:25) delineates three stages in the development of art: (1) the self-enclosed or infantile stage, the stage of self identification; (2) the social or adolescent stage, when exhibitionism passes into communication, with an effort not merely to attract attention but to create something worthy of approval; and (3) a personal or mature stage when art, transcending the immediate needs of the person or the community, becomes capable of begetting fresh forms of life: when the work of art becomes itself an inde-
pendent force. At this final stage, the highest degree of individuation produces the widest range of universality.

It seems likely that apes who draw have remained in stage one. Washoe and other "linguistic" apes should be able to advance to the second stage since evidence indicates that children enter this stage when they consciously attempt to produce representational drawings; i.e., after they're talking.

The third stage, however, is currently limited to man and corresponds to the highest achievements possible only by the most gifted artists. Striking examples of stage three art include the Greek kouroi and Picasso's Guernica. These represent emergents in art's evolution whereas the preceding stages are more properly interpreted as differences in degree of development.

If it is acceptable to designate as art works produced in all three stages, then the higher primates indeed are artists because the lines they draw apparently do represent their inner feelings and attempts at self-identification.

Although biological, psychological and cultural influences are present in all drawings produced, the relative importance attached to any single factor will largely determine how we, as individuals, classify a drawing.

If a reader prefers to view as art only works belonging to stage three, then the sub-human primates must be categorized not as artists but only as apes who draw.
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THE CHEYENNE WOMEN

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THE CHEYENNE WOMEN

The Cheyenne Indian culture discussed in the following paper was that belonging to these nomads of the Plains in what was probably their most characteristically stable period of existence at this stage of their culture. I will fix two descriptive boundaries to this period of history. This was a time after the Cheyenne people had established the nomadic pattern of following the buffalo across the Plains. The introduction of the horse had facilitated this adaption of their previous semi-sedentary life style. This was a time before the active entrance of the white person's patterns in a way that eventually resulted in the destruction of the Cheyenne ways. The Cheyenne culture within these borders of its own history was most characteristic of its own time and place. Its cultural and environmental adaptations were uninterrupted by strong foreign influences.

My main concern in the following pages is with what being a Cheyenne woman meant in this period of tribal history (1840-60). In this search for evidence of Cheyenne women, I have approached the Cheyenne culture through the aspects of social organization, economic organization, the political structure, women's ties outside the domestic unit, the women's position in the greater religious ceremonies and supernatural expressions of the Cheyenne, and the self concepts and cultural personality traits of these women. As will be noted later, some more major aspects of Cheyenne life are not mentioned in great detail because of the exclusion of women from these activities.
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In looking at the social organization of the Cheyenne, I will briefly discuss some structural components as these relate to women. The basic social units are the family, kindred, and band. The kindred is a unit of organization within one of the ten Cheyenne bands; the family a unit within the kindred. The family and the kindred are of most importance here as the study of these involves the study of courting and marriage rituals, residence and descent patterns, norms regarding various relationships, and the socialization of the children; and brings attention to social roles and activities of women.

The marriage arrangement was a joining of two families and as such required careful consideration. The males of the young girl's family, usually the girl's brother, had the final determination. Various rituals were entailed in sending the message from the suitor to the girl's family. Hoebel, in his account of marriage as a formal and serious matter, states that "Cheyenne courting is a bashful and long, drawn-out affair. It usually takes four or five years for a young man to win his bride, and when he is ready to put the question it is directed to her family and not to the girl...In time they may exchange rings...They are then engaged. Except for the exchange of rings, a suitor rarely gives presents directly to a girl. When the time comes these go to her male relatives" (Hoebel 1960:21). Often the brother was the one with power of decision regarding
the marriage of his young sister. This relationship is one of both great power and great restraint. "Although they may play together as small children, beginning at puberty they must shed all manifestations of familiarity. There can be no physical contacts or joking between them...So great is this authority, and so serious an affront to a young brave's ego is its flaunting, that if a sister disobeys his word, a brother may actually commit suicide (and there have been such cases). In such a case, the girl is disowned by her family" (ibid.: 26-7). The brother-sister relationship retained importance throughout life. "Wives' rights to a man's loyalty take precedence over his sister's, but a sister is not cut off entirely by his marriage" (ibid:79). This is indicative of the many formalities and considerations by which the Cheyenne regulate important relationships for group cohesion.

Grinnell gives an account of the request for the marriage of a girl, later noting that a horse might be requested in the same way.

"In old times, when they went on the warpath, if a man wanted a girl for his wife, he might cut from a tree a slab of wood, draw on it the figure of a girl, and also whatever he wished to give for the girl, such as horses, bridles, a war-bonnet, and other articles. Having completed the picture, he sent it by another young man to the war-lodge in which the girl's brother or cousin slept. The messenger handed it to the brother, and after he looked at it, he was likely to send for any of his brothers who might be with the party. To them he showed the slab of wood, and told them who had sent the offer for this sister. If all agreed to the marriage, another picture of the girl was drawn on the slab, with figures of whatever they were willing to offer in return for his presents, and the piece of wood was returned to the suitor. After the party had
returned to the main village, he sent to the girl's lodge the things represented in his drawings, and the young people of the other war-lodge sent what they had drawn, with the girl, to his lodge." (Grinnell 1962:27).

There seems to have been some flexibility in the rigid ritual formulations the Cheyennes provided for interaction. The narrative of a Southern Cheyenne woman's account of how she came to be married shows some of the same ritual, but a personal individuality is also present.

"After I reached the age of young womanhood, I was not single much longer. One afternoon I was visiting my girl chum. When I came home that evening there were a number of old men in my father's tipi; I also noticed much fresh meat. I asked my mother what it was all about, and what those old men were here for. She said, 'My daughter, these men are here to deliver a message, asking the consent of your father that you marry a male of their family. And I want to tell you that your father has consented. However, he will speak to you later.' My father said to me, 'My daughter, these men have come here to ask my consent to your marriage. Five horses and other things will be sent over in the morning. I have consented. Now I myself want to hear what you think.' I made no reply. I was frightened. But at any rate, the horses were brought over the next morning. My male relatives were called to select their horses, but before doing that they called me in and asked me what I thought. My paternal uncle started to talk to me saying how well my parents had brought me up, and stated that marriage by purchase was considered one of the greatest and happiest events in one's life. He said, 'I know that this is your father's desire. As you can see, he is getting on in years. His eyesight is not very good. This young man will look after the necessary work for your father. However, we do not wish to do anything against your will. Now, let us hear from you.' I then said to them, 'Since my father has consented to the offer of marriage by purchase, I also agree to the proposed marriage. I love my father, and whatever he deems best for me, that I will do. I cannot refuse my father's wishes for those reasons'. They were all glad to hear me, showing it by their sincere approval.
They then proceeded to select their own horses, one at a time. They were all good saddle horses. They in turn gave their own horses. My people saddled one of the horses on which I rode over to my future husband’s people, leading the four other horses. My future husband’s women folk met me near their camps and I dismounted. They carried me on the blanket the rest of the way, and let me down at the entrance of my future husband’s tipi. I walked in and sat beside him. This young man was no sweetheart of mine; he was a stranger to me; he never had come to see me when I was still single. I wondered if I would learn to love him in the future. After some little time the women brought in many shawls, dresses, rings, bracelets, leggings, and moccasins. They then had me change clothes. They braided my hair and painted my face with red dots on my cheeks. When I was completely arrayed in my marriage clothes I was told to return to my people. My husband’s women folk carried the balance of my clothing to my tipi. In the meantime, my mother and aunt had prepared a large feast. Towards evening my own tipi was erected. The cryer called in a loud voice inviting all my husband’s relatives, naming my husband as the host. My husband came over with his male relatives. While there they told jokes, and some related their war exploits; still others narrated funny things that had happened to them in the earlier days” (Michelson 1932:5-7).

These different accounts of marriage details point to both a ritual rigidity and an allowance for some personal individual flexibility. The Cheyennes placed great importance on structuring relationships and interactions that might be a potential source of conflict. In this situation, romantic love has no bearing on marriage choices, and though the girl is asked for consent, I wonder what the reaction might have been had she refused the request. Her relatives may have been considerate of her emotions, but it would be quite customary if they had ignored her wishes. It was generally realized that “Husbands and wives, although they are diffident in their attitudes toward each other in
the early stages of their marriages, usually become most fond of each other. They form a close working team with a strong sense of family responsibility...Such was the ideal life between husbands and wives, although, of course, it did not always work out thus" (Hoebel op.cit.:24).

The new conjugal family thus formed becomes part of the greater kindred group. "It is the girl's mother's privilege to provide a new tipi and its furnishings. Relatives from both sides help with many contributions. When all is ready, the Lodge is set up, usually in the vicinity of the bride's mother's lodge" (ibid.:2). The kindred group customarily camps together within the band encampment. "As a settlement, it consists of the Lodge (or lodges, if the family head has several wives) of the family head, plus the lodges of his daughters and their husbands, and other relatives. The sons-in-law are expected to be the main providers of meat for all the group, which is cooked in the mother's lodge and carried by the daughters to their own tipis for eating" (ibid.:22). A kindred group has many customary modes of conduct between various members according to their status. Here as in other tribes the mother-in-law tabu existed. "Although they live so near, the sons-in-law are expected none-theless to avoid seeing their mother-in-law, and under no circumstances should they speak directly to her" (ibid.).

Cheyenne men practiced polygamy "but tribal customs often controlled the selection of additional wives. When a second wife was taken, she was usually related to the first and was
often her younger sister. Sororate marriages, although not compulsory, added strength to the enlarged circle of relations...Old Cheyennes explained that if the second wife was not related to the first, trouble would develop and the older woman was likely to leave her husband's lodge. Few men, if any, took more than five wives because of limitations of wealth and food" (Berthrong 1963:38-39). Thus sisters were encouraged to grow up closely, early harmony being important, since frequently they remained together during their entire lives. Again, this arrangement takes a situation of potential conflict and by cultural norms encourages internal cohesion.

**Division of Labor**

The Cheyenne society creates a firm division between male and female roles. This can be seen in terms of a division between the public and the domestic spheres of activity (Rosaldo and Lamphere 197:39). Women's activities are centered around the home and home-related ventures, for the most part. Men appear to spend much of their time at war, or preparing for it, doing tribal and personal business, engaging in various religious activities, or hunting. "While women gather vegetable foods and make the home and its accoutrements, men bring home the meat, make weapons, wage war, and perform the major part of the necessary rituals" (Hoebel op.cit.:64). Thus women deal mainly with the home and men have many outside (public) roles. The men's work is considered more important: bringing home the meat, war activities as well as carrying out the major renewal ceremonies. The women's work involves the more day to day necessities of living. Some special value was attributed to certain activities,
though it seems minimal in contrast to the cultural values of men's activities. "The work of women devoted to ceremonial decorations upon robes, lodges, or other articles was considered highly important and corresponded to men's bravery and success in war" (Berthrong 1963:37). The making of a new home was also given recognition as an achievement in a ritual of dedication wherein the outstanding warriors counted coup on it. (Hoebel op.cit. 63).

Women are responsible for child care, though the extended kinship system seems to ease the mother's responsibilities. Grandmothers and aunts help with various duties of child care and socialization. In a tribe where new members are an asset to survival, children are highly valued by both their parents and the tribe. "From the outset their lives are made as comfortable as possible. They are strictly taught and steadily but gently molded toward the Cheyenne ideal in an atmosphere of love and interest. The Cheyenne child is rarely punished, and daughters may react in suicide if their mothers are overly harsh or vindictive after they have grown up" (Hoebel, op.cit.91).

Socialization

Cheyenne mothers use a cradleboard, "a wooden frame carried on the mother's back and on which is a laced-up animal-skin 'cocoon' in which the infant is tightly bound like a mummy" (Although the baby is not put in the cradleboard until several weeks old, the advantages of mobility for the mother are easily seen.) The mother may "go about her work with an assurance that her baby will not get into trouble. If traveling, or watching advance or ceremony, she carries the board like a knapsack;
when working in the lodge, she hangs it upright from one of the lodge poles; when working outside the lodge, she leans it against the lodge covering" (Hoebel, op.cit.91).

Socialization of the Cheyenne children begins when they are very young, and is clearly differentiated by sex even at an early age.

"Cheyenne children are little replicas of their elders in interests and deed. Children begin to learn adult activities and practice them in play at incredibly early ages. Boys learn to ride almost as soon as they learn to walk, girls soon after. At two or three, they ride with their mothers, and by the time they are five or six, little boys are riding bareback on their own colts and mastering the use of the lasso. By seven or eight they can help with the herding of the camp's horses. Little girls, as soon as they can toddle, follow their mothers to gather wood and bring in water, the mothers patiently helping them with their pint-sized burdens. Boys get small, but good quality, bows and arrows as soon as they can effectively learn to use them... (ibid.:92).

Women are largely responsible for socialization of the girls, but not the boys.

"Mothers continually admonish, exhort, and train their daughters. Fathers are friendly with their sons, but do little about their education until they are of age; boys are pretty much on their own and learn from each other until it is time to go on the warpath....Cheyenne boys normally join their first war party when only fourteen or fifteen years of age. They are solicitously watched over by the older men and are not expected actively to engage in fighting, but they get their taste of danger and accumulate experience early" (ibid.:27-70).

Thus, women are responsible for child care and early socialization of the boys, and are seen to perform "lower level conversions from nature to culture;" while the men take over the socialization of the boys when a higher, more culturally important level of activity is reached (cf. Ortner, P. 80).
Mothers have special interests in their daughters and teach them the activities of women.

"My mother taught me everything connected with the tipi, such as cooking and tanning hides for different purposes. The first pair of moccasins I made were for my father. 'You are very good in making moccasins,' he said with a smile. My mother would show me how to twist the sinews, and how to cut the soles and uppers of the moccasins for different sizes. I became very competent in this work at an early age" (Michelson, op. cit. 4).

However, other members of the kinship group also play a part in this socialization. The strength of the brother-sister relationship was noted earlier. This relationship is an important one for the children of the brother.

"It is a father's sister who has the freer relation to a child. She makes the infant's cradle and gives it gifts throughout life. She lightly teases the children in a way a mother never does...All in all, the relation of children, both male and female, to their father's sister is free of the formal restraints they are made to feel toward their mother...Mother's sisters are 'mothers' and treated accordingly. A maternal uncle has much the same relationship to his nieces and nephews, again emphasizing the importance of the brother-sister relationship" (Hoebel, op. cit. 27).

The father's sister takes a very active part in the socialization of a young woman in relationships with men: "My aunt (father's sister) had heard that a certain young man had begun to look upon me seriously. She came over and began to tell me what to say and how to act in the presence of this young man" (Michelson, op. cit. 4).

**Summary**

The social organization has one particularly strong feature for women: women stay near their families after marriage, retaining life-long relationships in their own kinship groups.
However, the position of women is weakened by the cultural strength of the power of the brother over the sister, as well as other males' power over women. Women's activities are not given as much value as the activities of men. Women are restricted mostly to a domestic domain, while the men operate in a public domain.

**ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION**

The economic organization of a culture concerns material resources and the values and attitudes associated with the means and relations of production. The Cheyenne lived basically in a subsistence hunting and gathering economy, their main concerns being provisions for survival. The buffalo provided most of their material needs; vegetables and fruits, and small game completing their diet. Their survival depends mostly on environmental factors and their skill in adapting to the environment:

"Though the Cheyennes provision themselves with a fair variety of food that gives a reasonably well-balanced diet, and their techniques and skills are of a high order, they still live under the feast or famine conditions, and famine is never forgotten" (Hoebel, *op. cit.* 67).

The nomadic life style and environment of the Cheyenne did not deal with accumulations of wealth as such in an economic structure. Horses were used as gifts and their value must have been high: often raiding parties would go out to steal horses from other tribes. The Cheyenne policy of giving gifts reflects their attitude toward wealth. "It is not to be hoarded or to be self-consumed...Its value derives from its being given away" (Hoebel, *op. cit.* 94). However, there were advantages to be gained
through the giving of gifts, as was seen in the "purchase" of
the bride, though these gifts were often reciprocated by the
original receiver.

The main direction of economic activities was toward pro-
viding food and material needs of the people.

"Occupying several tipis and camping together, the
extended family was the primary economic unit with-
in the Cheyennes and was well adapted to the hunting
nomadic life on the Plains. The extended family con-
tained several hunters and enough women to dress the
hides and preserve the meat during the more bountiful
hunting season" (Hoebel, op.cit. 45-46).

Thus, though men and women cooperate in economic ventures, the
men are primarily hunters (mostly buffalo) and the women gather
vegetables and fruits, gather firewood and fetch water, as well
as providing housing and clothing for the family.

At one time the Cheyenne had cultivated gardens, but during
this time (before introduction of the horse ca. 1760) supplemented
their diet through foraging.

"Of the wild plants gathered by the women for their
family larder, some sixteen varieties are fruits,
eight or ten are roots, and a dozen to fifteen are
vegetable stalks or buds. Many of them add variety
to boiled meat dishes or a nourishing quality to
soup. The Cheyennes do not bake or fry breads
made of plant flour" (Hoebel, op.cit.60).

Women and girls gather roots, their task having a tool that had
both practical and sacred significance:

"The dibble, or digging stick, is their basic tool.
It was given by the Great Medicine Spirit and it fig-
ures in the ritual paraphernalia of the Sun Dance,
for it has its sacred aspects. Cheyenne dibbles are
of two types. The short kind has a knob at one end
and is pushed under the desired root by pressure
against the stomach when the digger is down on both
knees; the other kind is long, and used as a crowbar.
The sharp ends are fire hardened" (Grinnell, op.cit.166).
The women's tasks of root and berry gathering also had social aspects which made them less routine. The women would leave camp in the morning in a group, often with a few men "whose chief purpose was to stand guard and scan the country to detect the possible approach of strangers, or, if enemies unexpectedly made their appearance, to wait behind and fight them off, so that the women might escape" (ibid.). The women in the small work parties did not treat root digging as a tiresome chore:

"Their spirits are usually gay, for they look on the day's activity as an outing. Far out on the prairie they scatter to their individual tasks, for the actual gathering requires no cooperative effort. When they come together in the late afternoon, they often react to the monotony of their work by gambling their roots against each other in a game of seeing who can throw her digging stick the farthest, or by throwing 'dice' of buffalo metacarpals" (Hoebel, op.cit.:166).

The primary objects owned by women in connection with their economic contributions were the tools they used for their work. The digging stick, already mentioned, was given a cultural significance. Another basic functional tool was the stone maul.

"The basic household item of the women is her stone maul - an oval river stone with pecked out grooves on the short sides around which is fixed a supple willow firmly fastened with green rawhide. With the maul she breaks up fuel, drives tipi pegs, and crushes large bones to be cooked in soup" (ibid.:62).

The buffalo hide processing was an important task with special tools and knowledge required. "Each woman has a tanning kit of four tools: a scraper, flesher, drawblade, and softening rope or buffalo scapula (shoulder blade)" (ibid.:62). Often part of the tanning tools would be passed down from mother
to daughter.

Though the women's economic activities were of crucial importance to survival, the men's contribution of hunting the buffalo, though also crucial, was given considerably more cultural significance as "men's work". Women were excluded from this crucial economic activity and status except in more menial aspects. They did not share the active excitement of hunting the animal. Men also had the opportunity to participate in raiding parties to steal horses, an economic asset.

Both male and female activities rely on cooperation and working together. When men want to solicit aid in a venture, such as a war party, they let their plans be known and then take a pipe to the men they select. If the man accepts the pipe and smokes it, he accepts the initiator's request. If the man does not want to participate in the venture, he lets the pipe pass. Women also solicit help for some ventures, such as making a lodge, which is a big undertaking:

"A small lodge requires eleven buffalo cowhides, thinned and tanned. A big lodge takes as many as twenty-one. A woman does all the work on her lodge skins up to the point of the rope or blade-softening process. For this last step she invites in her friends and relatives - one for each hide - and gives them a big feast. Each one is then given a hide to take home to finish, with a rawhide rope to use for the work. Meanwhile, she has to split and make quantities of thread from the buffalo sinews she has been hoarding. Her next chore is the preparation of another great feast, for the process of cutting and sewing the lodge is an all-day sewing-bee to which all her friends will bring the hides she has parcelled out to them."
"At daybreak she must first seek out a woman known as an expert lodge maker, to whom she supplies paint and a cutting knife. Before the guests arrive, the lodge maker fits the pieces and marks them for cutting. The sewers subsequently arrive for breakfast and work all day long, with a meal in the afternoon and a supper at night - this last after the lodge has been raised and stretched on its foundation. For their pains, the expert lodge maker receives a small present" (ibid.:62-63).

Men are provided by the culture with a ritualistic means of undertaking almost every venture. The female's gathering on the other hand, seems to have been instigated in a much less formal manner, as a request to female kin and other women.

Though women contribute vitally to the economy and survival and some attention is given to their contribution by cultural expressions and ritual, male activities are given more prestige than those of the female. There is a sharp division of labor and corresponding different values are given to the work activities of the different sexes. In their strategies of recruitment, men more often use rituals, while the women gather help in more informal ways. Though the men are absent from the camp for periods of time for war and for the communal hunt, these activities are essential to the domestic unit and are given much prestige. The women are left with all domestic duties, while the men's activities are in the public domain. The men have access to economic gains (horses) and the power that goes with them within the means that wealth has for the Cheyenne.
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The importance of the political structure of the Cheyenne correlates with the high value these people placed upon law.

"The Cheyenne concern with the threat of internal disruption and their compensatory drive toward tribal supremacy and unity on all crucial matters have resulted in the centralization of legal control in the tribal council and the military societies" (ibid.:49).

Both the tribal council and the military societies were male affairs, women taking no part in these decision making groups. Most of the decisions of these groups were those that affected men, and women, of course, indirectly. "The bulk of the Cheyenne law is public law: the heart of Cheyenne law focuses on murder and the control of the communal hunt; disputes over property are rare, adultery and wife stealing rarer" (ibid.:49). So, though women had no part in the formal authority, they were still influenced in parts of their lives. The most obvious distinction indicating sex-related (and hence, status related) differences of rights are those pertaining to divorce. Often, in societies where women have little status, they have no option of divorce, while the husband can easily dispose of his wife. Formally, at least, the Cheyenne woman has an easily available exit from a marriage she is unhappy with. "A woman divorces her husband simply by moving back into her parents' tipi" (ibid.:27). This exit is perhaps so easily allowed because the woman does not leave the kinship group when she marries, she keeps her ties with her family, and no bride price must be returned if she leaves her husband.
A man may divorce his wife by drumming her away at the so-called Omaha Dance. At one point in the dance, those men who have drummed a wife away dance as a group.

"A man who wants publicly to shame his wife may join them. At the end of the dance he strikes the drum, crying 'I throw her away'. When a man is made a leader of the Omaha Dance, the greatest gesture he can make is to throw his sister away. It was like giving away a fine horse, only more so. In contrast to a wife so divorced, the sister is supposed to be highly honored. When a brother strikes the drum, he throws the stick among the men, and the man whom it hits becomes the sister's husband" (ibid.:27).

The contrast between the wife and the sister is included as one more indicator of the authority of the brother over the sister.

The Cheyenne law directly affects women in the attitudes and consequences of abortion and suicide. Abortion, which presumably is not frequent since a high value is placed on children, is homicide within the meaning of Cheyenne law. An unborn fetus has a legal personality as a Cheyenne. Its death through abortion brings the full penalty on its mother. (ibid.:53). Suicide is also viewed as homicide, but a curious distinction exists between the suicidal acts of men and women. Men can let the enemy kill them in battle (this was noted, in a case of man with an illness and a brother whose sister had flaunted his authority) and "Their post mortem reward is glory, not disapproval. Direct suicide is a protest act of girls and women, and for both, the protest is an expression of grievance within the conjugal family" (ibid.53).
Societal reaction to female suicide follows two lines in the following examples:

"A woman who hangs herself because her husband brings home a second wife is said to be foolish for killing herself over such a little thing. Second wives are normal. However, in two cases in which mothers abused and beat their daughters who then committed suicide, the women were mobbed and then exiled" (ibid.:53).

Since women have little authority or formal power among the Cheyenne, it might be suspected that they influence decisions in other ways (Rosaldo 1974). An evidence of women's influence through other than legitimate authority follows:

Cheyenne women ruled the camps, spurred men on to necessary duties, and checked them when unwise actions were contemplated. Although women did not take part in tribal councils, their influence was immediate upon their husbands. Arguing, cajoling, persuading, the Cheyenne women carried their points about tribal concerns" (Berthrong, op.cit.:37).

Another account of the possible influence of women in directing men is seen in this custom of making a decision to go to war for revenge.

"If injured by people of another tribe they were eager for revenge. If people belonging to the village had been killed in some recent fight, the women in the camp went about and begged the young men to go to war, to take vengeance on their enemies. They passed their hands over the men, imploring them to take pity on them, while through the village old men shouted advice to all men to go to war, and kill some of the enemy. That the lamentations of the mourners might cease. The killing of enemies brought comfort and consolation to those whose relations had been killed by those of that tribe - it wiped away their tears" (Grinnell, op.cit.:6)

The Cheyenne allowed no legitimate authority to women, but their influence and power is directed through men. Cheyenne law distinguishes between men and women in terms of div-
orce and suicide and abortion is considered homicide by the
woman, and she bears the full consequences of this crime.
Women are not allowed in formal participation in the politi-
cal life in most matters, but influenced decisions through
their influence on their husbands.

RELIGION

Women's roles in the religious ceremonies and activities
of the Cheyenne were minimal relative to men's roles. Three
major ceremonies are central to the Cheyenne religious exper-
ience: The Arrow Renewal, the Sun Dance, and the Massaum
(Contrary). The Arrow Renewal and the Sun Dance are both
patterned after teaching of culture heroes who visited the
Sacred Mountain and then taught the Cheyenne the ceremonies.
The Arrow Renewal is related to the culture hero, Sweet
Medicine. The Sacred Arrows and the rite of their renewal
are central in the beliefs of the Cheyenne. One of the aspects
noted by Hoebel about the Arrow Renewal is in effect a re-
affirmation of the domination of males over females: "It
stamps the domination of males over females in ultimate de-
termination of tribal matters, since men alone may actively
participate in the rite" (Hoebel, op.cit.:11).

"On the fourth and final day, the arrows are
exposed to the sun, and to public view...Now
while all the women are securely hidden in
their tipis, every Cheyenne male, from the
smallest babe in arms to the oldest dodderer,
passes before the Arrows to receive their
beneficent effect. The Arrow renewal lasts
four days, during which time, the women are
confined. On the dawn of the fifth day, the
ceremony is over. After four days of confine-
ment, the women may throw back the door coverings of their tipis and emerge into the open. Life is renewed, purified, and strengthened because it has been resanctified" (ibid.:10).

The Sun Dance requires eight days to complete; the Massaum, four days and four nights. In both of these the wife of the pledger of the ceremony takes part in consecrated sex relations with the pledger as part of the renewal of the life of the tribe. Hoebel states that women play a much more important role in the Massaum. The only mention of women participants is the "Sexual dedication of the pledger's wife" and "a symbolic antelope or buffalo corral" that the women build on the fourth day (ibid.:17).

All other mention of women and the religious functions of the tribe show women in secondary roles. Most of these women were the wives of the main practitioner of the event.

Religion and the supernatural are often related to the cause and cure of disease – this is true of the Cheyenne beliefs. The role and power attributed to women in dealing with sickness is interesting in exploring their position in the Cheyenne culture.

"Since disease is believed to arise from supernatural as well as from natural causes, the work of healing is a mingling of natural and supernatural remedies. Many people – men and women alike – have the power to heal sickness. (Grinnell, op.cit.:127).

The powers of the doctors and the horsedoctors were both said to be known and used by women; but all accounts reveal these women to be the wives of a man who had received this
knowledge and chose a woman to assist him. Thus it seems that a woman was not chosen nor could she choose to develop these powers and receive this knowledge independently, but rather by virtue of her relationship to a man in this position. Healing by herbs was practiced by both men and women, and Grinnell verifies this. "Almost every old woman had a bundle of medicines peculiarly her own, the secrets of which were known only to her. These were usually carried about in a little buffalo-skin sack" (Grinnell, op.cit.:134).

When there was a death, the mourning customs fell most heavily on the women.

"Female relatives, especially mothers and wives, cut off their long hair and gash their foreheads so that the blood flows. If the dead one has been killed by enemies, they slash their legs so that they become caked with dried blood; sometimes the blood is not washed off for many weeks. Widows who wish to make an extravagant display of their bereavement gash themselves fearfully and move off alone to live destitute in the brush. The isolation may last a full year, until relatives begin gradually to camp around her, slowly reincorporating her into kin and community life. In these instances, the death of a husband means the almost total severance of social bonds for the survivor" (Hoebel, op.cit.:88).

When a man died, all his property not placed with him - and often that of his father and even of his brothers - was given away, to people who were not his relatives. The widow, and her children, if any, retained nothing but perhaps blankets to cover themselves (Grinnell, op.cit.:163).

"The death of my husband marked the passing of our tipi, including all the contents. If people do not come and carry away something, the whole tipi is destroyed by fire" (Michelson, op.cit.:7).

The widow and children, often separated, lived with relatives for a year or two.
"In the course of this time, however, some one of her relatives was very likely to have given a lodge to the widow, and she camped near a brother, who supplied her with meat; and after a time she began to get her children back, one by one, until at last all were living with her again. If she had growing boys, they learned to hunt, and assisted in supporting her and the sisters. Such a family always got along somehow. Often widows married again. A widow decided for herself whether she would marry, or whom she would marry. When a man asked a widow to marry him, she might after stipulating for the support and good treatment of her children — tell him to give a horse to her father, or to one of her brothers, and she would marry him" (Grinnell, op. cit.:162-163).

Sacrifices, involving offerings of the body were often made, some accompanied by a certain ritual, others without ceremony. Women often made these in the situation of praying for the recovery of a relative from sickness:

"Women quite often cut off joints of their fingers in sacrifice for the recovery of a sick husband or child, and with no ceremony beyond the usual prayer of a priest. Medicine Woman, formerly the wife of Wolf Chief, when one of her children was sick, promised to sacrifice to the sun the terminal joint of the little finger of her right hand, if the child should get well. It recovered, and at the proper time, Medicine Woman went to a priest, who raised her right hand to the sun, made a prayer, and then, with a sharp knife, cut off the joint" (ibid. 96).

While there were no initiation or puberty rites for boys in Cheyenne culture, other than going on their first warpath, there is a clear cut transition rite for the Cheyenne girl. This occurs at the time of her first menstruation, and establishes a pattern she will follow after that in accordance with beliefs about the negative supernatural powers of menstrual blood:
The first menstruation of a girl is a great event. She has entered womanhood, and her father calls the news to the entire camp from beside his lodge door. If wealthy in horses, he gives one away to signalize the occasion. Like other Indians, the Cheyennes nonetheless consider menstrual blood to be defiling and inimical to the virility of males and to their supernatural powers. The girl, therefore, retires to an isolation, or moon, but so that there will be no danger of her polluting her father's or brother's sacred paraphernalia. Before going, however, she lets down her hair, bathes, and has her body painted all over in red by her older woman relatives. She takes a ceremonial incense purification just before she goes into the hut, where she remains four days with her grandmother, who looks after her and advises her on womanly conduct. At the end of the period, she is again smudged completely to purify her for re-entry into social life. Until menarche, all Cheyenne women leave their tipis from the moon lodge, but only unmarried girls must go through the purification each time" (Hoebel:95-96).

Tabus for women were associated with the touching of feathers of certain birds or dressing the hides of certain animals. Thus:

"Women feared to handle or touch a golden-speckle-tailed-eagle, believing that if they did so patches of pale color would appear on their hands and body. Pipe Woman of Colony, Oklahoma, killed a speckled eagle and is now spotted all over because, as she believes, she handled the eagle...Women believe that if they touch a gray eagle they will turn gray" (Grinnell, op.cit.:125).

It is interesting to note that these eagle feathers possessed great powers for men who wore them (ibid.107-108).

"Of tabus for women some had to do with the dressing of hides. Women might not dress the hides of bear, beaver, wolf, or coyote; such hides were usually dressed by captive women of other tribes; or, in the early days, sometimes by men. Women believed that if they should dress a bear-skin the soles of their feet would crack, and hair would grow over
"their faces. They also feared that they might become "nervous" like a bear. In several other Plains tribes the women fear to dress a bear's hide.

"Since wolves were common and desirable as food, and since their hides were useful, it was worth while that these should be tanned. There was a woman's society whose members after certain ceremonies were freed from the tabu attaching to the skins of wolves and coyotes, and were at liberty to dress the hides. It is believed that any woman who should dress a wolf's hide without going through these ceremonies and so joining this society would become palsied. Many women underwent this ceremony, which was neither difficult nor costly."

There seems to be a general cultural indication that women were believed to have a more intimate bond with the supernatural than men, though many of the connotations of this appear to be negative. The threat of the menstrual blood to the virility and supernatural power of men and the tabus dealing with certain feathers or hides that possess great power for the men seem to indicate this. Women are also noted as seeing their shadows or spirits more often than men. For a man, this is a sign that he will soon die. But for women, "the vision was not certainly followed by death. If an old woman had been badly frightened, she might say, 'I was so badly frightened that I saw my shadow.' The idea seems to be that her life was literally frightened out of her body, and for a moment stood before her. The shadow is a mere shape, seen for an instant, and then gone. It is like a shadow in having no detail; no clothing, no features - a silhouette" (Grinnell 1962:94).

Anciently, women as well as men, were believed to be seers or prophets. These women or men could announce what
was about to happen or could tell what might be occurring at the time at a distance (Grinnell 1960:112). These psychic powers also seem indicative of a bond with the supernatural by women of the Cheyenne culture.

Although Cheyenne women did not participate to a great extent in the major religious ceremonies and rituals of the tribe, they do seem to be identified in some ways with the supernatural order of things. The tabus and restrictions put upon them perhaps gives clues to the importance and potency of women in the religious and supernatural realm.

Women in the Cheyenne culture do not generally hold many roles outside the family unit. Their main role in society is that of wife and mother. There seem, however, to have been many variations within and outside of this role that reflect the individuality of the Cheyenne women, as well as indicating their independence from the norm.

The Cheyenne tribe was very war-oriented, and though this was the activity of men it seems that some women took part, too.

"While it was not common for women to go on the warpath with men, yet they did so sometimes, and often showed quite as much courage and were quite as efficient as the men whom they accompanied" (Grinnell, op.cit.:44).

Those women who had been to war were set apart from other females of the tribe and may have constituted a society, or class (Grinnell 1962:37). Little is mentioned about these women in accounts of the Cheyenne. Information is elusive and a secret nature is accorded to this society by Grinnell:

"Women who had been to war with their husband formed, it is said by some, a guild or society
and held meetings at which no one else might be present; but, of course, the number of these women was very small" (ibid.:49).

There was also a structured place for women in the men's war activities which was a highly valued one.

"To each soldier band belong four young women, usually girls - though some might be married - of good family. They joined in the dance, and sometimes sat by the singers and sang with them. If the soldiers made a dance, or went from one place to another feasting, the women were with them, but if the camp was moving the girls traveled with their families. Their duties were chiefly social; that is to say, they were present at meetings of the band, took part in the singing and dancing, and sometimes cooked for the soldiers. They were not necessarily related to anyone in the band, but were supposed to be girls of the best families in the camp. If one of them resigned, or for any reason fell out, another was selected to fill her place by the soldier chiefs. When a girl had been chosen, two young men were sent to her lodge to bring her. The position was an honorable one.

"Such a girl was spoken of as nut uhk é a, female soldier. Usually a good-looking girl was chosen who devoted herself to the position in much the same spirit a nun gives herself to her vocation. The girl was not compelled to retain this position; if she wished to marry, she might resign, and often did so" (Grinnell 1962:50).

Sexual restrictions on women were fairly strict, more so than for the men. Women received a chastity belt from their mother after the first menses, which was worn constantly until marriage. After marriage it was worn whenever the husband was away at war or on the hunt. The woman wears it whenever she goes away from her lodge to gather food or water.

"For any man other than her husband to touch it is a private delict of the first magnitude. In one case, a man was nearly stoned to death by the girl and her mother in a surprise ambush. The least that the miscreant may expect is that the girl's female relatives will charge his camp and destroy it" (Hoebel, op. cit.95).
This seems to be an individual personal reaction of the women involved. Women who transgressed the social codes were punished in a moral ritualized way, often their hair was cut and they were exiled from the tribe or publicly disgraced (ibid.:96).

The tribe has only one institutionalized practice where males are allowed to "release all the pent-up, sub-conscious, frustration-bred sexual aggression." This is supposed to take place when a woman is flagrantly adulterous. In four cases noted by Hoebel, the triggering events were desertion, simple adultery, and refusal to enter into a sororate marriage - "all exasperating actions by strong-willed women toward men who claimed a husband's rights." The practice put into effect as a response to these strong-willed women is to "put a woman on the prairie" called noha's wawstan (literally 'any man's wife')."

"The outraged husband invites all the unmarried members of his military society (excepting his wife's relatives) to a feast on the prairie. There the woman is raped by each of them in turn. Big Footed Woman was forced into intercourse with forty or more of her husband's conferees when a young wife. She survived it and lived to be a hundred, but no one else ever married her afterwards. Jassle Woman was nearly dead when she was rescued by Blue Wing and his wife. The right of a husband to give his wife to his soldier 'brothers' is not denied, yet it is a formal right that the Cheyennes in fact cannot accept with equanimity. In two cases, the brothers and father of the woman went forth to attack the whole soldier band, threatening to shoot to kill regardless of the ban on murder. The soldiers scattered and kept out of their way" (ibid.).

Women used their influence to shame the men who took part in a gang rape. "The women in the camps taunt them, and they do not defend themselves, they just hang their heads and walk away" (ibid.)
The Cheyenne woman is "more artistically creative than
the male, but within the prescribed limits" (ibid.:90). One
of the more highly honored skills of the Cheyenne was the
quilling of robes. This activity also provided a strong tie
outside the domestic unit through membership in the Quillers
Society, an "honored and exclusive group of select women".
Entrance into the Quillers Society, as well as many of its
activities were guided by ritual.

"A woman or girl not a member of the society has
to obtain the help and direction of one member as
well as the assistance of the other members. The
whole procedure of instruction is highly ritualistic
and sacred. The neophyte must provide food and
materials. Before the work begins, all the women
recite the making of their best pieces - just as a
warrior counts coup. An old male crier announces
to the whole camp what is being done and publicly
invites some poor person to come to see the girl
who is going to decorate her first robe. For
coming, the visitor receives the gift of a horse,
and if he is a man, he rides it around the camp
singing a song of praise extolling the giver. Two
to four brave warriors are invited to the women's
'coup counting,' and when the women have told their
quilling exploits, the men tell their great war deeds
and dedicate the kettle of meat, which is offered to
the spirits and divided among the women.

"The sewing is done late. If a mistake is made, a
warrior who has scalped an enemy must be sent for.
He tells his coup and says, 'And when I scalped him,
this is how I did it,' so cutting the misplaced
quills loose.

"When the Quillers are sewing the lodge decorations,
the warriors may 'attack' them in a very formal way.
They choose a scout who at some time has been the
first to spot the enemy and he goes to the Quillers'
lodge to see what they have to eat. He is followed
by the bravest of all the men, who counts coup on the
pot and is privileged to carry away the food without
objection from the women" (Hoebel, op.cit.:64)

The Cheyenne women do have an identity that comes from
associations outside the domestic arrangement. They take part
in activities outside this unit as well as belonging to
societies of exclusively women. The Cheyenne woman is more closely circumscribed in her permissible sexual activities than a man, but here as in other areas, her independence shows itself. Though formally the Cheyenne woman seems limited in her social expressions and roles, her independent nature and influence provides many alternatives for behavior (Rosaldo 1974).

"Cheyenne women, although their status is inferior to men in many respects, are strong-willed and aggressive; they are by no means downtrodden" (Hoebel 1960:2). Though the Cheyenne society in all legal aspects is a male dominated one, the Cheyenne women informally hold a more nearly egalitarian status than might be expected. Cheyenne uxorilocal residence is very important in contributing to the strength of the Cheyenne women. Though this residence has not resulted in the formation of matrilineages or matrilineal clans (ibid.:22), it clearly lends support and enhances the power of women. Though women contribute to the economy and survival of the tribe and their efforts are often culturally acknowledged, the men's activities are generally given more prestige and the men have a greater access to economic assets. Though Cheyenne women had no legal authority, their effect on Cheyenne law and political dealings was felt through their influence over their husbands and indirect or non-legal power. Cheyenne religious ceremonies and beliefs centered mostly on and around men, but women were also associated with the supernatural. Formally, the Cheyenne woman seems restricted to the domestic sphere in her social and cultural expressions of self, but actually, she had more alter-
natives and often took advantage of the individualistic and flexible nature of the Cheyenne culture and her strength as a Cheyenne woman.
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THE ROLE AND STATUS OF WOMEN IN ISLAM

JOANNE ROGERS
INTRODUCTION

A consideration of the role and status of women in the religion of Islam is a complex undertaking as Islam encompasses many diverse cultures and each of these cultures has had a unique cultural response to the religion. Thus, the scope of the topic necessitates a very generalized treatment of the subject matter here.

For the sake of cohesiveness, emphasis has been placed upon similarities rather than diversities in the woman's role in societies under Islamic influence. This paper is presented in three parts:

I. Islamic history and the role of the women before Islam and at the inception of Islam. Concentration in this section rests in the social system.

II. Material from interviews with three Persian women.

III. Conclusion
SECTION I

The concepts of the Islamic religion are found over a large geographical area. From the Middle East, the place of its origin, Islam spread to Africa, Europe, Asia, and today can be found to some extent world-wide. The shape the Islamic faith has taken in each of these cultural areas has been influenced by what the existing cultural situation was at the time of the introduction of Islam. There are, however, certain characteristics of Moslem communities which make it possible to study them as one unit. It is this unit that will be used in considering the status of women relative to Islam.

The cord that binds all Moslem countries together is seen partly in the fact that the religion of Islam includes a complete legal and social system. Some have even said that this system is a complete civilization in itself. It is based upon the three main texts, the Koran (the revelations of the prophet Muhammad), the Hadith (sayings of the prophet), and the Sunna (customary actions of the prophet). It is these three texts which dictate the proper life style for the Moslem and which results in a similar status of women throughout Moslem countries. Islam itself makes no distinction between the sacred and the secular and one finds that the religion has been the fundamental motivating force in Moslem countries (Hamady 1960:155).

In attempting to discover the status of women in Islam, both now and traditionally, one must first understand a little of the theoretical and historical background of the religion.
Islam originated in Arabia in 610 A.D., when the prophet Muhammad first revealed his visions to the world. Muhammad had received visions which commanded him to reveal to his people a higher faith and a purer system of life. The central point of this new faith was the omniscience of the one God, Allah. This was a revolutionary idea to the Arabs, because at that time, Allah was only a deity in the Arabian pantheon, one of a number. The Arabic word islam means resignation and the Moslem resigns himself to the omniscience of Allah (Levy 1957:1-3).

It is necessary to have some understanding of the cultural system Muhammad was born into in order to understand how his religion grew and how it affected the status of women. The population of Arabia at the birth of Islam was made up of a number of warring tribes. These tribes were tied together by kinship and the blood tie was the strongest unifying factor of the tribe. The concept of tribal aristocracy was very strong in the tribes with leadership being held by the shaykh or tribal chief who was elected by the male heads of each family unit. When Muhammad began to reveal his visions, he was somewhat hampered by this existing social stratification as he himself was from a lower class family. He was, then, very interested in doing away with this aristocracy and establishing all men as brothers. The reader will note that he was interested in making all men brothers. Little attempt was made, as will be shown, to include women in this brotherhood (ibid. 53-91).

Evidence of the exact place of women in Arabia prior to
Muhammad is scarce. There is some evidence that polyandry was practiced in the time before Muhammad, and that the government was perhaps a matriarchy. There is no evidence, however, that women held any positions of power at the time of Muhammad. As a matter of fact, the direct opposite was probably the case (ibid:92). The general status of women is shown in the fact that the practice of female infanticide was found and the general feeling was that it was humiliating to beget daughters. This is perhaps tied to the fact that for many of the tribes raiding was a way of life. Thus, very few men lived long lives and when a baby girl was born she was simply one more to feed and to protect (Bishai 1968:57-59). Whatever the reason for the practice, Muhammad did denounce it as a proclamation of Islam (Levy, op.cit.:92).

The basic theoretical framework of Islam viewed women as inferior beings. This is perhaps illustrated most clearly in the marriage customs, both before and after Islam. The marriage practices of pre-Islamic Arabia included marriage by capture. Once the women were captured they were treated with consideration; however, the very existence of marriage by capture reduced the general status of women to that of chattels (ibid.). Also, one should perhaps consider the definition of the word "consideration," as all sources for this were male. "Consideration" in this context could simply mean treatment of the women as the prized possessions of men. In the early Muslim era, the women of Arabia were either under the control of their nearest male kinsmen or of their husband. A woman's
husband had complete authority over her and he was responsible for her honour. She was, according to Islam, his legal property (ibid.:92-95).

Besides marriage by capture, marriage by purchase or contract was also practiced. The woman in this arrangement was still regarded as the property of her husband. Women in pre-Islamic times could not own property. Muhammad, however, said that all women were to be permitted to inherit a portion of what their parents left. The male, Muhammad said, received a portion equal to that of two females. This again is an indicator of the status of the women both in pre-Islamic times and during Muhammad's life. Muhammad did bring about a definite reform when he allowed women to handle their own property, but it is still clear that he adhered to the view that the female was a lesser being. This is shown in his statement, "Men stand superior to women in that God hath preferred the one over the other..." (ibid.:98). Thus, the traditional Moslem view is that they are creatures who are incapable of and unfitted to take care of themselves. They are, however, a part of the Islam community and may receive the reward of heaven in the same manner as a man (ibid:99). This shows a sort of duality in the Islamic view of women. Women are good enough for paradise, but in life they are inferior to man and incapable of taking care of themselves.

Perhaps Muhammad's greatest change in the area of social structure was in the relationship between the sexes. To begin with, he restricted the number of wives which a Moslem man might have. Before that time, a man had as many wives as he
could afford. The Koran states that a man might marry two, three, or four wives at one time. This rule, however, applied to free women and placed no restrictions upon the number of women as female slaves the man was allowed. One wonders, however, just how great a reform in the status of women this was when Muhammad himself dispensed with all limitations and allowed himself to marry "any believing woman if she gave herself to the prophet" (ibid.:100). Muhammad also stated that it was meritorious to marry numerous wives and that these wives should preferably be free women and virgins (ibid.). No mention was made, however, of whether the male was to be a virgin as well.

Both custom and Koranic law played a part in whom a man or women could marry. In pre-Islamic times endogamy was practiced and marriage of parallel cousins was the preferred marriage. Islam has perpetuated this practice, and if a man gave his daughter in marriage to his brother's son while she was still a minor, she could not claim annulment. The male, however, could dispute the arrangement (ibid.102-103).

The preliminaries to a first marriage were, for the most part, similar in most Moslem lands. The general rule was that a man kept his females veiled and in seclusion, a concept which will be dealt with in more detail later. The marriages, then, were all arranged as male and female had little chance to meet. Traditionally, a young man would tell his mother or a near female relative that he wished to marry. The mother and other relatives would then call upon the family
of a girl they felt was suitable for their son and the match was made. Usually the girl was kept ignorant of the proceedings and could be promised by her parents to anyone. The young man then went to officially ask the girl's father for his daughter's hand in marriage. During this visit the brideprice was set and prayers said before the couple were officially betrothed (ibid. 108-109).

The actual terms of the marriage were arranged by a wali. The wali was usually the girl's closest male relative and it was his duty to see that the match was desirable and to collect the brideprice from the prospective groom (ibid. 110-111).

Muhammad said that a woman cannot be given in marriage unless she has given her consent; however, as Levy states, "no young woman well brought up ever refuses a match agreeable to her parents" (ibid. 108). The female slave, however, was given to anyone in marriage that her owner wished. She did not have the luxury of having to say yes (ibid. 111).

The central feature of the marriage was a contract and included the price that must be paid for the bride. The mahr (brideprice) is paid to the family of the woman only if she is a free woman. If she is a slave it belongs to her master. The amount of the mahr is higher if the woman is a virgin (ibid. 114). In Morocco, if a bride was found not to be a virgin—after she claimed to be one, she was sent away and in some instances, she was killed by her father or brother because she has brought shame upon them (ibid. 115).

The Koranic regulations on marriage clearly state that
the wife is placed entirely under the domination of her husband. If she is not under the domination of her husband, she is under the domination of her nearest male relative. She spends her life being dominated by men (ibid.).

One also finds concubinage and prostitution as a part of the Islamic social system. Concubinage was for female slaves and not free women. Islamic law places no bounds upon the number of concubines a man could have except that they must be Muslim, Jewish or Christian women who are not already married. Prostitutes were regarded as dishonorable and Islam officially does not approve of them. However, let it suffice to say that public prostitution has never been abolished (ibid. 119).

In matters of adultery, the Koran says that four witnesses must be produced. The Koran makes no distinction between male and female in its statements on adultery and demands a severe punishment if it is proven that adultery has occurred (ibid.). However, the position of a woman as subjected to her husband in a marriage situation makes it impracticable that she would have the opportunity to commit adultery. And, the relative ease with which a man can take wives and female slaves makes it improbable that he would commit adultery as there would be no need.

The Koran devotes much space to the subject of divorce. Much of this is concerned with the actual procedures of the divorce itself. No justification for divorcing a woman is demanded of the male and he has traditionally been able to divorce his wife at will. This privilege was not for the
wife, however (ibid. 121).

The subject of veiling and the seclusion of women in Islam is perhaps the best known of Islamic traditions. As with many of the other customs, this practice varied from place to place and from time period to time period. Among Muhammad's people, veiling was the general rule and thus, Muhammad commanded his wives and daughters (as well as the wives of the believers) to protect themselves and wear long veils. His reason was, apparently, to protect the women's body from the eyes of any male other than her husband or close kin.

As has been indicated, the custom of veiling varies from culture to culture. One finds certain societies where the women have never been veiled, such as the Tuaregs of Algeria. The custom of the veil and of the seclusion of women has been determined to a large extent by the economic situation of the people who are involved. If the subsistence level is low, the women must engage in the manual labor required to sustain the culture. If the subsistence level is high and allows for a certain amount of leisure, then the luxury of veiling the women and of secluding them can be indulged in. There are, of course, exceptions to this and space does not permit a total accounting of the Moslem communities which do and do not require the wearing of the veil. However, veiling and the seclusion of the female was probably the norm as opposed to the exception and shows once again the Moslem ideal of supremacy of the male over the female as stipulated in the Koran (ibid. 127-130).
Women are not now allowed to enter the Mosques to pray alongside the men in most Moslem countries. Traditionally, this was not the case and Muhammad himself probably had no objections to women in the Mosques. However, in the translation and interpretation of the Koran after the death of Muhammad it was decided that women could not enter the Mosque. Again, there is variety in how this is actually handled in Moslem cultures. Women in some Moslem lands do attend prayers in the mosque, but often this is only at festivals. If they do attend prayers in the Mosque, they are separated from the men by a grille. In Moslem lands where the men pray in the open, the women simply have to stand to one side and listen (ibid. 130-131).

SECTION II

Insights into the position of the modern Moslem women were obtained in an interview held with three Persian women who were in the United States as students. The interview was held informally over a cup of coffee in the Campus Activities Center coffee shop. An unexpected participant in the interview was a young American man who was a friend of the girls. They asked that he be allowed to stay for the interview, and I feel that this may have been detrimental to my purposes as some uneasiness was expressed by the women when questioned about areas dealing with male/female relationships.

Suzie is a 23 year old woman who has been in the United States for three years. She is an undergraduate student in the College of Business Administration, and her brother, Bill, is also a student at Wichita State University. Lucy is a 23
year old woman who has been in the United States for about 3 years. She is a graduate student in Biology and is in Wichita because her male cousin is also here. Debbie, who has been in the states a little under a year, represents the only married woman of the 3. She has been married a little over a year and her Persian husband is a student at Wichita State University. She herself is a student in Continuing Education. Her field is education.

Before giving the material gathered in this interview, a few words of caution should be given. My position in the University as student assistant with the International Program gave me my introduction and entrance into discussion with these women. It also put me in a position of formality that can never be fully overcome. Thus, there may have been areas which these women were reluctant to discuss with me. I felt, however, that despite this problem they were open and honest in their expressions. Also, Iran is a highly stratified society with a fairly rigid class system. All three of these women come from what would be considered the highest (economically and educationally) class and thus bring with them certain values that do not fully represent the total of Persian womanhood. These points should be kept in mind when considering the following information.

Iran is today enjoying a prosperity such as it has not known for some time. This economic situation (which rests on the importance of oil in today's world) has, my informants felt, favorably affected the role of the women in Iran. All three women said that they never felt any discrimination in
work roles, nor that there were any particular areas that were not suitable for women. However, in discussing the actual type of work generally done by women, they said that employment as teachers, saleswomen and secretaries were the usual occupations of women. Suzie stressed the point that secretarial positions were for girls of very low status. It was not considered a respectable job because, as Suzie put it, "Secretaries, everyone knows, must take care of their boss". This implies a sexual relationship that the male boss demands of the secretary. It also implies that most executive positions are held by men. The male secretary is quite common in Iran and is considered a proper job for a man. The profession that all felt was held in the highest esteem for a woman was that of teaching. However, only one of the girls, Debbie, was going to become an educator. Lucy felt that she would face no sex discrimination when she returned to Iran to work.

Today, as the girls were quick to point out, women do hold positions of authority in the government. The actual amount of power held by these women, however, was difficult to surmise. The girls felt that all of these politically powerful women had risen to their positions solely on their own merits. As a matter of fact, it was pointed out that some of these women had husbands who possess only third grade educations. When questioned further, I discovered that this was probably true because Persian men did not wish to marry a woman who is more educated than he is; and most of these women were highly educated. They had to
marry whomever they could.

In matters of education, Lucy felt that women in Iran were much superior to men. This, she felt, explained the lack of sexual discrimination in the job market.

In discussing the social and kinship organization, I came closer to understanding how the Persian women actually view themselves. Descent is reckoned bilaterally, but it is the relatives of the woman who hold first position in the social organization. Family obligations to the wife's family, especially the mother and father, take up a good deal of a young married couple's time. They would be expected at least two or three times a week for dinner at the wife's parents' home and at least once at the home of the husband's parents. The families are extremely close and embrace the extended family unit. Suzie expressed horror at the American system of care homes for our elderly and all three said that no such thing existed in Iran. Nor, as Lucy pointed out, do the children ever live away in apartments. They live with their family unless they are married. Single women in Iran are not considered odd, as is sometimes the case in the United States. There is no word for spinster in Persian.

The traditional Islamic marriages were, as has been discussed in Section I, arranged. Today, however, my informants felt that young people are more and more choosing their own mates. This, they felt, was true only of the higher class. In the lower class families, marriages are still arranged. When a marriage has been decided upon by the boy and girl, both Suzie and Lucy said that they would go to the oldest
member of the family, male or female, to ask permission. However, Debbie, the only married one, said that they did not do this. They simply decided to marry and then informed their parents. Marriage, all three felt, was the only happy position in society for them.

The protective and jealous nature of the Persian male is an area that is perhaps strongly tied to Islam. All three girls pointed out that it was the males' duty to protect them which accords with the traditional Islamic idea that women were to be protected as the property of men. If a man is not publicly jealous, the society looks down upon him. This includes protection of all female relatives as well as wives. The women themselves said that they would feel hurt if their husbands did not show public jealousy. Debbie recounted a particular incident in which her husband, Ralph, and his sisters had gone for a ride. The car stopped at a stop light and another car pulled up next to them. The man in the car next to them used some language which Ralph felt should not be used in front of his sisters. He jumped out of the car and gave the man a sound beating. All three girls said that this was not an unusual occurrence in Iran. When I posed the following hypothetical situation to the girls, their answers indicated the idea that men were supposed to become jealous but the women were not. If, I asked, they were at a party and their husband/boy friend was neglecting them in favor of another woman, what would they do. All three stated: nothing. It would be in very bad manners to start something of a personal argument in front of people other than family.
Debbie indicated that she would not even say anything to her husband in private; she would simply feel hurt in silence.

Children play a dominant role in the life of women in Iran. All three girls felt that children were the most important thing for a woman. An interesting reaction to the question of a barren woman was that if a woman was barren, she would feel somehow that it was her fault. All three girls obviously know that biologically, the man can be at fault (Lucy is a graduate student in Biology), yet they still said that if they could have no children they would feel at fault.

Divorce in Iran is no longer legal when done in the traditionally Islamic way. They must go to court now and the man must show cause for the divorce. When a divorce occurs, the women return home to live with relatives. If a woman is going to remarry after the divorce and she and her first husband have a child over five years of age, the child will go with the father. When younger, children are usually awarded to the mother. The rate of divorce, I was told, is very low and it is not a socially acceptable state for a woman. All three informants stressed that women feel it is their failure and suffer tremendous guilt when a divorce occurs, no matter what the circumstances causing the divorce are.

The relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is interesting. Usually, as was stressed by Suzie, these two do not like each other because each is jealous of the affections of the husband/son. However, the
daughter-in-law never shows this dislike; she shows respect to her mother-in-law by not being herself, by being phony. In other words, she becomes in the presence of her mother-in-law whatever her mother-in-law wishes her to be.

None of the girls could remember any clubs or groups, women's or men's. Thus, according to them there is a lack of sodalities and one finds that the family unit is the strongest organizing factor in their lives. In trying to discuss Islam with the girls I found them reluctant to talk about this subject. About the only thing they would say was that Islam was fading away and that the family unit was supreme. They did consider themselves Moslems but not in the traditional sense of the religion.

In discussing the actions of women at various social functions, Suzie emphasized that women do not discuss personal problems with other women. These things, I was told, are for the ears of family members only. At social functions women do dance but only unmarried women. When a woman marries, she does not dance at parties.

In comparing American women with Persian women, all three felt that American women were much rougher than Persian women. They felt that Persian women were more feminine. When asked to define what feminine was, they said that they felt Persian women did more to make a man feel like a man; that is, to feel superior.

Toward the end of the interview, Suzie's brother Bill joined us and expressed some sentiments about women's liberation. He said that Persian women would accept women's libera-
tion, but would accept it much more realistically. When questioned as to his meaning, he indicated that Persian women will never do certain things which their husbands do not want them to do. This he felt was much more logical.

In closing this section, it is interesting to note that Suzie quoted a Persian proverb that she felt showed the status of women in Iran. She said that, "Behind every successful man, there is a woman". Sounds familiar!
SECTION III: CONCLUSION

The role and status of women in Moslem countries has changed greatly from what it was at the birth of Islam. Many of the countries are beginning to allow women freedom to work and to have a life style that is similar to that of the male. Saudi Arabia is perhaps the country where the most traditional Islamic religion is practiced today. There, many of the women remain secluded and veiled as tradition dictates. However, even in Saudi Arabia we see the influence of Islamic tradition waning, or at least adapting to a changing social structure. The growth of nursing is an indicator of the improving status and education of women. In the past, no upper class Moslem women would consider a position which required her to see another man besides her husband naked. Today, many of Saudi Arabia's upper class young women are becoming nurses. Arabia is not entirely free from the idea that nursing is an improper occupation for young women, but we see more and more young women receiving Bachelor of Science degrees and moving into professional nursing. An interesting indication of how this is affecting the general status of women is seen in this quote from ARAMCO Magazine: "An Egyptian village girl studying at Ain Shams University might arrive in a long peasant dress but she soon saves enough pocket money to buy a miniskirt and blouse to wear in her free time. She learns Ping-Pong, decorates her room with pop-star posters, dresses up to go out. Fine feathers do not, of course, make fine birds, nor
miniskirts make modern women, but new clothes and new ways
do indicate new attitudes and ideas". (ARAMCO 1974).

This example illustrates that much of this change has
been a change of attitude as well as change in outward
appearances.

Even with all of this change that is occurring, one
can find definite attitudes today that, if not exactly the
same are at least fundamentally the same as the traditional
Islamic attitudes. For example, the three Persian women
are all in Wichita under the guidance of a male kinsman.
It is doubtful that they would be here without him. How
far removed from complete male dominance is this? The atti-
tudes all three girls expressed concerning divorce and
sterility point out that for them, at least, the purpose of
women is to have children. The area that perhaps shows the
strongest Islamic influence is in the matter of the protect-
ive male. Surely this is an outgrowth of the idea that
women are the property of men.

It must be said, however, that all three Persian women
seemed very secure and happy in their role. To them, the
role of apparent second to the man was a very good one and
a pleasant way to spend their lives.
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THE TRAINING OF ANTHROPOLOGY MUSEUM PERSONNEL

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Anthropology, the study of man from both a biological and a cultural perspective, is a fairly recent discipline and an area in which there is increasing interest. Anthropology departments expanded rapidly during the 1960's as did anthropology museums. A Statistical Survey of Museums in the United States and Canada in 1965, ranked anthropology museums seventh in growth in 1940 and 1950, but first in order of growth in 1960 (1965:15, table E). Little information is available concerning those individuals occupying positions in anthropology museums but there is some consensus that preparation for anthropology museum administrative or curatorial positions should involve prior training.

Traditionally, individuals were trained for a museum career through on-the-job experience and thereby obtained knowledge of museum procedures. At one time it was estimated that 75% of the employees in 90% of American museums had no previous museum experience or training (Reimann 1960:280). Other means of self-education were attendance at museum workshops; at state, regional, and national meetings; and the reading of various regional and national museum publications as well as visitation to other museums. Learning museum work by doing is still considered a feasible method of preparing for a museum career by some museum authorities (O'Dea 1970).
This type of training may be considered provincial in the sense that the experience gained may be applicable to only similar circumstances and limits the variety of programs and exhibit techniques attempted.

The 1973 report by the Museum Studies Curriculum Committee of the American Association of Museums stated in Museum Studies: A Curriculum Guide for Universities and Museums the committee opinion concerning this kind of "training."

This kind of training may have been sufficient when the profession was small and few persons were entering it. Even then, though, the hit-or-miss approach wasted time and did not guarantee that the museum personnel had any uniform training. As employer could be sure that librarians, for example, understood the basic requirements of librarianship, he was not as certain of museum professionals. They lacked a shared background of theoretical and technical knowledge, a sense of purpose, and a code of ethics. They often ignored their own professional museum concerns and gave their allegiance to their subject-matter disciplines; they attended art history, historical, or scientific meetings, not museum conferences. This approach weakened the museum profession. The preoccupation of many museum professionals with their subject-matter specialties instead of the total museum welfare has contributed recently to the accusation of counterculture groups that the museum is an ivory tower (1973:6).

The Belmont Report stated that most American museums were insufficiently staffed and also that many staff members were inadequately trained (Fleming 1969:28). Richard Grove cynically indicated that campus museums have a duty in the
training of professional museum workers.

The evasive genius of the campus museum is probably best seen as it is brought to bear on the training of museum workers. If you are a part of an institution of higher education, you must apply the most advanced skill, the most exquisite rationalizing in order to get away with not educating students in the ways in which you are best fitted. Yet academic museums in droves have managed to evade any effort at all toward training professional museum workers (1969:31-32).

A recent publication of the American Association of Museums shows there are 63 museum studies programs available in this country offered by colleges and universities (Burcaw 1969). Many of them consist of only one or two courses in museum training at each institution. A number of the courses can be taken by undergraduates and graduate students and applied as elective hours in programs leading to undergraduate and graduate degrees. There are 10 colleges or universities which offer masters' degrees in some aspect of museum work. Although many college and university administrators establish prerequisites such as doctorate degrees for employment in higher education institutions, there are at present no doctorate programs in museology in the United States. Academic administrators are not cognizant of the fact that superior academic achievement and advanced degrees alone do not automatically provide potential for museum work or the requisite talent and stamina for a successful museum career in the college milieu.
Burcaw also saw the campus museum as having a responsibility in museum training:

As a museum operated in the public interest by educated people spending, for the most part, tax funds, it has been an obligation to the public and to the profession to raise the standards of that profession and to improve the quality of its product (1969:16).

Burcaw also mentioned that the campus museum as a part of a school, shares in that school's obligation to provide educational and vocational training to its students (1969:16).

Several other studies have been conducted to confirm that there is a shortage of trained museum personnel. Shortage of trained personnel, insufficient space, and inadequate funds were the major problems perceived by museum directors in two studies (Huffer 1971:147; Peikert 1956:218). The problem of the lack of trained personnel is a complicated one. The following conclusions noted by Peikert perhaps summarized the problem. A lack of policy was noted in most colleges and universities regarding qualifications of museum staff members for museum work. The lack of trained personnel was partly due to the lack of university classes available. Because the vast educational possibilities in these museums were remaining hidden to some administrators, a wealth of material held in these institutions was being only partially utilized (Peikert 1956:223).

Peikert recommended revising standards for museum personnel in colleges and universities, initiating an inter-college museum program and the publication of education
journal articles by museum personnel to allow educational
leaders to become more aware of the instructional potential-
ities of museums.

There is lack of agreement in this area. Recently, a
spokesman for the Office of Museum Programs, Smithsonian
Institution, stated at the Meeting of University Museum
Representatives at the 1974 Mountain-Plains Museum Conference
that the field did not need additional museum training
programs. He thought perhaps there was a need for better
ones, but not more (Forrest 1974:3). The lack of trained
museum personnel is not a concern only of those interested
in higher education but the problem is so apparent that it
has gained national attention. United States Congressman
John Brademas feels that more Federal support should be pro-
vided for "training first class museum staff through museum
internships, fellowships, and training courses" (1969:17).

Anthropology departments in the United States have
an obligation to provide trained museum personnel to operate
the numerous campus anthropology museums. The departments
should be aware that an advanced degree in the discipline is
not comparable to museum experience and training, and the
degree is no assurance that any individual can be a compe-
tent museum curator or director. In order to justify the
existence of anthropology museums and the necessary expendi-
itures, anthropology museums need to be run in a professional
manner and not simply be examples of "open storage." Because
of the current financial pressures in colleges and universi-
ties, it is essential that anthropology departments provide trained museum personnel for the successful operation of campus anthropology museums.
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OBSERVATIONS ON A PRESCHOOLER'S FIRST EXPERIENCE
WITH CROSS-CULTURAL LIVING

Charlotte J. Frisbie
While many people travel with their children, only those connected with the Foreign Service, military, various religious and secular service agencies, and sometimes, anthropologists live through the reactions which children have to living in a cultural milieu different from their own. Such reactions seem worthy of noting, for they not only indicate some of the steps in the process of adjusting to another way of life, but also show that even for a preschooler, the adjustment process is often difficult before it becomes rewarding.

Anthropologists are well acquainted with the phenomenon termed, "culture shock," and indeed, expect to experience it as part of the initial period of their work among contemporary people of a culture other than the one they call "home". Briefly, this phenomenon implies that shortly after arrival in culture X, the researcher will have trouble adjusting to the different customs, values, and practices. He or she will be annoyed, frustrated, angered, depressed, and/or disgusted, and will often ask, "Just why did I come here in the first place," and, "Why don't I give up and go home?" However, fieldworkers know that this period of culture shock must end, or rather, the adjustment must be made if the field work is to proceed. Only by resolving the problems of shock can the researcher hope to observe and participate in the new environment and begin effective data collection. Perhaps even more importantly, only after the resolution of culture shock can the anthropologist strive to practice culture relativism, the doctrine by which one views other solutions to life's events and problems with tolerance, understanding, and without ethnocentric judgments based on
comparisons to "your own way".

My husband and I, being a team of anthropologists, believe in the many potentially-positive benefits which can be derived from exposing children to cross-cultural experiences at an early age. Thus, in 1971, when I received a grant from the American Philosophical Society and further support from my own university to complete research on the life histories of a Navajo medicine man and his wife, both of us viewed it as an excellent opportunity for our daughter, then three and one-half years old and an only child, to experience life in a different culture. My own teaching commitments limited research time to the summer months, and since my husband was then finishing his Ph.D dissertation, we decided that Elizabeth, our redheaded preschooeler, would spend the summer with me in New Mexico and Arizona, particularly Many Cottonwoods.¹

The Navajo, a North American Indian tribe of Athabascan linguistic stock, currently number 120,000, and are known as the largest and the fastest growing Indian tribe in North America. While the prehistoric route used in their original migration southward from a northern Canadian interior homeland, and the date of migration remain problematical, today, most Navajo live on a reservation which extends over portions of four southwestern states: Arizona, New Mexico, Utah, and Colorado. This reservation, approximately the size of West Virginia, includes many geologic formations of exquisite natural beauty and sites of archaeological and historic interests. It also provides the setting for Navajo daily life, which today revolves around an economy based on farming, sheep herding, the crafts of weaving
and silversmithing, and wage work (Cf. Kluckhohn and Leighton, 1946 and Underhill, 1953 for readable introductions to Navajo culture).

Having worked intermittently with "The People," (as the Navajo call themselves) since 1963, I had few qualms about returning during the summer of 1971; actually, I was excited about the opportunity, not only as a researcher, but also, for the first time, as a parent. The chance to share cross-cultural experiences with our daughter had come, and I was eager that she learn to know my Navajo friends and to understand and appreciate the beauty of many aspects of their culture. Elizabeth had had one earlier day-long exposure to The People, at the age of eighteen months. This experience had been mainly negative for all non-Nativo concerned, since Elizabeth got diarrhea from the drinking water and was unable to take her customary daytime naps. However, having decided to ignore the results of that visit because "obviously she was too young," I gave little further thought to her potential reactions to a three-month stay with the Navajo.

Not wanting to influence Elizabeth's perceptions and reactions to any great extent, I restricted her preparation for the trip to a few pieces of information which I knew would make her summer easier. She was introduced to Navajo material culture items, such as rugs, clothes, jewelry, moccasins, weaving tools, and rattles, and she was also shown slides of the family with whom we would be staying. Ages, names, and kin relationships of each person in the four domestic units of the extended family were explained numerous times.
In terms of field equipment, no special changes were made in my usual field preparations except for the addition of some child-oriented medical supplies, field clothes for Elizabeth, her "Linus" blanket, and a few books and toys which she decided to take with her. The latter included a Raggedy Ann, plastic horse, ball, and a Teddy Bear, which with the blanket, was her constant nighttime companion.

Our original departure was delayed for two days when Elizabeth contracted a bad case of Poison Sumac (from who knows where). When medical treatment had been secured, I decided (mainly because of time limitations) to go ahead and leave, hoping that the rash and sores would clear up during the drive to Arizona. During the trip, I continued Elizabeth's preparation by teaching her how to say a few words in Navajo, such as "hello," "yes," "no," "grandmother," "mother," "dog," "horse," "sheep," "car," and "house." I also taught her to sing several Navajo secular songs, an activity always related to my visits with this particular family, in view of previous work on Navajo ceremonialism with the grandfather, John Harvey, the now-deceased Blessingway singer and male subject of the life history (cf. Johnson 1964, Frisbie, 1967, 1968, 1970).

Descriptions: Elizabeth and the Summer Living Situation

The child who accompanied me was then a three and one-half year old, red headed, left-handed girl. In her own culture, she is physically active, highly imaginative, talkative, outgoing and quite sensitive and perceptive. A non-relative has described her as follows: "How to describe a little girl named Elizabeth? It is difficult to describe anything that is like quicksilver. When one meets her, she seems very shy--almost afraid of people, but
there is an inquisitiveness in her eyes that belies her fear. After five or ten minutes, Elizabeth wants to know what everything is for and her intelligent conversation and large vocabulary makes you aware that this little girl has a lot of potential. She is pretty with beautiful red hair and the creamy complexion to match. She is petite. She is well dressed, but manages to look somewhat askew; in other words, she is not a little girl who will sit for hours in a party dress, looking all the time as if she had just gotten dressed up.2

Our living situation was such that Elizabeth and I lived with an extended family, composed of four physically-separate households who shared the traditional Navajo house or hogan for ceremonial occasions, as well as the cookshack, sheep corrals and barn. The extended family included twenty-eight people, twenty of whom spoke both Navajo and English. Seventeen of the twenty-eight were home at least part of each day, four more were there on weekends, and two more were there for three weeks of the summer. Four generations were represented, the oldest being Sarah Harvey, eighty-two, and the youngest, Jackie Yazz, eighteen months. Elizabeth and I did not have a separate dwelling; instead, we slept in a room with two children, next to a room with two other children and Sarah Harvey, the eighty-two year old, widowed, great grandmother, source of the second life history.

The Field Situation

The project entailed further work with Sarah Harvey both on her own life history and remaining supportive information for her husband's (previously collected).3 Other family members and relatives were interviewed, and much work of an ethnohistorical
nature was done in the community of Many Cottonwoods. Work, similar to the latter, but of an even greater amount was also done in Window Rock, St. Michaels, and Ganado; this work included spending hours on tribal records, documents, minutes, talking with officials connected with John Harvey, and reviewing photograph collections, letters and vital statistics at both government offices and missions. Thus, travel and research away from Many Cottonwoods was just as much a part of the summer's project as additional work there.

Reactions to the Field Situation

In general, the summer was a positive one for Elizabeth. Among the "firsts" it included for her were: field work, the cross-cultural experience itself, culture shock, separation of the family, different language, "drunks," cars stuck in the mud, no naps or possibility thereof, bogey man, butchering, ceremonies, sheep herding, horseback riding, waiting for people for hours, snakes, sleeping in a bed rather than a crib, and learning to go to the bathroom in the bush.

When the summer was over, Elizabeth related many of her new experiences to her friends, and incorporated the experiences and the associated concepts in her play activities as well. She developed a continuing appreciation for sheep, goats, mountains, arroyos, tumbleweeds and canyons, increased her vocabulary immensely, and was introduced to a new culture, some of its ceremonies and other aspects. She also developed an expanded sense of independence and personal resourcefulness, made some very close friends, and continues to remain eager to return to Navajo land.
However, before the cross-cultural living experience became positive, Elizabeth had many negative reactions. These were rarely caused by medical problems or problems with the environment, climate, or diet. Although Elizabeth still had some healing scabs when we arrived and was still scratching them, she was healthy throughout the summer. Her brief physical problems included falling out of bed several times (her first experiences away from a crib and with sleeping with her mother), falling and skinning both knees at once, and generally being tired. Although Elizabeth was still taking one nap a day when we left for the summer, naps there were impossible. As a result she was often overtired. She adapted slowly and with great difficulty to communal sleeping arrangements, the snoring of others, noise during the night of people, dogs, radios, and to the lights which were inadvertently switched on to look for objects during the evening.

In terms of the environment, Elizabeth had her first experience with snakes (three, one a rattlesnake), and also was around sheep and goats for the first time. The latter resulted in an amusing incident on August 29, when she returned from a walk with some of the children to give me a present—sheep dung which she had labelled "a pine cone." Although she occasionally requested familiar staples, her only negative reaction to food was a two-day refusal to eat after becoming aware of what butchering meant. The particular sheep in question had become one of her playmates and "pets."

The most intensive reactions to the field situation on Elizabeth's part took place during the first three weeks;
after that, basic adjustments had been made, and her tolerance increased, especially as life in Many Cottonwoods became interspersed with alterations in location and activities. Some of the problems to be identified below, such as teasing of a particular type, remained insurmountable for Elizabeth throughout the entire summer and affected her reentry behavior upon returning to Illinois. In general, however, her adjustment was much more rapid and accomplished with much greater facility than I had hoped.

The First Week

During the first week Elizabeth adapted to the children and the Navajo way of playing. The first day she played mainly be herself, drawing roads in the sand with sticks, and watching the others. The second day, she brought pine cones home from a walk in the arroyo as a present for Sarah (who spoke no English), and started trying to find out what the children would like to play. She asked them if they knew games she played at her nursery school (Farmer in the Dell, London Bridge); blank faces were the response. Then she asked where their toys were, and how come they had no story books; answer, "we just don't have any."

After a few more abortive attempts, she hit on "Hide and Seek," which the group mutually enjoyed, and then she finally started telling some of them fairy tales, which included bad witch stories (which are not very acceptable among the Navajo, to say the least). That day she also went for her first horseback ride. The third day she began to play with all ages and with both male and female children; she began to react to the linguistic barrier, asking frequently "how do you say---in
Navajo" (a habit which she continued through most of the summer). She also began picking flowers, more pine cones, and feeding the sheep. She realized that Sarah did not speak English that day, when she got in trouble with her for running inside the house; the question which resulted was "Mommy, how come she can't understand me? I want to talk to her."

The first week also included some other events. Day one included two comments which were inappropriate in terms of the field situation; the first was Elizabeth's repeatedly telling an eight and one-half year old boy, Michael, that his shirt and pants were dirty and should be washed. The second (on that same day) was her telling Bud, the new husband of Mariam, one of Sarah's daughters, (whose attempts to befriend us were kept at a bare minimum during the entire summer) that he "looked like a doodoow with that rag around (his) head" (when he put on his headband). The following day, she was introduced to the word "drunks" and the associated behavior; this was incomprehensible to her, and she kept repeating throughout the day, "Mommy, what are grunks?" This same day she reacted to her nickname, which had just been announced by Mariam; Elizabeth insisted that this was not her name, that her name was Elizabeth, and that her Mommy's name was no---(my nickname) but that it was Mommy. The third day she continued to pursue attempts to understand what "drunks" were by approaching those so labelled the previous day by the family, and saying, "Bud (and/or Sam, Mariam says you're a grunk and we have to be quiet around you; are you a grunk?"

Simultaneous with these first week's events were some others which Elizabeth found difficult to manage. The first involved
her toys; Raggedy Ann disappeared and later turned up in the mud outside, dirty, squashed, and covered completely with black magic marker scribbling. The plastic horse was broken and the ball disappeared. While Elizabeth had readily offered these as play objects to the children, she was unprepared for their destruction, or for the children's replies of "don't cry, it doesn't matter" which followed her reaction to the events.

It was at this time that the first signs of separation pangs also became obvious. The third night, saying "Star Bright, Star Light" while looking out the window before bedtime, Elizabeth wished for her Daddy. The next day she asked me twice "if summer was over now," and the following night, she dreamed her Daddy was dead and woke up terribly upset.

The fourth day was perhaps the worse in Elizabeth's own culture shock; the particular incident to which I am referring entailed her introduction to the bogey man. Although I knew this creature was used as a social control mechanism among the Navajo, I had not told Elizabeth about it earlier, and she had had no earlier contact with this phenomenon. This particular night, as it became dark, she came running into the room where I was talking with several women, crying and sobbing, saying, "Mommy, Mommy is there really a bogey man? Is he really going to eat me up? Save me." A sixteen year old girl, Lucy, had just used him as a threat to get Elizabeth to come inside at night, (telling her that the bogey man ate little girls, that he was big and had lots of hair, and that he would get her).
The Second Week

The second week included more of the same, as well as some teasing. The bogey man was used twice more and the third time, it became obvious to me that Elizabeth now believed in it. Problems with reactions to alcohol continued to be prevalent. One night at dinner, some women were trying to escort someone who was inebriated from the table to the hogan; the latter turned on Joseph, a twelve-year old boy, and tried to hit him with a chair. Elizabeth jumped up and screamed, "Stop it; don't you hurt him," which only seemed to make matters worse. When the problems continued the next day, Sarah began to cry; Elizabeth went over and hugged her, and could not understand why she was crying and would not stop.

The next day, Elizabeth reacted to the fact that Navajos spit. It began with a remark to Mariam, "Don't spit like that" and came to a head with a question while people were spitting outside the door during a meal; "Mommy, how come the Navajos spit outside the door like that? Don't they have germs too?"

Other reactions to cultural differences were also expressing themselves in an increasing number of questions. Elizabeth had already learned that she could get something to eat in any of the households, and was using this traveling routine to fill herself up. My comment on her behavior was met with, "Well, Mommy, how come the Navajos don't have enough food? I'm hungry." On the same day as this discussion, her question about dessert occurred during dinner, with everyone from Mariam's household present; "Mommy, how come the Navajos don't have dessert?" (A very interesting question since
while she has dessert at nursery school, dessert is a rarity in her own home.) During this week, the request for peanut butter and jelly sandwiches began.

Crying became more frequent as the level of exhaustion increased, and Elizabeth even managed to have a tantrum in one of the trading posts. Although some behavior which I considered appropriate and considerate (such as picking flowers for an ailing Mariam) continued, for the most part Elizabeth, with increasing frequency, began to act inappropriately, by both Navajo and non-Navajo standards. This corresponded with my initial interview attempts and did little to increase our own friendly interaction.

Role conflicts were increased by another situation that week, involving Elizabeth's Teddy Bear. Elizabeth and I had gone away from Many Cottonwoods for the day in order that I might work at St. Michaels. Her Teddy Bear had been left on the bed, and while we were gone, and Sarah and Lucy were cleaning, Sarah found it, and turned it over, whereupon it make its "cow-like-moo" noise and scared her. The Teddy Bear was gone when we returned, and Elizabeth noticed it immediately. I asked Lucy about its possible whereabouts, and she told me that Sarah had made her take it out of the house and had told her to tell me she was upset with me. I went to talk to her and was told that I should have known better than to bring a thing like that to their house. "If you believe in Navajo sings, you don't keep those things in your house; if you have a jish (medicine bundle) there you don't keep them there either."

We found the bear at the house of Marie, another of Sarah's
daughters. Marie reported that a similar event had taken place when she had purchased a big bear for one of her children when she was Elizabeth's age; Marie had had to throw it out, and she suggested that we get rid of this one too. Elizabeth refused, saying it was hers, it was only a pretend bear, she'd tell "Grandma" it wasn't real, and tell her not to be afraid of it. She and I took a walk and talked and talked about it, partially because I was trying to make a decision which would be acceptable to all. I finally decided to put the bear in the trunk of the car, with the understanding that while we were away from Many Cottonwoods, Elizabeth could sleep with it, because then people would not be afraid of it. The only part of this event that Elizabeth seemed to comprehend was that since we were staying with "Grandma," we did not want to upset her, and if she really was afraid of the "pretend bear," we should put it away so it did not scare her.

The Third Week

The third week represented in most ways the culmination of Elizabeth's culture shock; during this time all of the remaining adjustments to life in a different culture which were going to take place occurred. Elizabeth's questions continued, loud and clear, and rarely in appropriate situations. The third week the inquiries included, in addition to repetition of earlier ones, "How come we're always waiting and waiting for people?" (outside the trading post). Despite the explanation, when the group returned to the car, Elizabeth rephrased her question into: "Why do you take so long in the store, and
how come Mommy says we have to wait for you?" The noise level at night was also still bothering Elizabeth who now frequently verbalized that she was tired. One night as we were laying in bed listening to the dogs barking, people talking in the next room, the radio playing, and bureau drawers being opened and shut, she said: "Mommy, why don't they be quiet so we can sleep? If they don't stop it, I'm going to go out there and clamp my hands over their mouths and scream and yell at them." This was followed by one final remark the next night: "Why do they scream and yell when it's time to be sleeping?" From that night on, however, Elizabeth adapted and slept through almost everything.

It was during the third week that the separation problems were most acutely felt. Daily remarks such as "Come on, Mommy; summer is over now; I want to go back to my house," and repeated questions about "how long is summer?" were frequent occurrences. Then too, during this week Elizabeth announced that she knew that Daddy really was never going to come out and join us.

It was also during this week that the teasing of Elizabeth by many children of all different ages became almost malicious, at least from my point of view. It began with Joseph telling her I was "going bye bye without her," and grew into threats from many of the children (perhaps because Elizabeth acted so violently to the suggestion), that "your mommy is going to leave you here for good." Despite denials on my part, and constant attempts to take her wherever I went, (which some days frustrated research
attempts beyond words), these made a lasting impression, and were immensely annoying to me as her mother who was aware of her child's adaptation problems. The teasing then expanded to include surprise scares, especially by Larry and Johnnie, the eighteen and twenty-seven year old boys. The two of them would hide and jump out, say "boo" and grab Elizabeth---again behavior to which, as far as I knew, she was formerly unaccustomed. Joseph began rolling his eyes out of sight, folding back his eyelids, walking toward her, saying "A vampire is going to get you;" others joined him in this and added "I'm going to put you in a hole."

All of this resulted in Elizabeth crying and running away. There also were some children who began chasing her with sticks threatening to spank her, and a twenty-three year old, Martin, who threatened to cut off her ears if she were not quiet, getting out his pocket knife to verify this threat and completely terrify Elizabeth. Along with this type of teasing, with which Elizabeth was most unable to cope late in the day, were deriding remarks that she was a "cry baby," and fun made of her because she was "left-handed." 5

Adult reaction to this behavior was limited, more so on the part of our hosts than on mine. Various female adults, especially Sarah, admonished Elizabeth about particular aspects of her unacceptable behavior including: playing inside the house, running and falling in the house, leaving objects in the doorway, yelling, crying, playing near the campfire, and bringing sticks into the house. In general, the Navajo women
said Elizabeth needed to learn to be quiet, especially during play and at mealtime. Mariam made one attempt to stop Lucy from scaring Elizabeth by jumping out and saying "boo;" she told Lucy that if Navajos scare bilagaana (non-Navajo) children that way they can cause them to die; if they scare Navajos that way, it doesn't matter. This admonition was never made to the boys (although similar behavior was observed), nor was it repeated. Although the adults used the bogey man, slap on the face, switching on legs, threats of swatting with a fly swatter and other behavior which "would make one cry," they never applied any of these to Elizabeth, directing them instead toward their own or their sisters' children.

The Fourth Through the Tenth Weeks

As the summer progressed, the situation improved. Elizabeth's culture shock and initial adjustments were over, and even the teasing became familiar to her, to an extent, with time. Then too, with the frequent changes of scene, the occasional opportunity for her to play with non-Navajo children, and the increasing frequency of her chances to talk with Daddy by phone, she began to be comfortable in the Navajo world.

She conformed to Navajo sleeping and eating habits, learned what was appropriate household, trading post, and visiting behavior, adapted to the extended family arrangement and Navajo patterns of play. Much of her time was spent playing with the children and old, discarded objects around the place, such as abandoned bed springs, corn cobs, partial toys, pots and pans, sling shots, tires, and partial bikes. There was also much playing with ropes, balls, string, much wrestling,
tug of war, hide and seek, playing in the trees, and in and with the sheep and goats. Imitative play included building miniature cook shacks, corrals, and hogans from sticks, making food out of mud, forming animals and pots from mud, and imitating grinding, winnowing, and ritual behavior, such as body painting and singing. Elizabeth participated in all of this, although she avoided wrestling and ball games when possible, and also refused to join in any and all harrassment of the animals. The latter was another topic that never ceased to be a source of questions, such as: "How come they are so mean to the dogs; why do the children kick the sheep and throw stones at them?" She finally limited her questions, and began going out to find the gods which were usually hiding under the wagon, cars, boxes or other objects, and bringing them some left-over food so "they wouldn't be hungry."

The children never used Elizabeth to get each other in trouble, nor did she tattle on them, except at one time, when one of them had started a forbidden fire down in the arroyo. They did teach her a lot of swear words and encouraged her to go tell these to her mother, accompanying her to laugh at the reaction and result. She and they eventually gave it up, when it was negatively reinforced and finally ignored by her mother.

Elizabeth also incorporated the bogey man, managed to cope with all but the most severe teasing, and gave up her Teddy Bear. She absorbed some of the "Navajo quiet" ideal, although she never fully incorporated it with mealtime behavior. Nor could she conform to Navajo values and behavior toward dogs.
She also never gave up the Linus blanket or her bedtime stories.

The problem which in the end remained the most constant and the most difficult for her was the separation. Accustomed to two parents, Elizabeth had an extremely hard time adjusting to an absent father. "Where is Daddy, why is he still working on his dissertation, is he really ever going to come out?" were constant questions. The separation problem was perhaps heightened by the fact that she still had not learned how long a summer or a week was. Letters and post cards both ways did not make much difference to a three and one-half year old; phone calls helped, but when morale were low, they just intensified separation difficulties for her.

Reentry Problems

Few people, except Schultz (1961) have commented on the reentry problems of their children, although those facing the returning anthropologist are well documented. In an effort to add to the remarks by Schultz, I offer the following observations, based on watching Elizabeth return to her own home and nursery school, and readapt over a four-month period. The fact that the relationship between the observer and observed biased the observations is acknowledged.

By the end of the summer, Elizabeth was coping with the roughest teasing by returning it with aggressive, defensive behavior. Thinking that this behavior would disappear, once the cultural context changed, we prepared for our return trip, being aware mainly of such problems as idealizing Daddy (after his arrival on the reservation during the last week of August),
refusing to sleep by herself, and no longer being content to play by herself. During the return trip, however, it became obvious that we had much defensive, aggressive behavior with us for the first time, and that both of us found this undesirable. For a while we continued to hope that the behavior would disappear, but when our friends and the staff at Elizabeth's nursery school began to remark about how much she had changed, and how unruly and unkind she now was, we gave up these slim hopes. Some of the behavior, henceforth, was treated with negative sanctions, much to Elizabeth's amazement, since she told us, "but the Navajo kids do that and it's okay;" some was cause for spanking.

With time and concentrated conscious effort, in four months, we reached the level where this behavior disappeared (at least from the surface), and we were left mainly with questions once or twice a week concerning Navajo people, places, and events of the summer. For example, the following were typical, and continued with varying frequency for four months. "How's my Navajo grandmother now, Mommy?; do you remember Janet? Do you remember how the kids used to play grinding? Do you remember....(starts a song)?" All long trips in the car were now prefaced with "Are we going to Arizona?", and sometimes, during her play, the Navajo words for "house," "grandmother," "mother," "shut up," and "be quiet," were incorporated. She also occasionally questioned us about certain customs, especially spitting and animal treatment, and whenever meat was put on the table, we were
asked, "Who butchered this?" Finally, for the first month, all gray haired ladies she saw brought forth the question, "Is she a Navajo grandmother?" There seemed to be confusion about where the Navajo had gone, but after four months, Elizabeth finally understood that The People were still in Arizona and we were once again in Illinois.

Several years later now, Elizabeth remains interested in her Navajo friends and their activities, and eager to return to Many Cottonwoods. The opportunity for another family visit has yet to present itself, although both my husband and I have made single trips to the Southwest in the interim. Friendships with The People in Many Cottonwoods remain firm through letters and phone calls, and Elizabeth offers ideas for the former and participates freely in the latter. She has already begun telling Jennifer, her seventeen month old sister, about her Arizona friends, and if one listens to their play, it is obvious that the 1971 memories are still vivid. Appreciation for the Navajo and their culture is firmly established, as is another lesson, that of cultural relativism. Also obvious (now that Elizabeth has entered the public school system) is that her first hand experiences with "the Indians" challenge ideas that all of them wear feathers and buckskin clothing, and live in tipis.

What the most beneficial result of Elizabeth's 1971 experiences in cross-cultural living will be is, of course, impossible to predict. However, despite the problems of initial culture shock and adjustment, and reentry, it is obvious that the total experience has already led to an increased awareness, interest
in, and understanding of other human beings in the
twentieth century world.

NOTES

1. The individual Navajo involved and the community in
which they lived have been given pseudonyms in order to
acknowledge a preference for anonymity.

2. Ann Van Horn, Personal Communication on December 22,
1971; composed because I could not write an "objective"
description of Elizabeth.

3. The life history of John Harvey will be published,
with both the writer and David McAllester serving as co-
editors; Sarah's life history will be published at a
later date by Frisbie. Editing of the former is currently
in process.

4. Elizabeth's "bad witch stories" were fantasies
modeled after witches in Hansel and Gretel, Snow White
and the Seven Dwarfs, Baba Yaga, and other similar tales.
For a classic treatment of beliefs and attitudes regarding
witchcraft among the Navajo, see Kluckhohn (1944).

5. For further information about left-handedness, which
is viewed by the Navajo as a "behavior problem" worthy of
concern and correction, see Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947:55).

6. The Navajo value quietness, restraint, and order as ways
of responding to certain premises they hold about life, such
as "life is very, very dangerous" (Kluckhohn and Leighton
1946:223-226). Being wary of non-relatives and withdrawing
or at least maintaining silence in strange and/or crisis
situations are behavioral corollaries of this premise, and
these are expressed in child rearing through an emphasis on
children being neither seen nor heard. Further comments on
"Navajo quiet" can be found in Jewell (1952:32-36) and