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far too valuable a book to risk not being able to find it on a shelf among other books.

Steven A. Jacobson
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The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women. By Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America, 1983. 280 pp. \$22.50 Cloth. \$11.75 Paper.

In *The Hidden Half: Studies of Plains Indian Women*, Patricia Albers and Beatrice Medicine present some very welcome ethno-historical articles. The book, primarily historical in nature, has two major goals: 1) to critique and review past evaluations of the role of Plains Indian women, and 2) to reassess the position of Plains Indian women in light of recent empirical and theoretical developments in anthropology and women's studies (Albers and Medicine 1983:v).

In her introduction, Albers quickly and effectively sets the stage for the other chapters by pointing out that Plains Indian women have been excluded not only from the serious writings and scholarly works on Plains Indians but from the popular media images and myths as well. They have been invisible or, if noticed, are often portrayed as the submissive squaw or the mythical "Princess." Both portrayals, according to Albers, are inventions of a Euro-American ethos or worldview. The general neglect of Plains Indian women in history is also evident in the writings, research and descriptive studies of anthropologists, other social scientists and historians. This volume goes a long way to "set the record straight" about the role of Plains Indian women for scholars in Anthropology as well as in Women's Studies.

The book is divided into four major sections: 1) Images of Women, 2) Women's Work, 3) The Status of Women, and 4) Female Identity. In Part I, Katherine Weist and Alice Kehoe show through meticulous ethnohistorical methods how European images and Western values were used as the standard to measure the quality and realities of the lives of Plains Indian women during the last 200 years. Weist argues that (male) Europeans compared Plains Indian women's lives to the way women in Europe were treated. Victorian middle class women led very cloistered and sheltered lives. Plains Indians, on the other hand, depended

on the labor of the females for survival. It is ironic to note that Plains Indian men were characterized as savage, based in part on the way they treated their women. The women were often characterized erroneously as "beasts of burden and menial slaves."

Kehoe offers two major explanations for the ethnocentrism of anthropologists, other social scientists and humanists who have studied Plains Indian societies. One explanation, which she calls "practical," concerns the limitations of the methodology used by anthropologists in the early twentieth century. The use of a few people as key informants, the lack of understanding of the language and the absence of female ethnographers all prohibited the accurate cultural reporting of Plains Indian women's lives. While Kehoe argues these practical problems can be easily remedied, the more serious problem is the intellectual one. Western intellectual tradition is rife with examples of the belief in the innate inferiority, imperfection and immaturity of women vis-a-vis men (Kehoe 1983:56). In addition to the sexist assumptions of the Western intellectual tradition Kehoe also explores the class-bound conditioning of most nineteenth and early twentieth century researchers who described the physical labor of Plains Indian women as work. In addition, the classical dogma of anthropology provided a convenient framework that neatly divided the world into "civilized" and "primitive" spheres with the latter class including all of the illiterates and the American Indians (Kehoe 1983:70). She urges modern anthropologists to ". . . free themselves from the traditions rooted in nineteenth century ideology and begin anew . . ." any future studies on Plains Indians.

In Part II, devoted to understanding the world of Plains Indian women's work, Janet Spector, Mary Jane Schneider, Beatrice Medicine and Patricia Albers look at the division of labor from the perspectives of archaeological ethnohistory and analyses of women's material culture. Spector presents a methodology that documents the significance of gender in the history of Plains Indian culture. Using a task differentiation framework, she looked at ethno-historical data describing the Hidatsa. She found that, based on the task differentiation inventory, women's roles in Hidatsa culture contrasted significantly with those of men and that women's contact with Euro-Americans in the nineteenth century was significantly different than that of Plains Indian men.

Schneider examines the role of Plains Indian women in arts and crafts. She finds that, contrary to the belief that Plains Indian women were relegated to producing secular and mundane art objects, they were involved in the making of ceremonial and religious objects that brought many of them status and prestige within their communities. She cautions us not to believe all that we read in classic ethnographies that make assumptions about the sex of the user or maker of an object. She notes that ". . . the division of labor between men and women was not only *not* exclusive, but the kinds of duties which were considered appropriate for men and women varied from group to group" (Schneider 1983:78).

Albers and Medicine complement Schneider's findings that Plains Indian women did, indeed, get recognition and prestige for their production of ceremonial objects. They focus on the use of the star quilt. Among the Sioux, Arapaho, Pawnee and Mandan the sewing and tanning of buffalo hides in the nineteenth century gave way to the use of textiles in the twentieth century. Even today the star quilt, which represents the sacred symbol of the "morning star," is used for both secular and sacred purposes. The women who make these quilts get credit and prestige for their work. The authors note that this fact has been consistently overlooked in traditional anthropological ethnographies.

Part III offers some interesting methodological considerations of the social and economic status of Plains Indian women. Alan Klein presents a provocative Marxist analysis of the political economy of gender by contrasting the eighteenth century and nineteenth century Plains Indians. In his case study of the four Northern Plains Indian groups—the Teton Lakota, Assiniboines, Gros Ventre and Blackfoot—he shows that the extensive use of the horse and the acceleration of the hide trade shifted the axis of egalitarian involvement of women in the political economy of their societies to a more subordinate and dependent role. In addition he notes that the establishment of male sodalities gave added status to men, while further depriving women, young people and the aged of their guaranteed statuses of the past.

In her article on "Sioux Women in Transition . . ." Albers also offers a Marxist analysis of the status of Plains Indian women in twentieth century reservation life. She argues that, while reservation life structurally was set up to divorce the sociopolitical and

economic activities of men from the household and traditional kin based system, it failed. She rejects the notion that colonialism negatively affected *all* Plains Indian women. Based on her study of the Devil's Lake reservation of North Dakota, she uses a holistic approach to document that women on the reservations still contrive to actively control and manage the production of their labor in the areas of gardening, gathering activities and the making and selling of handicrafts. Despite being structurally and theoretically part of a capitalist system that in theory excludes them, in reality the capitalist system has little control over what women actually do on the reservations.

In Part IV, labeled Female Identity, both Raymond J. DeMallie and Medicine explore the diversity of the sex roles that women and men played in Plains Indians societies. DeMallie, using the ethnographic data on the Lakota, reexamines the relations between the sexes by looking at the cultural symbols that defined masculinity and femininity. He shows that the role of *berdache* for men and the *winyan nunpapika* for women are alternatives for traditional male and female roles. He notes that, contrary to some ethnographical accounts, he found no evidence of psychological warfare between the sexes. He warns us that we (Western social scientists) should not impose our categories of meaning on the people we study. We should instead evaluate behaviors from the perspective of the actors.

Medicine's article on "Warrior Women" dispels the notion that Plains Indian women were docile or "drudges." Like DeMallie she suggests that Plains Indian women had choices in the sex roles they played. For example, the well documented role of "the manly-hearted woman" was not a deviant role but one that was institutionalized as a sanctioned alternative in Plains Indian culture. She concludes that there were idealized feature roles for women at both ends of the spectrum—the masculine as well as the feminine.

In conclusion, this is a long overdue addition to the literature in the disciplines of Anthropology, Women's Studies and Ethnic Studies. The book provides the kind of ethnohistorical depth that we need to understand change as well as continuity in the status and roles of Plains Indian women. The critical analysis of classical anthropological works offers fresh insights into the wealth of data we already have and raises new questions for us to explore. It is also a welcome addition to the literature of Women's Studies

and provides a good historical data base for the comparative study of the diverse cultural experiences of still another group of American women. The field of Women's Studies *needs* to incorporate the historical record of more women of color into its data base. This book also provides historical data that show the effects of institutionalized racism, sexism and classism on scholarly thought about the lives of people of color. Women's Studies scholars and researchers cannot afford to fall into those same ethnocentric traps. Finally, it is a welcome volume to the discipline of Ethnic Studies because it provides comparative historical data that can be used by teachers, researchers and scholars who are trying to look at the collective effects of racism and sexism on different ethnic/racial groups. Albers and Medicine are to be commended. Their volume will become a much used and useful addition to libraries and people looking for new methodologies and approaches to studying ethnohistory, American Indian culture and gender.

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The Imperial Osages: Spanish-Indian Diplomacy in the Mississippi Valley. By Gilbert C. Din and Abraham P. Nasatir. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983. 432 pp. \$39.95 Cloth.

From his massive collection of French and Spanish documents concerning the Mississippi Valley, Abraham Nasatir separated and translated those documents dealing with the Osage. This collection, painstakingly annotated and prefaced with a lengthy introduction, was transformed over twenty years ago into a manuscript entitled "The Imperial Osages: A Documentary History of the Osage Indians During the Spanish Regime," similar in format to Nasatir's *Before Lewis and Clark*. This Osage manuscript was over 1,000 pages long but, due to its great length and narrow focus, was never published. This rich store of Spanish and Osage information lay largely unused in Nasatir's study in San Diego until 1974 when Spanish Borderlands historian Gilbert Din approached Nasatir to use his Osage material for a proposed article. In time the two men decided to rework