WOMEN'S STORIES AND BOASIAN TEXTS: THE OJIBWA ETHNOGRAPHY OF RUTH LANDES AND MAGGIE WILSON*

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Abstract: The conventional interpretation of Ruth Landes's 1930s writings on Ojibwa culture is that Landes described the society as individualistic, "atomistic" and conflict-ridden. Contemporary and subsequent ethnographers disputed this interpretation and instead emphasized co-operative and egalitarian social relations. This article argues that conflict in Landes's ethnography be read less as a representation of Ojibwa culture itself than as a product of tensions between three storytelling practices: the Boasian textual tradition; Ojibwa women's storytelling; and the cultural script for American daughters of Russian Jewish immigrants (like Landes). The article describes how these storytelling practices mediated the collaboration between anthropologist Ruth Landes and her key informant Maggie Wilson. It further argues that the key to understanding the collaboration is not their gender but rather the marginalization that both women experienced as individuals within their own cultural contexts. Widely differing though these contexts were, it was their shared understanding of outsider status that enabled Ruth Landes and Maggie Wilson to explore the terrain of conflict and contradiction in the lived experience of culture.

Résumé: L'interprétation conventionnelle des écrits de Ruth Landes publiés dans les années 30 et portant sur la culture Ojibwée voit cette société comme individualiste, «nucléaire» et conflictuelle. Des ethnographes contemporains à Landes et d'autres ultérieurs ont critiqué cette interprétation et ont mis de l'avant les relations sociales égalitaires et coopératives. Cet article avance que le conflit existant dans l'ethnographie de Landes ne provient guère d'une représentation de la culture Ojibwée elle-même, mais plutôt qu'elle est le résultat de tensions existantes entre trois types de pratiques narratives: la tradition textuelle boasienne; les «conteuses» ojibwées et le texte culturel destiné aux filles américaines d'ascendance russe et juive (comme Landes elle-même).

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L'article décrit comment ces pratiques narratives ont servi à la collaboration entre l'anthropologue Ruth Landes et son informatrice principale Maggie Wilson. La clé de cette collaboration n'était pas due à leur sexe mais plutôt à la marginalisation des deux femmes dans leur propres contextes culturels. Bien que ces contextes aient été très différents c'était leur compréhension commune du statut de l'étranger qui a permis aux deux femmes Ruth Landes et Maggie Wilson d'explorer le terrain du conflit et de la contradiction dans l'expérience culturelle vécue.

Introduction

In the summer of 1932, two women met at Manitou Rapids on the Rainy River between Fort Frances and Kenora in northwestern Ontario, on the international border. One was Maggie Wilson, a grandmother in her 50s, of Scots-Cree descent, who had lived her entire life in an Ojibwa cultural context and had thrice married Ojibwa men. The other was Ruth Landes, a 23-year-old student of anthropology who had been born and raised in New York City, the daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants, and who had recently separated from her young medical-student husband. During the summers of 1932 and 1933 and, through correspondence, until 1935 when Landes last visited Mrs. Wilson, the two women collaborated in developing an ethnographic portrait of Ojibwa culture. The result was three books authored by Landes: the first, *Ojibwa Sociology*, published in 1937, incorporated Landes's Ph.D. dissertation in anthropology for Columbia University; the second, *The Ojibwa Woman*, was published the following year in 1938; and the third, *Ojibwa Religion and the Midéwiwin*, was not published until 1968. Landes also published three scholarly articles on the Ojibwa including "The Ojibwa of Canada," which was solicited for the volume, *Cooperation and Conflict among Primitive Peoples*, edited by Margaret Mead and published in 1937 (see also Landes 1937c; 1938b).

The conventional reading of the ethnography that resulted from the Wilson-Landes collaboration is that Ojibwa culture is represented as individualistic, conflict-ridden and set in a context of isolation and harsh environmental conditions. The texts describe individual (as opposed to group or communal) decision-making, competitive social relations and the harshness of lives subjected to starvation and chronic illness. "Atomistic" is the adjective that has become associated with Landes's Ojibwa, a reference to the importance Landes gives to the individual as the primary unit in Ojibwa society. Atomism has been much disputed, and subsequent ethnographers have emphasized co-operation (not individualism) and egalitarian (not atomistic) social relations, often based upon a cultural ecological model of a hunting and trapping society (Dunning 1959; Hickerson 1962, 1967a; Leacock 1978; Rogers 1969). Atomism and individualism, where they occur, are seen to be historical products of

fur-trade dependency and colonization, not characteristic of aboriginal, early-contact social organization (Bishop 1974; Hickerson 1967b). Like her Boasian contemporaries, Landes tended to employ an ahistorical model of culture. Behaviour and institutions observed in the 1930s were often interpreted as traditional, even though conditions of poverty, unemployment, cash dependency and the presence of missionary and government officials were noted.

Ruth Landes's early ethnographic interest in women and gender was also scrutinized. The review of *The Ojibwa Woman* in *American Anthropologist* charged that the work represents "an idiosyncratic female viewpoint" and is "less than scientific" (Alexander 1975:111). More recently, feminist anthropologists have disputed Landes's Ojibwa ethnography. In a 1980 essay reviewing the literature on Native American women, Rayna Green acknowledges Landes as a pioneer in the cross-cultural study of sex roles but dismisses her work as "flawed and male-centred" (Green 1980). Eleanor Leacock, writing on the status of women in hunter-gatherer societies, criticized Landes for a "lack of critical and historical orientation" and for "undermin[ing] her own contribution to the understanding of sex roles . . . through the downgrading of women that is built into unexamined and ethnocentric phraseology" (1978: 251). Both of these critiques remove Landes from her historical context, from the Boasian androcentrism and relativism of the 1930s, and evaluate her against measures of late 20th-century American feminist scholarship.

My purpose in this article is to suggest an alternate reading of Landes's Ojibwa ethnography. My reading is motivated by Donna Haraway's notion of "storytelling practices" and based on the published work as well as on the over 100 stories that Maggie Wilson sent as letters to Ruth Landes in New York between 1932 and 1935.[1]

In her book *Primate Visions* Donna Haraway writes that "One story is not as good as another" and argues that "Scientific practices are story telling practices with a particular aesthetic, realism, and a particular politics, commitment to progress" (1989:331). In Haraway's terms, storytelling practices are "historically specific practices of interpretation and testimony." Feminist literary critics, on the other hand, write of the "micropolitical practices" (de Lauretis 1984) at work in women's autobiographical storytelling. Biddy Martin describes these "microcultural politics" as "practices of self-representation which illuminate the contradictory, multiple construction of subjectivity at the intersections, but also in the interstices of ideologies of gender, race, and sexuality . . ." (1988:2). Here I view ethnography as the scientific storytelling of anthropologists. I see the collection of stories by anthropologists and the telling of stories by informants as necessarily engaging micropolitical practices. I suggest that we see the telling of ethnographic stories as involving subjective practices of self-representation on the part of both anthropologist and informant. When we begin to look for the ideologies of race, gender and sex-

uality that both intersect and comprise the telling (and hearing) of stories, we begin to see that historically, as in the present, multiple stories have contested for centre stage.

What were the storytelling practices that guided the dialogue and collaboration of Maggie Wilson and Ruth Landes at Manitou Rapids in the 1930s? What were the practices of self-representation that informed the stories that Mrs. Wilson told the young white woman from New York? What were the storytelling practices that both enabled and constrained Ruth Landes's writing about the Ojibwa?

My reading of Landes's work interprets her Ojibwa ethnography as an uneasy mediation of three intersecting storytelling practices: (1) the practice of the Boasian text tradition; (2) the storytelling that was central to the cultural and imaginative life of Ojibwa women; and (3) the script for women in American society—and more specifically in Russian Jewish immigrant society. My argument is that conflict and cultural contestation in Landes's Ojibwa texts be read less as a representation of Ojibwa culture itself than as a reflection of tensions between these three storytelling practices. These tensions, it is also to be noted, are further contextualized through recognition that storytelling practices are premised upon and intersected in important ways by differing experiences of gender, class, race, ethnicity, age and other factors.

I note here that, for the heuristic purposes of this article, I am giving 1930s American ethnography a "Boasian" voice in order to contrast scientific storytelling in the discipline of anthropology with the voices heard in the storytelling of Ojibwa women or of Russian Jewish immigrant women. This is not to dispute the well-known multivocality of the Boasian text tradition. As Regna Darnell has written: "Many voices add up to more than the sum of their parts, to more than subjectivity. This has always been the foundational premise of anthropology as a cross-cultural discipline" (1992:46). My re-reading of Landes's Ojibwa ethnography is intended to support Darnell's view of Boasian ethnography, and Landes herself identified as a Boasian. Nonetheless, the search for one truth was an imagined ideal of Boasian ethnography, as it was of modernist science, and I believe Landes was trying to meet this imagined ideal. My interest is in dissecting the particular identity factors that come into play in the process of collecting stories and of doing field work, and to argue that these remain visible in the finished ethnography. Here I think the autobiographical impulse present in Ojibwa women's storytelling and in Landes's pursuit of anthropology intersect with the goals and practices of Boasian ethnography, and this is what I attempt to show in this article.

Clearly related arguments, which I do not entertain here and which are much discussed in late 20th-century anthropology, concern the subjectivity of "science"; the importance of naming the situated positions of ethnographers and of informants, usually through some form of what Sandra Harding refers

to as "a robust gender-sensitive reflexivity practice" (1989:28); and, ultimately, recognition that a different anthropologist working with a different informant would likely have produced a different ethnographic representation of Ojibwa culture (see, for example, Dunning 1959; Hallowell 1955).

The Boasian Text Tradition

Regna Darnell has called the text tradition "the essence" of Boasian Americanist anthropology (1992:42). The Boasian text tradition is not a literary tradition but rather a method based upon field work, a method that was central to Boas's efforts to professionalize anthropological research methods. The text was a direct transcription in the field by anthropologists of stories told to them by elders. The elders were paid, usually by the day, and anthropologists, often working through a language interpreter, would take direct dictation. The objective was to find in orally transmitted, oft-told tales and stories an understanding of history and psychology in local terms. According to Darnell, Franz Boas adapted the method from the tales of the Brothers Grimm he had heard as a child in Germany. The Brothers Grimm had sought a romanticized national identity in the vernacular of peasants, whose stories they collected and preserved in literary form. Boas envisioned a similar retrieving of cultural identity by anthropologists working in the Native American context. Darnell further argues that working with individuals and directly transcribing their words, resisting synthesis and generalization as Boas did, was an implicit recognition that variability exists in local interpretations. Significantly, according to Darnell, Native American cultures sought to accommodate the greatest possible number of interpretations, rather than seeking conformity to a cultural canon, as European-based societies did.

> The linguist/anthropologist who worked day after day with an old man, occasionally woman, who remembered traditional stories and/or a younger bilingual translator was forced to attend to the construction of a culture in the understanding of a single individual. Moreover, attention to variability of "the culture" as understood by different individuals was entirely consistent with the lack, among most Native Americans of a cultural canon which could, or at least would, label any particular integration of cultural knowledge as invalid (although, of course, some versions were more highly respected within the culture than others). (Darnell 1992:43)

Over time, however, the text method began to be used by Boas's students and successors more to address specific research questions than to represent individual variability and multivocality in cultures. This was clear by 1931 when Ruth Landes came to Columbia University as a graduate student under Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict.

Franz Boas was 72 years old and in frail health after the death of his wife, Marie, in a car accident in December 1929. He was president of the American

Association for the Advancement of Science and, after a trip to Europe in 1932, had begun the campaign against Nazism and race hatred that was to absorb him until his death in 1942. Although he continued to teach and to lobby research funds for the Department of Anthropology at Columbia, the actual supervision of graduate student thesis research was by this time the responsibility of his "right hand," Ruth Benedict (Mead 1959).

Ruth Landes had been attracted to anthropology after meeting Franz Boas through anthropologist Alexander Goldenweiser, a family friend who had been one of Boas's first students. Throughout her life, she acknowledged Boas's tremendous influence upon her and her great respect for him. Her vision of anthropology was Boas's vision of anti-racist science, cultural relativism and humanism. But it was Ruth Benedict who supervised Landes's field work, who answered her questions from the field and who ultimately accepted her Ph.D. dissertation. Benedict had an overwhelming influence on Landes's life and on her anthropology. Landes later said that she had transferred to Benedict her prior dependence on her parents. In a letter to Benedict she wrote: "I was never happy until I began to study with you and I owe you far more than my Ph.D. The Ph.D was incidental to the things I was doing through your inspiration..." (RFB, November 11, 1939). It was Benedict who proposed that Landes conduct her research among the Ojibwa, and it was Benedict who arranged the funding and made all the necessary contacts for Landes.

In 1931, Ruth Benedict was 44 years old and financially and professionally settled as an assistant professor of anthropology at Columbia. She had finally terminated her childless marriage with Stanley Benedict and recently committed herself to a relationship with Natalie Raymond, a younger woman who had come from California to live with Benedict in New York. Benedict was beginning to write *Patterns of Culture* (published in 1934) and was becoming increasingly interested in asking psychological questions of cross-cultural data. She followed developments in neo-Freudian psychology and especially the work of Karen Horney. She was interested in the dynamic and dialectical relationship between the individual and culture. She was interested in the ways in which some cultures accommodate individual behaviours that are deemed abnormal or deviant in other cultures (notably in American society). The specific behaviours that interested Benedict were homosexuality, trance and spirit possession, paranoia and megalomania (Benedict 1934b). In order to understand these behaviours, Benedict urged that the topics of sexuality and child socialization become as important as the then-standard topics of religion and kinship in the collection of ethnographic data in the field. Benedict thus began to employ the Boasian text method to collect specific kinds of empirical data.

That Benedict placed a relative value on texts or stories is clear as early as 1925 in letters she wrote home to Margaret Mead from Cochiti pueblo:

> . . . there is no trace of the Zuni intensity of feeling. Of course I am getting very unesoteric stories, but if I sit long enough, I don't doubt getting the other kind. . . . (Mead 1959:299)

> Everybody in Cochiti seems to know my occupation and asks how "the old man got on with his stories today?" Now it's the "old woman," for he's been sick these last two days and I like the old woman quite as well. I've had two other offers of informants and I try to squeeze them in—one is especially promising for the esoteric stories. . . . the great problem is to find the rare person who still knows. It isn't as general as it is in Zuni. . . . Stories aren't told night after night as they are in Zuni, and societies and priesthoods are reduced to almost nothing. . . . I pay so little here I can afford to take the tales as they come—only a dollar a three-hour session. (Ibid.:302)

> My last informant tonight didn't leave me to cook my dinner till eight o'clock. . . . I've been taking nine hours' dictation right along, except Sunday, for the last ten days—a goodly bulk. But the tales I'm really curious about I don't get—the Katchina stories—I'm thankful it was Zuni stories and not these I got my thousand pages of, for those are at least rich and earthy with their manners and their religion, and these are rather the recreation of a people without either. The disintegration of culture has gone rather further on the Rio Grande (i.e., at Cochiti) than I'd thought. It makes me more appreciative of the privilege of getting at Zuni before it's gone likewise. (Ibid.:304)

Although a great deal could be said about Ruth Benedict from these quotations, my purpose in giving them here is to illustrate that by the time Ruth Landes entered anthropology, there was a definite notion that "some stories are better than other stories" and that some kinds of ethnographic knowledge have greater scientific utility than others. Although Franz Boas himself appears to have resisted it, in the hands of his students and successors, the formation of an anthropological canon was beginning (Stocking 1974).

In June 1932, Ruth Benedict wrote to Diamond Jenness in Ottawa, director of what was then the Victoria Museum of Canada, that the Columbia University Department of Anthropology had funding for a summer field trip "for one of our students, a married woman whom I can recommend as intelligent and of good judgment." Benedict proposed that Mrs. Landes's field work be undertaken with an Ojibwa group in Canada because they may be "still comparatively uninfluenced," unlike American Chippewa, and she asked if this would meet with Jenness's "approval" and for his suggestions as to specific locations. Jenness responded by suggesting as possible field sites either the Lake of the Woods or the Manitou Rapids Indian Reserves. He asked the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs to arrange letters of introduction for Landes to the local Indian Agents at Fort Frances and Kenora. Ruth Benedict also arranged a letter of introduction for Landes from ethnologist Father John Cooper of the Catholic University in Washington, who had undertaken a brief field trip to the Rainy River district a few years earlier. Benedict also discussed

the proposed research with Philadelphia anthropologist Irving Hallowell, who was receiving Columbia University funds for field work among the Berens River Ojibwa of Manitoba, and who had visited the Rainy River district in 1931. Hallowell suggested that Manitou Rapids would be a good field site for Landes.

The research appears to have been vaguely conceptualized prior to Landes's going to the field. Benedict was at least partly interested in establishing the geographical limits of the guardian-spirit-vision complex on which she had written her own Ph.D. thesis in 1923. Ojibwa culture was at the time relatively unstudied by ethnologists compared to Plains and Southwest Indian cultures. Landes's letters to Benedict from the field report almost exclusively on two topics: kinship (term equivalences and the occurrence of cross-cousin marriage) and the Midéwiwin religion. Landes was expected to undertake a general ethnographic study in the Boasian tradition, working intensively with one or two informants whose stories (which she would record as texts) would, once analyzed, reveal the patterns of behaviour and belief of the culture. Success of her doctoral field work rested almost entirely upon establishing a working relationship with knowledgeable and sympathetic informants.

Landes arrived in Fort Frances on July 6 and, with the local Indian Agent, visited by car several reserves in the area. She quickly decided that "Hallowell's suggestion was a good one" and that she would stay at Manitou Rapids. Here the Agent helped her to arrange room and board with the Department of Indian Affairs Farm Instructor and his wife, William and Helen Hayes, the one non-Native family living on the reserve. The Indian Agent also recommended as an interpreter a local woman, Mrs. Maggie Wilson. Landes immediately approached Mrs. Wilson, whom she hired at $1.00 per day, initially as an interpreter, and who soon became Landes's chief source of information.[2] Maggie Wilson had previously worked with ethnomusicologist Frances Densmore in 1918 and with Father John Cooper in 1928. She thus came to Landes highly recommended and well trained in the informant-anthropologist relationship.

Maggie Wilson was born about 1879 at the Little Forks Indian Reserve on the Rainy River west of Fort Frances. In 1885 she and her family appear for the first time on the Treaty #3 annuity list at Little Forks. Her mother was the daughter of a Scottish Hudson's Bay Company trader and a woman whom Maggie describes as "a Cree half breed woman." Her father was the son of a bilingual (i.e., English-speaking) Cree teacher who worked at the Anglican mission schools along the Rainy River. She was raised in a Christian family and learned English at an early age. Maggie first married at the age of 16, but her husband died during the first year of marriage. Soon afterward she married another Ojibwa man named Tom Wilson of Hungry Hall, further west on the Rainy River. Little is known of this marriage but that they lived at Hungry Hall

and that Maggie gave birth to three children, two sons and a daughter. Tom Wilson died in 1911. In 1914, when she was 35, Maggie moved with her small children to the Manitou Rapids reserve where she married John Wilson, son of the chief. She had two more children, both daughters, one of whom died in infancy. Maggie Wilson died about 1940.

Mrs. Wilson was locally known as a visionary and as a midwife, a trade she had learned from her mother, a renowned midwife in the region. She was skilled in the manufacture of hides and in quill embroidery, birch bark and bead work which she sold. According to Ruth Landes, Mrs. Wilson had a prodigious memory, a sharp wit and an intellectual bent. By the time she met Landes in the 1930s, Maggie was suffering from a variety of ailments, including dropsy and a lame leg. Her health kept her at home with her family and perhaps caused her to be more of an observer than a participant in community life. Her facility in English had, throughout her life, placed her in the position of spokesperson for other Ojibwa. In her bilingual and bicultural competence she resembled other individuals who have become "key informants" for anthropologists (Brown 1989; Cannizzo 1983; Black-Rogers 1989).

In a letter to Benedict near the end of her second summer in the field, Landes wrote of Maggie Wilson: "I consider her a gem and believe that we will have her with us till she gives up the ghost. I think that by now she is as good an ethnologist as any of us. I gave her some instruction this summer, which she snapped up. She gets the real point of what we want..." (RFB, October 12, 1993).

Landes described Mrs. Wilson in her preface to the second edition of *The Ojibwa Woman* published in 1971:

> ... she was highly skilled in Ojibwa women's crafts, and was furthermore a celebrated visionary.... she loved to ponder and talk reflectively in the Ojibwa's rather whining, nasal, light tones; she embroidered with porcupine quills for which she used native grassy dyes; she embroidered also with trader's beads; she tanned hides of deer, elk and moose, and cut them up for moccasins and "fire bags" (carrying tinder for tobacco); and she bit designs into new birch bark.... Seeing her shining, shrewd black eyes peer through rimless spectacles (worn only when embroidering), one would not have supposed she was a mystic who had produced mighty "dreams." Those eyes, the broad cheekbones, the tight-clamped mouth exposing constant harassment, belonged to her needle-sharp mind, ever at grips with reality. She had a sardonic humour that my young self could record but not truly follow.

Landes continued and acknowledges that she herself was a determining factor in the kind of relationship that was possible for the two women:

> I never supposed that she liked me, but she treated me well in every way. The times were desperately poor, so I made a point of paying her one dollar at the close of each day, besides small extras. She respected this punctilio, which hap-

> pened to coincide with Ojibwa requirements surrounding the relationship of teacher and learner. Her work habits were meticulous and I surmise she respected my own conscientiousness. During the several years I visited her, I never saw her smile. Perhaps it was because I did not truly trust myself to expand, aware always of the language barrier, of the strange Indian presences, of the tom-tom at the gambling games, of the smells and ugliness maintained by chronic destitution.

In her books Landes often reminds us of her youth, her inexperience, her vulnerability and her horror at the poverty and illness that she saw. She also mentions her fear. Henrietta Schmerler, another student of Benedict's, had been killed the previous year (1931) when conducting field work among Apache in Arizona, and a trial, much sensationalized by the press, was then underway. That summer, Boas had written to Benedict: "How shall we now dare to send a young girl out after this?" (Mead 1959:409). For Landes, this was the first time she had left her New York world and the first time she had been on her own without parents or husband. She was also coping with the recent dissolution of her marriage. She is hardly the picture of the all-powerful and omniscient ethnographer.

Landes sought to collect the ethnographic data that Ruth Benedict desired, and Maggie Wilson willingly provided hours of what Benedict would have called "esoteric stories." Mrs. Wilson's visionary experiences, for example, included in 1914 a sequence of nine vision-dreams, each lasting 6 to 10 nights, in which she had been directed to give a dance to save Ojibwa soldiers fighting in World War I. In the visions, 60 supernatural Thunderbirds showed her dance steps and drum sequences, designs for costumes and drums and taught her 80 songs. Maggie Wilson taught the people the dance and the songs and oversaw its performance at Manitou Rapids for seven or eight years. Named the Union Star Dance, the dance was held in the fall and spring when the birds are migrating and a few times it was also held at Christmas and New Year's. The dance lasted for two to four nights each time. Ojibwa men did die in the war, including Mrs. Wilson's own son-in-law, but people believed that more would have died if they had not performed the dance. Although neither Ruth Landes nor Maggie Wilson comment on this, the performance of the Union Star Dance also coincided with the forced relocation and consolidation of seven Rainy River bands at the Manitou Rapids reserve in 1915. Mrs. Wilson said that the first time she had the dream was the first night she "camped" at Manitou.[3]

Maggie Wilson also provided Ruth with over 100 stories of the lives of women she had known or whose life stories were well known among local women. These stories presented a dilemma: gender was unproblematized in the Boasian paradigm of culture but the resonance of Maggie Wilson's stories for Landes could not be ignored. In ethnographic accounts, male and female socialization patterns and occupations were recorded, but it was assumed that

male and female interpretations of gendered experience were shared. Androcentrism was, at the time, assumed on the part of male and female ethnographers, subjects and readers. A graduate student, Landes was attempting to write ethnography that would secure her the status of a professional anthropologist. Field work and the collection of Ojibwa texts was part of her professional training, but anthropological theorizing provided little guidance for the analysis of women's perspectives, or of gender conflict or difference. Similarly, Boasian paradigms offered little assistance in analyzing conflict, contradiction and cultural contestation that are produced in contexts of social and economic change. Instead, the objective was to attempt to reconstruct the essence or ethos of a culture, an essence that was thought to survive in the minds and stories of the elders. So it is that in *The Ojibwa Woman*, Landes describes Ojibwa culture as male-centred; sees the cultural apotheosis as represented by the male shaman; and writes that masculine endeavours are more valued than women's and that while women may seek to and often do excel at masculine pursuits, no men seek recognition for achievement of women's roles. Subverting the potential cohesiveness of this story line, however, is Landes's remarkable assertion that Ojibwa women exist "outside" Ojibwa culture and that:

> The same culture that has laid down a glamorous course for men has provided no distinct line of conduct for women. Women therefore attempt nearly everything available in the culture—and by so doing, alter the formulated nature of much that they engage in, heedless of the occupational demarcation so painstakingly taught to the men. Individual variations among women show up conspicuously as difference in objectives, technical accomplishments, and perseverance; whereas among men such minor variations are only in degree of accomplishment. If men are thought of as the specialized instruments of Ojibwa culture, women are the unspecialized; if men are considered inheritors of the culture's wealth, women are the dispossessed and underprivileged; if men are the material selected arbitrarily to be the finest medium for the expression of Ojibwa ideals, women are second-rate, or perhaps reserve, material. (Landes 1938a:177)

It seems clear that in order to begin to interpret the meaning of conflict and individualism in Landes's Ojibwa ethnography, it is necessary to consider the possibility that it originates in women's subjective experience but perhaps not men's.

Maggie Wilson, Careful Teller of Tales: Ojibwa Women's Storytelling Practice

A reading of Mrs. Wilson's story-letters to Landes reveals that neither Maggie Wilson nor Ruth Landes internalized the assertions of male privilege in the above quotation from *The Ojibwa Woman*. When read intact, Mrs. Wilson's stories construct women as social actors in a world where women's experience

matters. In the published ethnography, however, where androcentrism prevailed in the larger theoretical framework, Landes used only excerpts from these stories. It is instructive now to reread the ethnography in conjunction with the stories as Maggie Wilson had told them. The following story is typical of those Mrs. Wilson sent in letters to Landes in New York:

> This is a story of an Indian woman named [Two Skies]. She was a doctor woman, in Indian, Na na da wii we. She went through a rough life. She got married to an Indian named [Forever Standing]. He was married already so she had a [co-wife]. He was a great hunter and he went out with her to hunt ducks. They upset the canoe and he swam ashore but she hung onto the boat and she was blown away by the wind for about four hours. She came to a grassy point but still she couldn't reach the shore. . . . At last she swam ashore and dragged the boat along 'til finally she landed. She was soaking wet and cold. She had no matches to light a fire and no paddle to use. There was a little wind so she took her clothes off and hung them up to dry. Then she raced around the bush to keep herself warm. She used to say that was the hardest part of it as she was cold and had nothing to eat. She was about nine or ten miles away from home. There were no people close . . . and the wind was blowing against her. So she went along the beach in the canoe with a stick for a paddle. She kept along the shore until it got so dark that she couldn't see at all. She put ashore and . . . lay down and . . . finally she slept. It was daylight when she woke and then the wind was still against her and it was blowing harder than the day before. She kept right on again going the same way and she had about six miles to go yet before she would reach the nearest house. So at last the next evening she finally came to the house. The people gave her a good drink of whiskey and put her to bed and for four days she was unconscious and at last she came to and got better. Her husband came as soon as he heard she got there and then he took her home. So they kept on living that way hunting and fishing. She had three children and every time the child would come to the same age they would die. Her husband would be fighting her, kicking her, and was awfully mean to her. Then his two wives would get after him and they would lick him. Then she parted with him and she started with her Na na da wi i we. She was getting nice things for it. She got along so fine with all kinds of nice things and she was a great woman to tan hides. . . . she went away to the Lake of the Woods and that was where she was living fine when she got in with a young man and married him. . . . They had a little boy and she had to support him herself. He was good for nothing but he was good to her so she had him rigged up in bead work at last so he would trade. . . . the boy was about three years old and . . . in the winter time they came to Hungry Hall. The man she was first married to lived there. He wanted to take her back from her young husband and the old man scared them so much that the young man ran away and she had to go back to the old man but she never did like him. Her little boy got sick and died. He was lonesome for his father. After the boy died she used to fight this old man and he used to say all kinds of wishes so the young man would die. . . . At last they heard that the young man froze to death and soon after that the old man got blind and was sick. Then he died and she was left a widow again and was free from her husbands. Her mother-in-law and father-in-law and the two brothers and sister of this old man wanted her to

stay with them. That fall they went back to their hunting grounds and they nearly starved. They could not even kill a rabbit. It was this other young man's parents that were doing all their bad dreams to make them unlucky so they would starve to death. They were mad 'cause it was this old man's work, the reason why he died. So they moved away and left her there alone 'cause she cut her foot. She didn't have anything to eat. She hardly cut wood for herself. They told her they would come back for her and she waited five days but nobody showed up. So she started off and it took her four days to get there.... She knew they were going to make a slave of her. She did everything, cutting wood and tanning hides for them. So she did not stay there at all but went to another place and then from there she went home to where she belonged to and the young man's parents were glad to see her back and were good to her. She made a home with her own parents and sisters and the next summer she went around with her own sister. That was two years after her husband died and she met her brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law. They fought her. They tore all her clothes and cut her hair and cut up her canoe and tent and beat her. They were mad just because she had on good clothes and was making a good living for herself. That was the style of the Indians long ago. When the husband or wife dies the in-laws take everything the widow has if he or she doesn't give anything in place of the one she married. So after all her bedding and things were taken away from her she sat there and didn't know what to do so she left word there and said that she was going to get married the first chance she had and wasn't going to give them the pile of stuff they wanted her to give them. Some kind people then lent them a canoe to go back with and they went home. She was coming there to make a visit at her old man's grave the time they tore her clothes and canoe but she never came again after that. Then a year after she got married to an older man at Whitefish Bay. He was a widow like herself.... He was all kinds of manito kaso-gisuki and Grand Medicine king and a kind of Indian fortune teller. He knew what was going to happen ahead of time and nearly all the time his dreams came true. And he had lots of bad medicine. People used to say that he wished to keep other people's luck and they claimed that he used to make people crazy. Everybody was scared to make him mad and he used to be the only one to kill game or fish and the other people wouldn't kill any thing and that was the reason why people thought him bad. So they kept on like that for many years and he cured lots of people and he was a great old gambler. So she lived there with him all this time as his wife 'til all her in-laws with the first husband ... were all dead and he put her through the Grand Medicine dance. He got sick with smallpox and died so she was left a widow again and she started with Na na da wi i we doctoring and she was a hunter. She killed furs and fish and made rice and made a good living. She was a real Indian woman. She dressed like an Indian. She dreamed of all kinds of games such as the Indian dice game and snake game and the caribou bone game. She gives these out to her namesakes and she gives out songs she dreams of and all kinds of other games and songs. She did not have any children but just the four that died. None are living. She's still living yet today. She is very old but she's still on her manito kaso and naming lots of children and giving out dance songs and these games of all kinds. She used to make a nice big cooking and pretend she was having a feast with the dead people and she would make a speech over it. Then she would pretend she was

sending it to the dead people and she would pick the people out that's living and they would eat it and she would say that the God of these dead people would send the dishes back filled with life for them. She had lots of other kinds of feasts and she would make the people believe she had visitors from heaven. When she would doctor anyone she would tell them to go through the Grand Medicine and she would dress them up herself putting red paint and everything on their faces. Sometimes they would live but sometimes they wouldn't get better. She was just trying to keep up the same way as her old man . . . and lots of other rough life that is not fit to tell. She's living alone, hardly any relatives, at Whitefish Bay. She's old and helpless as a baby. Now this is all I know of her. The end.[4]

The stories that Maggie Wilson told Ruth Landes were well known in the local context where most of the details of any person's life were common knowledge. Inevitably, they begin "This is the story of an Indian woman named. . . . It is a true story." Inevitably they tell of hardship and of survival, of women's boldness and resourcefulness in overcoming hardship. Based on the lived experiences of known women, the stories are of being lost or abandoned or running away from an abusive husband, mother, stepmother or co-wife; of enduring cold, starvation, sickness and the deaths of children; of hunting and butchering a moose; of building a canoe and paddling long distances; of constructing a shelter and surviving alone in the wilderness by fishing, snaring rabbits and collecting berries. Often they tell of women who became medical and religious specialists. Mrs. Wilson punctuates the stories at various points with statements like "She was a real Indian woman" and "She lived a rough life." The message is: "She lived a rough life. She overcame the hardships. She was a real Indian woman." Regarding these stories, Landes wrote to Benedict: "I've read only two Wilson stories in the batch . . . and I find these excellent. One is her old and thorough line about the woman deserted, mistreated, rewarded, shamed, combatted over, etc. The theme is damned familiar to us by now . . ." (RFB, March 20, 1935).

The Ojibwa were enduring hard times in the 1930s and women and children especially were suffering. Men were drawn seasonally into wage work in logging and on the steamboats and railroads. Negotiating labour relations and cash and alcohol consumption were part of the Ojibwa world. White, male, Hudson's Bay Company employees and Indian agents were a continuing presence. Government control over household and community life was increasing with the introduction of health and social services. Children were removed from their families to be educated in government schools. Moreover, Ojibwa were still grieving the loss of their lands along the Rainy River. It had been less than a generation ago, in 1915, that the Canadian government had expropriated their lands, relocated the people and consolidated members of seven different bands at the Manitou Rapids reserve. The pressures of living in a large settled community were new and difficult.

Maggie Wilson's stories offer a subjective view of women's experiences that was rare in Boasian texts. As micropolitical practice, Maggie's storytelling served to educate Landes, to witness Ojibwa women's experience and to resist submission and silence. Mrs. Wilson's storytelling was rooted in accepted and fundamental cultural practices of Ojibwa women, for whom stories educate, validate and entertain. Ojibwa women told stories to construct selves, to deconstruct power relations and to claim citizenship.[5] In the preface to *The Ojibwa Woman*, Landes wrote:

> I did not tell her what kinds of stories to report, but she knew from our intensive studies that I wanted the whole life—its warm breath, its traditional forms. She had the storyteller's instinct and a dramatic flair. These biographical accounts are unique as a gifted woman's view of her fellow women, usually under stress. Since the characters come alive despite the crude English, how powerfully they must have emerged in the original Ojibwa!

What led Maggie Wilson to tell these stories to Ruth Landes when she had not told them to other ethnologists (male or female) with whom she had worked? What enabled Landes to hear these stories when other ethnographers of the period, male or female, apparently could not—even if she remained unable effectively to interpret them?

Deborah Gordon (1993) has recently developed a model to describe the relationship between Boasian women anthropologists and native women. According to Gordon, Boasians pursued a liberal reformism and a desire to educate the lay white American public about the conditions of Native Americans in the 1930s. At the same time, there was a desire on the part of women anthropologists to dissociate themselves from complicity in American history—one of whose central themes was the pacification of Native Americans and the expropriation of their land for white settlement. This ambiguity was embodied, Gordon argues, in a maternal relationship wherein Boasian women anthropologists sought to be "loved" by their native women subjects. According to Gordon, (white) American gender ideologies in the 1930s, responding to the problem of male unemployment, stressed the responsibility of women to ensure the emotional survival of the family. Gordon argues that during this period violence and conflict in the family was denied. Rather than being understood as an extension of "normal" conflict between men and women in a male-dominated society, marital stress was rendered invisible as an individual problem. Women anthropologists during this period, she maintains, projected idealized American gender roles onto Native American women—creating a sort of female noble savage. The result was a relationship of what Gordon calls "matronization."[6] As illustration, she offers an analysis of Gladys Reichard's biography of a Navaho woman entitled *Dezba: Woman of the Desert*, published in 1939, the year after Landes's *Ojibwa Woman*. Reichard represents Dezba as a defender and protector who responds to community needs, a model

of sacrificing maternalism, what Gordon calls a "communal mother." Dezba exhibits a dignity and quiet resistance but is also a projection and translation of proper Anglo-American female behaviour during this period.

This model of matronization, however, cannot be applied to Ruth Landes's relationship with Maggie Wilson nor to the ethnography that resulted from their work together. On the contrary, Landes has been criticized for having a "negative bias" toward the Ojibwa because she records instances of child and wife abuse, incest, rape and infanticide.[7] In the following section, I explore reasons for Ruth Landes's willingness to explore conflict and tension in aboriginal women's lives when other Boasian women anthropologists apparently were constructing their passive maternalism. I do this by reference to a third storytelling practice, the script for women in pre-World War II America and the tailoring of this script for immigrant daughters.

A Third Storytelling Practice: The Script for Immigrant Daughters in Pre-World War II America

In my view, Ruth Landes's ability to elicit and to hear Maggie Wilson's stories originated in her personal circumstances and in her own resistance to a third storytelling tradition. Effectively, Landes was unable to critique the Boasian paradigm of ungendered culture because through it—embodied in Benedict's approval of her Ph.D. dissertation—she was seeking self-validation and a prescription for her future in the profession of anthropology. At the same time, however, she was actively resisting the model of womanhood prescribed for her as the daughter of Russian Jewish immigrants. Born in 1908, Landes was raised in a household that was seeking to establish itself in America. Her father, Joseph Schlossberg, had emigrated from Russia to New York at the age of 13 and immediately had gone to work in the garment trade. He went on to become the co-founder of the Amalgamated Garment Workers' Union of America. Her mother, Anna Grossman, who had received a high school education before leaving the Ukraine, was an unhappily married woman who chose to live her life within the confines of the marriage, repressing both her sexuality and her ambitions and prescribing a similar fate for her daughter. Ruth grew up with the model of the overriding importance of family and the responsibility of women for the raising of children and the maintenance of tradition and security in the home.[8] However, coming of age in New York during the 1920s, the age of the so-called New Woman, Landes was attracted to the possibility of both a sexual and independent existence as a woman, and determined not to re-live her mother's life (cf. Todd 1993). Enjoying what appeared to be a happy premarital sexual relationship, Ruth had married Victor Landes in 1929 at the age of 21. Within two years she was separated from him, repelled by what she later described as the "confines of domesticity" in marriage and by her husband's refusal to accept her professional ambitions (Landes 1970).

Making this decision was one thing; living with the consequences was another. It is clear from letters and diaries that Landes was considered and considered herself to have failed in the eyes of her mother and of her cultural milieu, her ethnic and social class context. In deciding to enter graduate school in anthropology, Landes sought a new sense of self and a validation of self. Franz Boas's acceptance of female students was remarkable in its time and has never been replicated. Forty years later, in 1976, Landes wrote: "I recall the decade of my studies at Columbia University, when 'women's lib' was as yet uncoined but, under Boas, there was professorial acceptance of women as equally people. . . . it was heady for us and obnoxious to certain men. Its singularity still arrests the mind."

Landes sought professional validation through anthropology and in the approval of her teachers, Boas and Benedict. At the same time, she was well aware of the differences between herself and most of the other women at Columbia at the time. Landes was raised in Brooklyn, the daughter of working-class Russian Jewish immigrants. Elsie Clews Parsons, Ruth Benedict, Margaret Mead and Gladys Reichard were, on the other hand, daughters of established Anglo-Protestant American families raised in Manhattan or Philadelphia or upstate New York. Ruth Landes's Jewish and immigrant origins did not go unnoticed among her women colleagues. In her journals Landes often remarks, for example, upon Margaret Mead's exclusionary practices and her "old American" snobbishness.[9]

In addition to her social class and ethnic marginality at Columbia, at a personal level there remained all the unresolved questions—from her mother's unhappiness and her own brief marriage—about what it means to be a woman, to be a sexual being, about what might be possible under different circumstances. She wrote later that, as a student entering anthropology, she had "wanted to know how different societies handled the same life situations of, for example, sexual desire and marriage, particular neuroses and psychoses, or formal recognitions of success and failure in careers. [I] wanted to compare them to see where particular cultures set up differing boundaries for acceptable conduct, and to see wherein all cultures behaved similarly, and to see how cultures changed" (Landes 1965:7).

Landes, then, had a purpose of her own separate from Benedict's goals for her Ojibwa research. She wanted to know more about sex and marriage, to know that, in rejecting marriage, she was not as aberrant as her mother made her out to be. Also, she wanted affirmations of women's success in male cultural domains. Landes's preoccupation with the topics of sex and marriage found resonance not in the Boasian paradigm of culture, but in Maggie's rendition of Ojibwa culture itself. Among the Ojibwa, Landes wrote:

> . . . the general attitude in the community regarding love and sex [is that] [t]hese are considered very enjoyable, socially and sensually. The culture-hero myths contain a great number of incidents that express this taste, and often incidents are told by men in friendly small talk; the incidents are told broadly and humorously and sound as though inspired by the intercourse of cross-cousins [cross-cousins being the culturally favoured kin category of potential spouses; cross-cousins typically flirt or parody the flirting of sweethearts]. Other legendary and semi-historical tales, and even gossipy tales are concerned with sexual and romantic relations. Through the winter months older women often tell their life histories and devote a great amount of time and interest to elaborating their past affairs with lovers and husbands. (Landes 1938a:42)

Ruth Landes thus elicited stories that Maggie Wilson was culturally inclined to tell. The stories, based in women's lived experiences, tell of happiness and unhappiness in love and marriage. Some stories describe what Mrs. Wilson, a Christian, calls "funny marriages"—those originating in incestuous or polygamous relationships. Landes was especially interested in stories that described how marriages were established (through night visiting and "sleeping through the dawn") and how marriages were dissolved. In *The Ojibwa Woman*, Landes wrote that "Women often desert a husband when they have conceived a passion for another man" (Landes 1938a:97), and that "divorce [achieved by simple desertion] is nearly as common as marriage" (ibid.:85). "The people do not brand [a woman's] conduct as irresponsible, for marital responsibility is not recognized as the motivation of an adult's life. It is so thoroughly recognized that a person follows only his private inclinations . . ." (ibid.:100). And, a statement that perhaps reflects Landes's own view of marriage: "Clearly, it [i.e., marriage] is a very limited social experience, especially for a monogamous couple. But every cultural effort has been made to charge it with excitement and beauty" (ibid.:123).

Such a portrait of pleasure, pain and emotions in love and marriage was not provided for in the Boasian paradigm where gender was untheorized, and where formulaic descriptions of the so-called sexual (read: "natural") division of labour silenced gender differences in experience and interpretation. The historical result has been that, although her ethnographic writing on Ojibwa religion was recognized, Landes's ethnography of gender has, for over half a century, remained outside the development of American anthropology—much as she maintained Ojibwa women lived "outside" Ojibwa culture and much as Landes herself, as the daughter of immigrants, lived outside of American history and society (and, thus, of the constructions of gender and ethnicity which Deborah Gordon's matronization model suggests).

Post-World War II Ojibwa ethnography instead sought to emphasize cooperation and communality in Ojibwa culture and followed more closely upon the work of Irving Hallowell than of Ruth Landes. For example, William Dunning, in his 1959 Canadian classic *Social and Economic Change among the*

Northern Ojibwa, describes marriage as a life-long co-operative economic partnership based on the sexual division of labour, and describes women as passive in sex. A woman is said to be servile to her husband who is described as "active and gregarious" (Dunning 1959:131). "The woman's role is one of submission" (ibid.:132). In Dunning's account, marriage choices follow prescribed cultural rules, not individual choice, and there is no mention of love, conflict, domestic violence, desertion, separation or divorce—the topics which most interested Maggie Wilson and Ruth Landes.

Conclusion: The Limits of Ethnography

My objective in this article has been to explore the position of Ruth Landes as an ethnographer of the Ojibwa in the 1930s, and to suggest that knowing more about Landes enables us to read her ethnography differently than it has been read to date. I have suggested that we read the tensions and apparent conflict and contradictions in Landes's Ojibwa ethnography as discordant voices of different storytelling practices. Such an interpretation enables us to see Landes in her historical context. That she developed an interpretive framework premised on individualism was in large part a result of the requirement of the professional anthropology of her day that cultures be integrated wholes and exhibit a cohesiveness. Sources of conflict and contesting internal (i.e., intra-cultural) interpretations could not be accommodated in such a paradigm. Landes was seeking a place among her professional colleagues and thus sought to produce a master narrative for Ojibwa culture. The irony is that the resulting ethnography lacks the very cohesiveness that Landes may have hoped to produce. Instead, Landes's Ojibwa ethnography offers contesting and often contradictory interpretations of events and behaviours. Landes's other "selves"—the immigrant daughter and estranged wife—moderate the authoritative ethnographic voice.

Thus, to answer the question posed earlier: why did Maggie Wilson tell Ruth Landes stories she had not told to the other ethnologists with whom she had worked? My response is: because Ruth Landes, an outsider in American society and in her own cultural and class milieu, was sensitized to "hear" them; and because Maggie Wilson, situated in a culture that prescribed storytelling for women, was a brilliant storyteller with a deep empathy for the fundamental conditions that delimit all women's lives—including the life of anthropologist Ruth Landes.

Notes

* An earlier version of this article was presented in the symposium "Women's Work in Canadian Anthropology," organized by the author at the 21st annual meeting of the Canadian Anthropology Society / Société canadienne d'anthropologie (CASCA), Vancouver, B.C., May 4-8, 1994. I would like to thank participants in the symposium for their comments, and Krystyna Starker and Ellen Jacobs for their many conversations with me during the writing of

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1. During the 1930s, Maggie Wilson wrote to Ruth Landes in New York; these letters were deposited with the Ruth Schlossberg Landes Papers (RSL) in the National Anthropological Archives at the Smithsonian Institution upon Landes's death in 1991. The letters take the form of stories and begin "Dear Ruth, This is the story of. . . ." The majority recount the lives of women known to Maggie Wilson; a few are mythical stories, and some bear a strong resemblance to European fairytales. According to Landes, Maggie and her daughter, Janet, would first discuss the story together in Ojibwa, and then Maggie would dictate to Janet a translated version in English. Maggie Wilson could speak, but not write, English. She then mailed the letters to Landes, c/o Ruth Benedict in New York, and was paid "$1.00 per fifteen pages one side" (Landes to Benedict, June 11, 1933, Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers). In addition to the unpublished correspondence, field notes and journals in the Landes Papers, this article is based upon correspondence between Ruth Landes and Ruth Benedict in the Ruth Fulton Benedict Papers (RFB) at Vassar College and on Benedict's letters, diaries and unpublished papers collected by Margaret Mead in *An Anthropologist at Work* (1959).
2. Although Mrs. Wilson was her main informant, Landes also worked with two male informants, Will Rogers (Hole-in-the-Sky), a Chippewa from Cass Lake, Minnesota, and, at Manitou, James Kavanaugh.
3. See Waisberg and Holzkamm (1993) for further discussion of the relocation of the Rainy River bands to Manitou Rapids.
4. This story was dictated by Maggie Wilson to her daughter Janet, and sent to Landes on 30 handwritten pages. It is catalogued as Story #74 in the Ruth Landes Papers. It is typical of the more than 100 stories Mrs. Wilson told Landes. Also typical is that Landes selected and published only excerpts from this story (see Landes 1938a:73;81-82;84;100). Other than making minor editorial and punctuation changes, I have reproduced it here as Mrs. Wilson had sent it to Landes. Correspondence between Ruth Landes and Ruth Benedict indicates that Benedict was reading the Wilson stories as they arrived at Columbia University and that it was Benedict who arranged for the money order payments to Mrs. Wilson for her work. Also of note is that Benedict's companion, Nathalie Raymond, was editing Landes's manuscript of *The Ojibwa Woman* while Landes was in the field in Kansas in 1935 with the Potawatomi. In this correspondence, for example, Benedict and Raymond advised Landes not to use Ojibwa names, but to "select short names and pronounceable ones" (RFB, February 4, 1935), and Landes wrote expressing her hope that Benedict "would come around to chapter four" (RFB, April 24, 1935). Given that Mrs. Wilson's stories are excerpted from and are not reproduced intact, the editorial roles that Benedict and Raymond played in determining the final form of *The Ojibwa Woman* warrants further investigation.
5. Maggie Wilson's storytelling resembles the practices of Yukon Athapaskan and Tlingit women's storytelling as described by Julie Cruikshank (1990). According to Cruikshank, Yukon women tell stories "to resurrect a sense of shared experience and community" (1990: 355) and their stories teach that "[w]omen who rely on learned, shared, 'practical' knowledge to achieve their ends eventually succeed" (1990:342-343).
6. See Joan Mark's biography of Alice Cunningham Fletcher whom she describes as "Mother to the Indians" (1988).
7. These comments were made during the discussion that followed my presentation of an earlier version of this article at the 1994 CASCA conference in Vancouver. The assertion that Maggie's stories were "only gossip" was also made as it often is when gender is the ethnographic topic under discussion.
8. Women's storytelling among Eastern European Jewry is often referred to as *bobbe-meyseh* (literally "grandmothers' stories") which, according to Marc Kaminsky, is "a pejorative term in

Yiddish denoting the exaggerated and unenlightened lore of unlettered old wives" (1992:46). Although I do not pursue such an analysis here, it is probable that Ruth Landes was taught the script of wife and mother not only indirectly in the example of the lives of her mother and aunts, but directly in the re-telling by them and others in her milieu of the tales and proverbs of *bobbe-meyseh*. Even in families on the Jewish left there was an absence of stories of women whose lives did not conform to roles based on women's domestic and reproductive work. For an excellent article that explores the contradiction between the lived historical roles played by women and their absence in the written and oral history of Eastern European Jewry, see Irena Klepfisz (1994), "Di Mames, dos Loshn / The Mothers, The Language: Feminism, Yidishkayt, and the Politics of Memory." I would like to thank Krystyna Starker for directing me to this article, and for suggesting the role that *bobbe-meyseh* undoubtedly played in Landes's early life.

9. Anti-Semitism at Columbia and more widely in North American universities is well known (see Darnell 1990; Jacoby 1983; Torgovnick 1994; Trilling 1979). Clearly, not all of Boas's students were of old American families. Zora Neale Hurston, for example, was an African American southerner and Ella Deloria a Dakota Sioux. There were others—mainly men—who, like Boas, were German Jews (Melville Herskovits, Edward Sapir, Gene Weltfish, Jules Henry, Walter Lipkind and Alexander Goldenweiser, to name a few). There were strong class and cultural differences, however, between German Jews and Russian Jews (like Ruth Schlossberg Landes) in America.

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