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Playing Indian:

A Consideration of Children's Books by Native North Americans, 1900-1940

Deirdre Marisa Kwiatek

A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Graduate Department of English
University of Toronto

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Abstract

Playing Indian:
A Consideration of Children's Books by Native North Americans, 1900-1940
Ph. D. Thesis
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This thesis explores a previously overlooked segment of Native North American literature: children's books by Native North Americans which were published between 1900 and 1940. In chapter one I examine the book market of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the boom in children's books during this period, and the role that Indians played in popular and children's literature. I also examine a set of constructs which pre-date the period directly examined here, but which, I suggest, contributed, for a variety of reasons, to the large number of Indian books made available to child readers: the Indian as child, and the child as Indian. Chapter two examines two books, Mourning Dove's Coyote Stories (1933), and E-Yeh-Shure's I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl (1939), in order to demonstrate the problematic influence of the children's book market on Native writing during this period. The final two chapters examine those books which were almost certainly intended for children by their authors. The third chapter, aside from a brief examination of the texts based in part on Western models of literature, focuses on collections of traditional stories by Zitkala-Sa, Charles Eastman, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear. By writing children's books, these authors could make the foundational stories of their cultures available to a wide audience which needed to know them. Drawing on Indigenous traditions of storytelling, and particularly storytelling for children,
these authors created books which teach, in the most concise yet profound ways, non-Native children about Native ways. The fourth chapter considers the personal stories written by Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear and Francis La Flesche. Working from traditions in which personal narratives were respected as authoritative accounts of experience, these autobiographers tell the truth about Native life and life ways to an audience of readers inundated with fictional accounts of Indian life.
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"By the shores of Gitche Gumee,
By the shining Big Sea-Water ..."

- Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha*
This thesis actually evolved out of a set of observations. First, the search for books about Indians, especially books written before 1940, leads the curious reader to two sections of the library—the shelves of anthropological publications, and the children's room. In a review of early twentieth-century material about Native American cultures and peoples, one finds that the most accessible books (that is, those not awash in ethnographic terminology and footnotes) and available books (that is, those catalogued on shelves, not buried in scholarly journals) were directed to a juvenile audience. A. L. Kroeber lamented in 1922 that only "forbidding monographs and the legends of Fenimore Cooper" were available to readers interested in Native cultures (Parsons 16). This publication bias led folklorist Tristram Coffin to publish a collection of Native tales explicitly intended "not for scholars and not for children" but for the "adult reader" (ix), emphasizing the fact that, until his own volume appeared in 1961, traditional stories of Native Americans were presumed to have a specific, and limited appeal: either as academic information, or children's fare. H. David Brumble, noted contemporary scholar of Native American autobiographies, also remarked on this "Indians as kid's stuff" trend when he commented that "much of what was published about Indians during the first three decades of this century was intended for children" (Autobiographies 162). Second, a surprising number of early writings by Native Americans were originally published as juvenile literature. Books that are now being reprinted by university presses, presumably for a scholarly, or at least an adult audience, were, when they first appeared in the early twentieth century, clearly directed toward a different readership: children. Further, individuals now regarded as significant "early" authors in Native
American literary history—Charles Alexander Eastman, Zitkala-Sa, Mourning Dove, Luther Standing Bear, and E. Pauline Johnson—all wrote books which were published for children.

In the main, these children's books have been overlooked by scholars of Native American literature and children's literature. Although these authors are considered some of the most significant Native writers prior to the "Native American Renaissance" of the 1960s and 70s, historians of Native American literature have largely disregarded their children's books (and children's books in general) as an important body of texts. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff's American Indian Literatures: An Introduction, Bibliographic Review, and Selected Bibliography (1990) presents a bibliography of American Indian authors which includes most of the volumes I am concerned with here, but does not mention their status as children's books; further, her list does not include contemporary children's books, which suggests to the unknowing reader that she has limited her compilation to adult texts. Authors like Charles Eastman, Zitkala-Sa and Mourning Dove are regularly mentioned in surveys of Native American literary history, but in most studies the fact that many of the books they wrote were children's books is only occasionally or reluctantly acknowledged. Two important exceptions to this are Alanna Kathleen Brown's studies of Mourning Dove, particularly "Looking Through the Glass Darkly: The Editorialized Mourning Dove" (1993), and H. David Brumble's chapter on Charles Alexander Eastman in American Indian Autobiography (1988), both of which raise numerous questions about Native North Americans and children's literature and encouraged my research in this field.

Those who have considered the Indian as a subject of children's literature have primarily concerned themselves with the images presented within texts. A number of critical studies have approached this topic quantitatively (what images are presented, and how often they occur), as well as qualitatively (close analysis of the images). Particularly relevant to this thesis is Brenda Berkman's 1976 study "The Vanishing Race: Conflicting Images of the American Indian in Children's Literature, 1880-1930," a qualitative examination of the "good" and "bad" Indians depicted by some of the most important non-Native authors of the period:
Ned Buntline, William Osborn Stoddard, Elbridge S. Brooks, Joseph Altsheuer, George Bird Grinnell, and James Willard Schultz. It is safe to say that, in general, critics find children's books about Indians to be loaded with stereotypes and negative images of Native American cultures and individuals. Rey Mickinock, an Ojibway journalist, criticizes children's books for their abundant "misconceptions" of Indian life and lifeways (102), while Laura Herbst, a literary critic, elaborates on the variety of erroneous images:

The Indian individual is often little more in many of these books than a stereotyped image, either savage—depraved and cruel; noble—proud, silent, and close to nature; or inferior—childish and helpless. The Indian culture in the standard novel of the past is most often portrayed as (1) inferior to the white culture, and consequently the abandonment of the Indian way of life is an improvement; (2) savage and worth only annihilation; or (3) quaint or superficial, without depth or warmth. (39-40)

In addition to simply pointing out the stereotypes, many children's literature scholars have been concerned with the effect the preponderance such images has on child readers. In her often-reprinted bibliography of recommended books "American Indian Authors for Young Readers", Mary Gloyne Byler insists, "There are too many books featuring painted, whooping, befeathered Indians closing in on too many forts, maliciously attacking 'peaceful settlers ...; too many books in which white benevolence is the only thing that saves the day for incompetent, childlike Indians; too many stories setting forth what is 'best' for American Indians" (5). Byler is interested in critically evaluating contemporary texts for the images presented and making guidelines for selecting "appropriate," "accurate" and "authentic" books about Indians for children available to educators and librarians, as well as creating lists of recommended books based on these guidelines. This interest is reflected in two other significant resources: Beverley Slapin and Doris Seale's Through Indian Eyes: The Native Experience in Books for Children (1993) (which includes an updated edition of Byler's bibliography), and Arlene B. Hirschfelder's American Indian Stereotypes in the World of Children (1982). Jon C. Stott's Native Americans in Children's Literature (1995) provides extensive evaluative book lists and an appendix on "Incorporating Native Stories in the Language Arts Program" (203-223). He
also offers a critical study of a wide range of books about Native North Americans from 1901 to 1991 through a discussion of picture books and retellings of traditional stories for children, and an examination of "Native Experiences in Children's Novels." However, Stott's goal, like Slapin and Seale's and Hirschfelder's, is to provide a resource for contemporary parents, librarians and educators, and so the older Native authored children's books (even though many are currently being reprinted by University of Nebraska Press) are not included in their examinations.

One of the major genres of Native authored children's literature I examine here, traditional tales, has received some attention from literary historians and folklore scholars. In their annotated bibliography *Native North American Folklore 1879-1979* (1984), Clements and Malpezzi decided, in fact, to omit children's texts from their resource, though they did retain those which they deemed to have particular significance: "if they are written by an important figure in Native American studies or if the intended audience seems to include more than children" (xiv). The Eastmans' *Wigwam Evenings*, Zitkala-Sa's *Old Indian Legends*, Mourning Dove's *Coyote Stories*, and Arthur Parker's *Skunny Wundy* are included, though Standing Bear's *Stories of the Sioux* is not. Judith C. Ullom's annotated bibliography *Folklore of the North American Indians* (1969), compiled by a children's librarian at the Library of Congress, is an extremely helpful listing of collections of traditional narratives considered to be children's books, and her annotations provide detailed information on the range of folklore collections available up to 1969. Like the Clements and Malpezzi bibliography, Ullom's volume includes the Eastmans, Zitkala-Sa, Mourning Dove, and Arthur Parker, but not Standing Bear.

This thesis explores this previously overlooked segment of Native North American literature. As a way of looking at the unusual array of books here, I have divided my study into four chapters. In Chapter One I will address why the larger literary trend of "Indians as kid's stuff" may have occurred when and as it did. To answer this "why?" I will examine the book market of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the boom in children's books...
during this period, and the role that Indians played in popular and children's literature. I will also examine a set of constructs which pre-date the period directly examined here, but which, I suggest, contributed, for a variety of reasons, to the large number of Indian books made available to child readers: the Indian as child, and the child as Indian.

In a number of cases, these ideas and constructs led certain books to be shaped and published as children's books even when the Native author may have had other visions for his or her work. The second chapter, entitled Mistaken Identities, examines two books and reflects on two others in order to demonstrate the problematic influence of the children's book market on Native writing during this period.

The final two chapters examine those books which were almost certainly intended for children by their authors. In some cases, these children's books were "strategically positioned" within popular children's literature genres, such as the boy's adventure story and the "realistic animal biography." However, it is clear that most Native authors for children were not simply reacting to the larger literary interests of non-Native authors, but were creating narratives from their own culturally specific traditions of storytelling.

I am uncomfortable with the terms myths, legends, and folk tales (because of their various but rarely consistent implications about the truth or falsity of the narrative), and therefore I have divided the final two chapters into two broad categories—traditional stories and personal stories. This division was suggested by the words of Mrs. Annie Ned, a Yukon woman who recognizes two sites of authority for the stories she tells: first, stories of the elders: "I know what I tell. This is not just my story—lots of people tell that story. Just like now they go to school, old time we come to our grandpa. Whoever is old tells the same way. That's why we put this on paper" (268); second, stories based on personal experience: "...this time, myself, this time I'm telling you the story" (268). Although her distinctions are rooted particularly in her Athapaskan-Tlingit heritage and are perhaps personal (I've not seen a similar distinction in other Indigenous genres), I found them to be helpful in organizing the group of books considered here.
The third chapter, aside from a brief examination of the texts based in part on Western models of literature, examines the collections of traditional narratives by Zitkala-Sa, Charles Eastman, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear. By writing children's books, these authors made the foundational stories of their cultures available to a wide audience which needed to know them. Drawing on Indigenous traditions of storytelling, and particularly storytelling for children, these authors created books which teach, in the most concise yet profound ways, non-Native children about Native ways.

The fourth chapter focuses on the personal narratives written by Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear and Francis La Flesche. Working from traditions in which personal narratives were respected as authoritative accounts of experience, these autobiographers tell the truth about Native life and life ways to an audience of readers inundated with fictional accounts of Indian life.

While my goal here is to examine closely the types of children's literature by Native North Americans published during this period, I have also tried simply to survey the field of early Native children's authors, mentioning, if not detailing, their books here. In this I have tried to be as exhaustive as possible, but I hope that I have in fact been selective. That is, in the course of my research I identified as many Aboriginal authors and autobiographers as possible, but in this I was often limited by my own knowledge of the their backgrounds (i.e. whether or not they were of Indigenous descent). Frequently I would find myself looking for names that "sounded" Indian—a notorious red herring which did lead me to certain books (E-Yeh-Shure's I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl, for example), but may well have caused me to overlook others, particularly when I did not know the author from any other source. (For example, I had Arthur Parker placed on a list of non-Native authors until I progressed in my research.) This method also led me to a number of books by non-Natives "playing Indian," a particularly fascinating group of children's authors which would make for an interesting study, though they are beyond the scope of my own. I have in mind here Grey Owl's, also known as Archibald 'Archie' Belany, and his The Adventures of Sajo and her Beaver People (1935) and Buffalo
Child Long Lance's *Long Lance* (1928). Contemporary writer Jamake Highwater, author of *Anpao* (1977), might also be included in this group.\(^1\)

The reader may note that the weight of discussion here concerns United States' rather than Canadian literature and history. I have tried, where appropriate, to extend my discussion to note if similar trends occurred in Canada, particularly when considering Aboriginal literature, where tribal rather than national borders are often significant. However, the vast majority of available documentation, information and previous research deals with the United States, and so my own work is skewed as a result. It would be interesting to validate (or invalidate, as the case may be) my ideas about children's literature and Native children's literature for a distinctly Canadian book market. However, it is important to be aware that Canadian authors of this period often published through the United States publishing houses, and so accurate statistics for Canadian authors may be extremely difficult to produce.

Finally, like many others who write about literatures of Native North Americans, I have pondered the appropriateness of the names that I use throughout this thesis. I have chosen to follow the path which the editors of the first book produced under the auspices of the Museum of the American Indian established by using a multitude of terms rather than just one (Heth). And so my reader will see Native North American, Native, Indian, Indigenous and Aboriginal used throughout, as well as Native American and Native Canadian when it is helpful to specify national differences. I have also indicated individuals' tribal or First Nations heritage as it is recognized by the individual or as commonly and accurately noted by scholars.

\(^1\) As a way of beginning, one might look at two biographies by Donald B. Smith: *Long Lance: The True Story of an Imposter* (1982) and *From the Land of Shadows: The Making of Grey Owl* (1990). Jamake Highwater's books for young readers have been particularly praised; *Anpao* was a Newbery Honor Book, and won the Boston Globe-Horn Book Award and the American Library Association's Best Book for Young Adults Award. Some of his others are *Many Smokes, Many Moons* (1978), *Legend Days* (1984) and *The Ceremony of Innocence* (1985).
Chapter One:

Indians, Children, and Books

One day when Father Butler was hearing the four pages of Roman History clumsily Leo Dillon was discovered with a copy of "The Halfpenny Marvel."

-This page or this page? This page? Now, Dillon, up! *Hardly had the day* ... Go on! What day? *Hardly had the day dawned* ... Have you studied it? What have you there in your pocket?

Everyone's heart palpitated as Leo Dillon handed up the paper and everyone assumed an innocent face. Father Butler turned over the pages, frowning.

--What is this rubbish? he said. *The Apache Chief*! Is this what you read instead of studying your Roman History?

--James Joyce, *Dubliners*
As Paul Hazard's excited quantification suggests, the first half of the twentieth century marked a "growth spurt" in children's literature in America; during this period, books for children were being produced in unparalleled numbers. However, his figures only begin to capture what was taking place. Libraries, of course, had been long-standing institutions in America, but with the work of New York librarian Caroline M. Hewins in the 1890s, libraries (or at least sections of libraries) tailored to children began to be created. The first training course specifically for children's librarians was inaugurated in 1898, and by 1904 there were children's rooms in all Carnegie Libraries (McNall 379). Public libraries across the country soon followed suit, and school libraries began to be established throughout the early decades of the twentieth century, all of which encouraged more and more books to be published in order to fill this increasing shelf space. Publishing historian John Tebbel demonstrates that these children's libraries "created the demand for new editions and reprints of the best literature of the past generations, and they had turned that demand toward encouraging the production of new books. They represented a body of organized opinion, backed by purchasing power, that

1 "Do many people know how many books are printed in the United States, for the use of children? In 1919, twelve million; in 1925, twenty-five million, two hundred thousand; in 1927, thirty-one million. In 1919 appeared four hundred and thirty-three new works intended for young people; in 1929, nine hundred and thirty-one. Every book shop of importance has a juvenile department with its own employees and organization that functions alongside a large one." (Paul Hazard, Books, Children and Men, trans. Marguerite Mitchell (Boston: The Horn Book, Inc., 1947) 86.)
had a major effect on the development of children's literature" (vol 3, 266). They were also the driving force behind "National Children's Book Week," an event which promoted reading among children. Begun in November of 1919 with the slogan "More Books in the Home," Book Week encouraged parents and educators across the country to purchase quality books for children just in time for Christmas gift giving.

Publishers quickly responded to the growing interest in children's literature (and to the free nationwide promotion Book Week generated at a lucrative season for booksellers), and an establishment that created, promoted, reviewed and honored books for children took hold during the first decades of the century. Macmillan, Doubleday, Stokes, Harcourt, Longmans, Green, Dutton, and Harper had established children's book departments by 1926, with McBride and Knopf following soon after. *Horn Book Magazine*, a periodical devoted to reviewing and promoting children's books, began its publication in these years (1924), as did *Booklist* (1905) and *Elementary English* (1924). As well, the first book awards to recognize achievements in children's literature, the John Newbery Medal and the Caldecott Medal, were also established during this period, in 1922 and 1938 respectively.

Overall, between 1915 and 1945, children's books ranked second only to general fiction in production, with 22,118 titles issued during the period. The 1920s was a "spectacular decade" for children's literature, when no category of books, even fiction, grew more quickly (Tebbel vol 3, 24). The Depression of the 1930s affected children's books, as it did every industry, and companies retrenched, cut departments and staff, and decreased production sharply, but this "crisis" was followed by "almost equally rapid recovery" in the late thirties, with steady increases, and only a brief drop during the second World War (Tebbel vol 3, 682).²

Clearly, the early twentieth century marked a period when children's literature was a booming field, and one of the most popular subjects in this field was North American Indians.

Although there has been no study to quantify just how prevalent children's books about Indians

²The information in this paragraph was gleaned from a variety of sources, including Tebbel, McNall, Hazard. I have cited information particular to one source.
were, their popularity can be inferred from a variety of resources which record the subjects of children's literature. The *Children's Catalog*, a reference listing of books recommended for library and individual purchase, dedicated a subject heading, "Indians of North America," to the topic, and regularly filled up to four large pages with listings of "approved" books about them. The *Index to St. Nicholas 1873-1918* includes an extensive subject listing for "Indians of America;" with 86 entries, Indians appear to place second only to Christmas as a popular theme. Many of these stories were in fact collected in book form. *Indian Stories Retold from "St. Nicholas"*, which appeared in 1877 and went through numerous editions, was the first in a series of proposed volumes of historic tales retold from *St. Nicholas*. That the editors of one of the most respected children's periodicals chose to begin a new book series with the topic indicates just how popular this subject was: savvy publishers publish books which they believe will sell, and clearly, they thought books about Indians would. And they were right ... the book was regularly updated through at least 1904. The vast amount of Indian material available to juvenile readers, and its varying quality (books about Indians included the eminently respectable Cooper, and the less-than-respectable dime novels and paperback westerns), led the Department of the Interior to publish a 27-page, 633-listing "Bibliography of Indian and Pioneer Stories Suitable for Children" in 1926 so that librarians and parents would be able sift through the great mass of material and sort the good from the bad.

Among the works about Indians listed as being "suitable for children" are those by some of the most popular children's authors of the early twentieth century, including Joseph Altsheler (considered "the most popular historical writer for children in the period" (McNall 386)), James Willard Schultz, and Constance Lindsay Skinner. As well, there were children's editions of James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*. Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* had been published as a "Children's Classic" as early as 1900, and editions of *Hiawatha* expressly intended for children were also in great demand, and in great supply. Abridged editions of the poem "for classes in literature and reading and school entertainments," and "for school and home theatricals" flooded the
market. Editors selected appealing scenes and events, particularly Hiawatha's childhood and the wooing of Minnehaha, and published them for an increasingly younger audience. Children's editions included *The Hiawatha Primer* (1898), a prose version entitled *The Children's Longfellow* (1908), and *The Hiawatha Industrial Reader* (1915). Florence Holbrook's primer was extremely popular, and remained in print at least through 1928. In addition to the large number of individual books based on the poem, many school readers included passages and scenes from it as part of their pedagogical material. Longfellow's poem was so much a part of children's reading that literary historian Albert Keiser was able to state in 1933 that "there is probably no school child in the United States wholly unacquainted with the story of Hiawatha" (190). If there was one book that children universally read, it seems that *Hiawatha* was it.

Why were there so many books about Indians directed specifically at an audience of children during this period? There is not one simple answer to this question, because there are many mutually dependant factors involved, including author's and publisher's motivations for producing the books, the buyer's reasons for purchasing them, and children's interest in reading them. However, I suggest that there are a number of ideas and trends regarding Native peoples and children which, because they coincided with the growing interest in producing children's literature and promoting children's reading, contributed to the piles of Indian books made available in the first half of the twentieth century. First, the North American Indian had become synonymous with adventure, an always popular topic in general, and one which is perennially interesting for young readers. Second, there was a common (so common by the end of the nineteenth century as to be unremarkable) understanding that Indians were in fact children themselves; stories about them, and particularly their own stories, were regarded as best appreciated by children. Finally, during this period, children were socially and scientifically regarded as savages, and so Indian stories, and playing Indian, were deemed most appropriate for them. Essentially, Indians, children and books had a "head-on-collision" in the early
twentieth century which created an overwhelming number and range of children's books about Indians.

The Indian in literary history does not, of course, begin with late nineteenth-century children's books, for Indians were prominent in much of the earlier literature of the country, particularly between 1820 and 1850, when authors could not write about them, and readers and playgoers could not read about or see them, enough. The reasons for this, it is commonly believed, are the coinciding interests of nationalism and romanticism in the middle of the nineteenth century.3

After the American War of Independence, the call went out for a national literature written by American authors and encompassing American themes and scenes; having won political independence, America needed literary independence as well. Charles Brockden Brown heeded the call when he sought to write a Gothic novel set on American soil, and incorporated "suitably American" scenes into his novel Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleepwalker (1799). Significantly, these scenes involved "incidents of Indian hostility, and the perils of the Western wilderness." Later literary critics and authors would follow Brown's

3 There have been numerous examinations of the ways that Indians have been portrayed in American literature, beginning with Albert Keiser's early survey The Indian in American Literature (1933). Other important studies are Roy Harvey Pearce's The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization (1953) (which was revised as Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind), Edwin Fussell's Frontier: American Literature and the American West (1965), Leslie Fiedler's Return of the Vanishing American (1968) and Richard Slotkin's Regeneration Through Violence: The Mythology of the American Frontier 1600-1860 (1973). Two other historical studies have been helpful here: Louise K. Barnett's The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism 1790-1890 (1975), which examines the image of the Indian in the frontier romance, and Sherry Ann Sullivan's dissertation "The Indian in American Fiction 1820-1850" (1979), which focuses on the reasons for the great popularity in Indian subjects in American fiction between 1820 and 1850, and suggests reasons for its demise by the end of the century. Although I have traced out the history of the Indian in American literature somewhat differently from any of these authors for the purposes of this study, using Russel Nye's The Unembarrassed Muse: The Popular Arts in America (1970) as a jumping off point, I am indebted to their varying perspectives on the image of the Indian in American literary history.
lead in seeing the Indian as the essential element for an American literature. In 1807, Theodore Dehon, for example, named the Indian as "the chief hope for an original American literature" (Barnett 22). When James W. Eastburn composed *Yamoyden, A Tale of the Wars of King Philip* (1820), John G. Palfrey lauded the poet's choice of the Indian for his subject, writing in the "North American Review": "We are glad that somebody has at last found out the unequalled fitness of our early history for the purposes of a work of fiction....Whoever in this country first attains the rank of a first rate writer of fiction, we venture to predict will lay his scene here. The wide field is ripe for the harvest, and scarce a sickle has yet touched it" (485). Such regard from respected critics led, in large part, to a literary vogue in things Indian.\(^4\)

Indians evoked the American landscape, but they also served as a way for the White writer to define his or her Americanness. In fiction, the most prominent Indian stories were James Fenimore Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales*, particularly *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Not only did these novels have distinctly American settings (forests, lakes, waterfalls, and mountains) and American characters (the Indian and the pioneer), but they also examined the ideals of American progress: Manifest Destiny, the push to cover the continent, and the destruction of the wilderness and the people that lived there, in order to do so. Subsequent writers, from Robert Montgomery Bird in *Nick of the Woods* (1853) to Walt Whitman in *Leaves of Grass* (1855), would use the Indian in similar ways, as the central figure against which (in the case of Bird) and through which (in the case of Whitman) one's Americanness could be understood.

This interest in the Indian for nationalistic aims coincided with the general literary interest in the romance. Sir Walter Scott's popularity in America had suggested a new theme for writers, but what could be romantic about the young country? Nathaniel Hawthorne, in his preface to the *Marble Faun* (1860), articulated the problems which earlier writers had found when attempting to transfer the form to American soil: "No author, without a trial, can

\(^4\) For a thorough discussion of this vogue, see Sullivan "The Indian in American Fiction 1820-1850" (1979).
conceive of the difficulty of writing a romance about a country where there is no shadow, no antiquity, no mystery, no picturesque and gloomy wrong, nor anything but common-place prosperity, in broad and simple day-light, as is happily the case with my dear native land" (viii). The new country was so new and fresh that it had no suitably romantic past, unless, writers discovered, one looked to a time before European colonialism, to the Indians. Much about Aboriginal peoples could be made to fit this romantic vision: living in the shadows of the forest, they were ancient people with ancient languages, mysterious customs and secret rituals; and they were certainly picturesque, with their colorful feathered attire and face paint. The frontier romance, with its conventions of "standard plotting devices, stereotyped characters, and a racist-nationalistic philosophy of white-Indian relations" was born out of this desire to create a romance on American soil (Barnett 18). And so the Indian was made to serve romantic ends, as well as nationalistic ones.

However, this respectable enthusiasm for the Native did not last out the century. The reason for its demise has been attributed to various factors, not the least of which was the disappearance of the Indian onto reservations, and the less than colorful and exciting realities—extreme poverty and starvation—of Indian life by the end of the century. There was by this time more confidence in the identity of the country, and so less of a need to create a self-conscious national literature. As well, there was a turn away from the romanticism which had encouraged looking back to America's past, toward realism, which looked at America as it was in the present. American writers would not wholly abandon the Indian as a literary subject. For example, Indians turn up in Melville's The Confidence Man (1857) and Hart Crane's The Bridge (1930), as well as in works by D. H. Lawrence, Ernest Hemingway, William Faulkner, and Robert Frost, to name a few others. But if one wanted to find more than the occasional

\[5 \text{ For a discussion of the frontier romance, and a thorough study of its plot, characters, and philosophical underpinnings, see Louise K. Barnett's The Ignoble Savage (1975).} \]
\[6 \text{ Leslie Fielder examines the literary mythology of the Indian, and his recurrence in mid twentieth century American literature, in The Return of the Vanishing American (1968).} \]
reference to Aboriginals, one had to look to either historical and anthropological volumes, or
where they had, in many ways, always been: popular literature.

One of the important things to understand about Indians and children's literature is
that if Indians were only temporarily (or occasionally) suitable for nationalism and
romanticism, they had always meant exoticism and adventure. The Puritan captivity
narratives had exploited this adventure to become the bestsellers of their day. Mary
Rowlandson's *Sovereignty and Goodness of God* (1682), which uses the drama of "murderous
wretches" (33) to demonstrate God's love, went through thirty-one editions (Nye 15), and many
others had as much success (Vaughan and Clark 3). Brockden Brown's "incidents of Indian
Hostility" served to create a particularly American gothic in *Edgar Huntly* and also provided
the necessary elements of terror, excitement, and adventure which kept readers enthralled.

Cooper's Leatherstocking Tales, though they seriously examined America's frontier
philosophy, made for exciting reading as well, and were also bestsellers: *The Last of the
Mohicans* was one of the best selling books in American through 1947 (Mott 306). It is fair to say
that while Indians were useful, indeed vital, subjects for those writers who were concerned
with the country, its history and its progress, the Indian was also an exciting, exotic character
to keep one's readers turning pages, and buying one's books in the first place.

What followed Cooper and the frontier romance turned exclusively on the elements of
adventure: the literary phenomenon of the dime novels. Though Beadle and Adams is
perhaps the most famous of the publishing houses that produced the dime and nickle novels,
the field was glutted with others, including the houses of George Munro, Robert DeWill, Frank
Tousey, and Street and Smith. The dime novels were cheaply made, cheaply priced, mass
produced publications that were directly aimed at a popular, and youthful, audience.

Importantly, their inaugural subject was the Indian. The first "Beadle and Adams Dime
Novel" was *Malaeska, the Indian Wife of the White Hunter*. 7 Ann Stephen's *Malaeska* had

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7 Beadle and Adams Dime Novel #1, issued June 9, 1860.
been published as a prize story in The Ladies Companion in serial form twenty years before it was reprinted as a dime novel, and this shift in format marks the general trend in Indian subjects in the late nineteenth century. The dime editions of Cooper were so popular that Street and Smith published the Leatherstocking Tales into the 1920s (Nye 283).

The dime novels took up Indian themes and presented them over and over to an audience that bought them by the armsful. Novels with initial printings of 60,000 to 70,000 copies would go through ten or twelve editions in a single year; "Beadles Dime Books" alone are estimated to have publication totals in the millions (Jones 8). The plots and characterization in the novels recall Cooper, but even more so Bird's Nick of the Woods, for scalp-raising violence and the savage redskin became the hallmark of the genre. Edward Ellis' Seth Jones; or, the Captives of the Frontier appeared on October 2, 1860, and set a standard for the image of the Indian which would continue long after the dimes themselves were no longer read.

Set in Western New York at the end of the Revolutionary War, Seth Jones is the story of a traveler, Jones, who comes upon the Haverland family, Alfred and his wife, their daughter Ina, and Alfred's sister Mary. What the reader is to find out later is that Seth Jones is in actuality Eugene Morton, past beau of Mary Haverland, who has come to claim her hand in marriage. However, the romance between Seth/Eugene and Mary is overwhelmed by the Indian adventure plot throughout the novel; in fact, one might easily skip over the romance altogether, as many readers must have done, in favor of the excitement of Indian capture and pursuit.

The atmosphere is established at the first arrival of Jones at the Haverland's homestead. The Indians are astir with bad feeling, and have committed atrocities in nearby villages. Jones recounts: "I heerd orful stories 'long the way. They say since this war, the darned red-coates have kept the Injins at work. ... There's a little settlement down here some miles ... set on by the imps and burned all up" (5). The Indians, "imps" that they are, cannot be

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8 Beadle and Adams Dime Novel #8.
trusted, and they crouch and sneak in the woods by the spring, just waiting to capture the beautiful young Ina. When they succeed in snatching the innocent, the reader is able to see the Indians, out of the shadows, and the threat that they pose up close. Animalistic creatures, often referred to as "pesky varmints" (11) and "critters" (34) with leering faces, they speak unintelligibly in ughs, as in "Ugh! walk faster" (44). Lest the reader think that there was some semblance of honor in these beings, we are told "Not death alone, but a fate worse than death itself, was to be apprehended" by Ina from the Indians, who "were brutal enough to insult her with menaces" (45).

Her capture necessitates the courageous rescue by Seth Jones and the lesser hero Everard Graham, which brings on the real excitement of the novel—the pursuit of the Indians, and countless confrontations between Indians and the Whites. Ellis takes great care in describing the "Indian indignities" (31) inflicted on Jones (a strand of his hair is pulled out), and the revenge which Jones takes by cleaving his tormentor's head in two with his own tomahawk, brains spattering over the astonished savage onlookers (31-2). When Everard Graham finds himself in the woods with one of the Indians,

Without the least noise, he slid slowly forward until he was so close that he could actually hear the Indian's breath. Then he purposely made a slight movement. The Indian raised his head, and was gradually coming to his feet, when the hunter bounded like a dark ball forward, clutched him by the throat, and bearing him like a giant to the earth, drove his hunting knife again and again to the hilt in his heart. It was a fearful act, yet there was not hesitation upon the hunter's part. He felt that it must be done. (59)

After the Indian portrait painted by Ellis, the reader must agree. The sentiment, carried by the wonderfully grisly details of Indian attacks and Indian slaughter, helped to make Seth Jones an unequivocal success. More than 600,000 copies of the novel were sold (Jones 8), and it was regularly reprinted by the publishing house throughout its existence.

Not only did the lurid descriptions of Indian atrocities and bloody deaths attract attention, so did the dimes' packaging. The titles and the covers together were meant to sell the product—and what was sold was the image of the savage redskin. With tempting titles
like *The Dacotah Scourge; or, The White Antelope of the Pawnees* (B&A #185, Aug 31, 1869, George W. Robinson); *The Red Scalper; or, The Maid of Oneida* (B&A #186, Sept 14, 1869, W. J. Hamilton); *Red Slayer, the Life Hunter* (B&A #191, Nov 23, 1869, W. J. Hamilton); and *White Serpent, the Shawnee Scourge; or, Indian Heart, the Renegade* (B&A #201, April 12, 1870, Andrew Dearborn), clearly the appeal was in the terrors posed by the Indian, rather than in the profundity of plot. The covers graphically portray Indians doing what stereotypical Indians do best: with knives and tomahawks drawn, they attack trains and stage coaches, cavalry men and woeful maidens, and whatever or whoever else might be necessary to grab the potential reader's interest.

Not surprisingly, the key elements of the dime and nickle novels are action, blood, and unadulterated adventure, and the Indian serves as the peg on which these elements hang. Their role in the novels is to create terror and suspense, and ultimately to bite the dust. In fact, it was the death of the redskin which sold the story. One Beadle and Adams editor commented that when the competition for audience rose among the many dime publishing houses, the level of Indian adventure was raised to fever pitch: "Oh, we had to kill a few more Indians than we used to ... But ours are stories of exciting adventures only; there's nothing bad about them" (Pearson 99). Even in England the heroes of the "bloods" and "penny dreadfuls" found that adventure meant to wrangle with redskins: Dick Turpin, Jack Harkaway, Jack, Sam and Pete, and even the boys of Greyfriars cross the sea to meet up with colorful tribes, including Mohicans and Apaches (Turner 174).

Russell Nye, historian of popular literature, suggests that it was with the dime novel "of course" that the "juvenile tradition" in America began:

> What radically changed the character of American juvenile fiction [was] its discovery of the frontier and the Indian. The captivity and pioneer tales of the previous century, as they emerged from the treatment administered by Cooper, Simms, Bird, and others, contributed a new kind of literary subject matter to the juvenile market. (61)

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9 See Johannsen, volume 1, for a full list of series and titles.
Though the dime novels may have spawned the popular children's book trade in America (insofar as they proved that Indians were a subject readers, particularly young ones, would buy), one might argue that the story of the Indians as a subject of children's literature actually began much earlier, with one of the all-time classic children's texts: *Robinson Crusoe*.

Daniel Defoe's 1719 novel was not published exclusively for children. Indeed, as one critic remarked, "Obviously every educated person read the novel" (Defoe ix). In fact, it was not until 1813 that the first edition expressly intended for children appeared (Keeling 178). However, *Robinson Crusoe* had long been peddled as a chapbook throughout the eighteenth century, and these cheap and often abridged editions commonly fell into the hands of eager young readers. What made Defoe's work so often read by children were the elements of adventure and excitement which enliven the tale.10 Crusoe's adventure begins as he runs away to sea and, early in his sailing career, becomes shipwrecked on a tropical and apparently deserted island. His efforts to survive on the island, his inventions and constructions, encounters with savages, and a series of natural disasters serve to keep the reader entertained throughout a narrative otherwise filled with lengthy passages of religious rhetoric.

The critical moment in the adventure is Crusoe's discovery of the footprint in the sand. Prior to this moment, the castaway was peacefully and industriously occupied on the island. Once he discovers this mark of some other human being on "his" island, once he discovers that he is not, as he first believed, alone, Crusoe's emotions and actions take on a particular cast. His "Apprehensions on the Account of the Print of a Man's Foot" (128) stir up overwhelming visions of treachery, and his thoughts become fixed on the savage horde he imagines stalking his every move. Even though there is no new evidence of the presence of another individual (least of all a malignant individual) for some thirty pages/eight years, the terror of the

10 The book's popularity was at least partially due to Jean-Jacques Rousseau's recommendation of the book as the only one which his model child Emile would read as a youth, which encouraged parents to give it to children. See Susan Naramore Maher's "Recasting Crusoe" (1988), O. Mannoni's *Prospero and Caliban* (1990), and Kara K. Keeling "A Glorious Host: The Appropriation of Adult Literature for Children in the Nineteenth Century" (1993), for a range of interpretations as to why *Robinson Crusoe* appealed to children.
possibility of savage attacks serve to focus the narrative and hold the reader in suspense as Crusoe plans and builds to protect himself from the unseen but assumed foe.

When Crusoe finally encounters the visitors, they are quickly divided into two groups: the savage tribe, and "my Savage" (159). There are those against whom Crusoe must fight, and the individual, Friday, who is raised in status as a servant, companion, subject, student and parishioner. Friday is devout in his faith in Crusoe, and in Christ. The savages, on the other hand, remain a cruel group of "Wretches" (181). Crusoe's relationships to the savages (those he must conquer, and those he chooses to save, at first physically, and then spiritually) established the relationship between White and Native in subsequent fiction, and the models of the good savage (who is benevolent to Whites and accepts the gifts of Euroamerican civilization) and the bad savage (who is malevolent, and rejects White culture) which carried through to Cooper's fiction, and later constructions of the Indian.11

These exciting events inspired writers to produce hundreds of imitations (known collectively as "Robinsonades"), and earned Robinson Crusoe an honored place in literary history, marking "the true beginning of the adventure story for young people" (Thwaite 157). The Robinsonades repeated these essential themes in hundreds of children's books, while simplifying and codifying them. Importantly, Robinsonades of North America incorporated the Native American Indian as the savage in place of the Native West Indian (for example, Joseph Altsheler's The Last of the Chiefs: A Story of the Great Sioux War (1909)), but what did not change was the threat and terror, and the hint of the exotic, that these figures provided for the narrative.

Just as Defoe's adventure appealed to children, so too the captivity narratives were undoubtedly read by, or read to children (probably more with the hope of imparting Godliness than adventure!). Indeed, Rip Van Winkle's stories of "ghosts, witches, and Indians" kept the

11 In light of this relationship between Native and White characters, it is not surprising that much attention has been paid to the imperialist undercurrents of this novel. O. Mannoni considers the colonialist subtext of the novel, while Maher considers the Robinsonades as part of a larger frame of Nineteenth-century imperialist discourse directed at children.
village children gathered around him (Irving 28). Literary historian Frank L. Mott claims that Bird's lurid revision of Cooper's Indians, Nick of the Woods, was devoured by an audience comprised chiefly of boys (93), and the dimes, though eagerly read by Civil War soldiers (themselves often quite young), were also hidden away by boys too young to fight. Nye's observation that the dimes offered a new subject for juvenile books, while not quite accurate regarding the newness of the subject, is important because he is reacting to what happened after the demise of the dime novels. In the early twentieth century, Indians became the cornerstone subject of American children's literature.

Indians were exciting and interesting to young readers. They would also prove helpful to adults. "St. Nicholas"'s editors, for example, had good reason to gather this material together to inaugurate their historical book series, as the publisher's note explains to the potential buyer:

*Most of the stories in this book a boy of eight or nine can read for himself, and these are the years of his school life when he is being taught something of our colonial history and the myths and legends of primitive man. Thus these stories, while delighting many children and tempting them to read 'out of hours,' will serve a very useful purpose. (Indian Stories n.p.)*

Here we see how adults perceived Indian subjects for children. They recognized that children had an interest in things Indian, and they hoped to exploit that interest to educational ends. Approved books about Indians, which children would read on their own, could serve an educational purpose.

There were similar motives behind a great many books about Indians during this period. The Boy's Catlin: My Life Among the Indians, an abridged collection of George Catlin's North American Indians, Being Letters and Notes on Their Manners, Customs Written During Eight Years' Travel Amongst the Wildest Tribes of Indians in America (1841), illustrated with 16 plates of Catlin's paintings, was created to introduce children, specifically boys, to the work of the man who documented the "passing of the noble red man" in the 1820s and 30s. This edition was originally published in 1909, and remained in print and recommended through the
1941 edition of the *Children's Catalog*. George Grinnell's *Beyond the Old Frontier* was originally published in 1913 as part of the series of *Boy's Histories* which included *The Boy's Catlin*. Subtitled "Adventures of Indian-Fighters, Hunters, and Fur Traders," Grinnell's volume is a collection of brief, abridged accounts of frontier life, and although there is very little "Indian fighting" depicted in the collection (more emphasis is placed on the day-to-day relations between Indians and Whites at frontier forts), the exciting Indian is what is used to draw the reader in. The cover of the first edition shows a Plains Indian on horseback racing at the reader. Obviously the vivid cover, like those on many a dime novel (minus the fainting maiden), and the subtitle which promised "Adventures of Indian-Fighters," were meant to attract the potential reader to the educational narratives between the covers.

Another *Boy's* edition, *The Boy's Parkman*, was first published in 1912, and likewise remained in print and recommended through 1940. The collection notably begins with the opening chapter of *The Conspiracy of Pontiac*:

> The Indian is a true child of the forest and the desert. The wastes and solitudes of nature are his congenial home. His haughty mind is imbued with the spirit of the wilderness, and the light of civilization falls on him with a blighting power. His unruly pride and untamed freedom are in harmony with the lonely mountains, cataracts and rivers among which he dwells; and primitive America, with her savage scenery and savage men, opens to the imagination a boundless world, unmatched in wild sublimity. (1)

According to the editor of the volume, Louise Housbrouck, *The Boy's Parkman* was to lure readers into exploring the original full texts from which the excerpts were taken: *The Conspiracy of Pontiac* (1851) and *The Oregon Trail* (1847). She explains her reason for beginning with so vivid an image: "As all of the chapters in the *Boy's Parkman* are concerned in one way or other with Indians, their manners, customs, or fate, it has seemed best to place this vivid description of Indian tribes and traditions at the beginning of the book" (167). What would bring readers to the full volumes, Housbrouck hoped, was the Indian.

* * *
However, it was not just the appeal of adventure which created the plethora of children's books about Indians available during this period. There were two other ideas which contributed to the stack: the reflexive constructs of Indians as children, and children as Indians.

The idea that Natives are children is one which existed long before the historical period directly relevant to this study. However, it is important to consider (in brief) the complicated history of this idea in order to understand the extent to which the image created by it influenced common perceptions of Native Americans, and Native American literature, in the early twentieth century. The construction of the Indian as a child can be traced to some of the earliest Western commentary on the inhabitants of the Americas. Michel de Montaigne, in his essay "Des Cannibales" ['Of Cannibals'] (1578-80), described the natives as examples of original humanity, remarking "et estre encore fort voisines de leur naifveté originelle" (206), that they were "still very close to their original naturalness." In a later essay, "Des Coches" ['Of Coaches'] (1584-88), the philosopher articulates this originality with a particular metaphor. He describes the Americas as "si enfant", "so childlike," explaining:

Nostre monde vient d'en trouver un autre ... non moins grand, plain et membru que luy, toutesfois si nouveau et si enfant qu'on luy aprend encore son a, b, c; il n'y a pas cinquante ans qu'il ne scavoit ny lettres, ny pois, ny mesure, ny vestemens, ny bleds, ny vigne. Il estoit encore tout nud au giron, et ne vovoit que des moyens de sa mere nourrice. (908)\(^\text{12}\)

The philosopher associates the perceived newness of the New World with the embodiment of individual human origins: the newborn child. However, his analogy goes even further to characterize the Native American as childlike. Montaigne focuses on a particular difference here: the distinction between [primarily] oral and written/alphabetic cultures. Significantly, the language by which he establishes this distinction equates Native cultures' orality with Western children's education, for the "A B C's" are a particularly child-oriented synonym for

\(^{12}\) "Our world has just discovered another ... no less big, rich, and strong-limbed than himself, yet so new and so infantile that he is still being taught his A B C; it is not fifty years since he knew neither letters, nor weights, nor measures, nor clothes, nor corn, nor vines. He was still quite naked in the lap of his nursing mother, and lived only on what she provided" (Michel de Montaigne, The Essays of Michel de Montaigne, trans. and ed., Jacob Zeitlin (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1936) 116-117.
literacy. This world is envisioned as not yet able to read or write, and so analogous to a child in the primary stages of learning, still in the nursery.

Montaigne's analogy between the history of the human race and the individual human lifespan from birth to adulthood actually dates back to classical antiquity, when Seneca suggested a correspondence between the development of knowledge, and the growth of the individual human being (Nisbet 45). In the Medieval period, St. Augustine posited "ages" of the education of the human race, first dividing them into "youth," "manhood" and "old age," and later incorporating physiological-developmental terminology to label this progress, calling the sequential stages *infantia, pueritia, adolescentia, juventus, senoris aetas* and *senectus*—infancy, boyhood, youth, maturity, middle age, and senility (*De Genesi contra Manichaeos* in Nisbet 66). Though St. Augustine was referring to Judeo-Christian history, with stages corresponding to the Biblical epochs from Adam to Noah, Noah to Abraham, and so forth, and obviously did not consider the Native American as a factor in this progression, his model of social development according to individual human development would remain into the modern age of science and exploration.

With the discovery of the Americas, ideas of human history were modified or revised to incorporate the new found cultures. In 1690, John Locke declared "in the beginning, all the World was America" (301), like Montaigne nominating the land and its inhabitants as types of original existence. In comparing the two continents, the Americas were conceived to be a New World, in contrast to the Old World of Europe. This opposition of New World/Old World placed the two continents into a linear time sequence, where the New was posited as the beginning point, and the Old conceived as a subsequent stage of human existence. That both the Americas and Europe existed contemporaneously was an inconvenient fact which was overlooked or disregarded in favor of understanding the obvious geographical and cultural differences between the two continents, and their inhabitants, in terms of temporal difference. In post-discovery models of human history, America became the *infantia*—infant—to the adult of the Western civilized world.
Throughout the ages, ideas of human history have been consistently modeled around two visions of change and development: primitivism and progressivism. These are similar yet essentially antithetical concepts. They are similar in that both ideas are based upon a unilinear sense of time and process. They differ in that primitivism posits the original or beginning point of time as good or ideal, and the process of change from that point as negative—decline or degeneration to an inferior state, while progressivism asserts the beginning as a bad state, a zero point or nullity, and the process of change from that point as positive—advancement to a superior state. Significantly, whether the point of origin was perceived as an ideal state from which society declined, or as a nullity or lack from which it advanced, the Native American was placed at the beginning point, and consistently characterized as a child.

Primitivism, in its most abstract definition, is a model which asserts the superiority of the primitive or primordial over later stages of development. As an idea of history, primitivism (called by Lovejoy chronological primitivism), idealizes the original or earliest periods of human history and regards later periods as having decayed or corrupted away from the ideal. Such primitivism is exemplified in the models of human history posited in antiquity: the Classical tradition had Arcadia, the Judeo-Christian, Eden, as perfect states away from which humankind had degenerated or fallen. While such an ideal existence took many forms, primitive states held certain virtues in common, particularly ease of life (which might mean no work, or pleasant, fulfilling work), freedom, equality (often political and/or economic) and peace. The inhabitants of these states demonstrated such personal virtues as innocence, simplicity, health and vigor, and natural wisdom.

In the period of exploration and discovery, the Americas came to be regarded as an example of a preserved ideal state in contrast to the decayed or decaying European civilization. Once European philosophers incorporated the newly known land and its peoples into Western models of human history, the Native American stood as an example of the ideal state from which civilization had fallen, and became, for a time, Noble Savages. One of the most common metaphors applied to the Noble Savage was "the child of nature," a phrase
which captured the perceived proximity of primitive man to the natural world: nature was the mother to the child who lived close to and in harmony with her. Hector St. John de Crevecoeur evoked this image when he wrote of the Native Americans that "They most certainly are much more closely connected with nature than we are; they are her immediate children" (216). So too did Montaigne in "Des Coches."

Ideas of progress, like those of primitivism, can be traced to classical and medieval roots. St. Augustine's six ages of mankind, for example, were framed around an idea of the progress from sinful birth to ultimate spiritual fulfillment. For Augustine, the factor of change was intellectual and spiritual development in the nature of humanity from age to age, yet, as has been discussed, the model was framed around the biography of an individual. With the thinkers of the Enlightenment, when modern ideas of progress were formulated, modes of subsistence, divisions of labour, or intellectual development were employed as the factors of change for the process of progress, however, the underlying analogy between the development of civilization and the development of the individual human lifespan remained.

William Robertson, in his 1777 study History of America, incorporated the Native American into current theories of progress; significantly, he too used the child metaphor to articulate the place of the Americas in the history of human development. Robertson explained:

As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigour and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. With respect to it, too, there is a period of infancy, during which several powers of the mind are not unfolded, and all are feeble and defective in their operation. In the early ages of society, while the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a very narrow sphere. (Volume II, Book iv, 88)

13 See Berkofer's discussion of the French philosophers whose stages were based upon human intelligence, and the Scottish school, whose grounding was in subsistence and labour economics (47-48); also Meek, who considers the similarities of these two schools in the "four stages theory" of human development which was based, whether French or Scottish, on modes of subsistence.
Robertson characterized the Indigenous inhabitants of the Americas as children particularly in terms of intellectual capacities and (lack of) intellectual advancement: they are unable to count beyond three, ten, or at most, twenty, and arithmetic is utterly beyond their ken; their thought is instinctual and a purely sensual response to events; abstract reason is non-existent; and they evince a particular lack of foresight in favor of fulfilling immediate and whimsical needs (explained as the "toy that catches [their] fancy" (90)). Robertson asserted that "Man cannot continue long in this state of feeble and uninformed infancy" (98), and must necessarily advance into "maturity of understanding" (88). In the paradigm of progress, the early stages of existence are deemed "rude" and "uncultivated," and "a hard, precarious life" from which advance is a positive, indeed wonderful, inevitability (193,102). Here, childhood is pejoratively infantile, while adulthood is commendably mature.

Evolutionary theories of the nineteenth century provided biological support for progressivist models of human history because they provided answers to questions about recapitulation. Recapitulation is defined as "the repetition of ancestral adult stages in embryonic or juvenile stages of descendants," which can be summed up in the neat phrase "ontogeny recapitulates phylogeny" (Gould 485). Biology had long suspected a connection between ontogeny and phylogeny; however, once Darwin and his fellow evolutionists were able to demonstrate "the mechanisms of the relationship" (prior recapitulationists could only suggest, not demonstrate), recapitulation had scientific support (Gould 115). Evolutionary theories fundamentally influenced (and were influenced by) the natural sciences, such as astronomy, geology, and biology, and they also grounded the emerging disciplines of social science, particularly anthropology. As Gould explains, "... evolutionary theory permitted a literal equation of modern lower races with ancestral stages of higher forms," and so, with the belief that European cultures were "higher" or more advanced than North American Indigenous cultures, these cultures (in general) were equated with Euroamerican children in a model of social evolution (126).
Lewis Henry Morgan's *Ancient Society, or Researches in the Lines of Human Progress from Savagery Through Barbarism to Civilization* (1877) presented a theory of social evolution which encompassed the Native tribes of America. Based on his study of the Iroquois (he had published *League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, Iroquois* in 1851) and data gathered through questionnaires, Morgan postulated seven ethnical periods of social development: lower, middle, and upper savagery; lower, middle, and upper barbarism; and civilization. The lower status of savagery "commenced with the infancy of the human race" (10). For Morgan, savagery was the "zero" point (vii) to which progress adds inventions, discoveries, and social institutions (government, family, property). Morgan located the Native American, in general, in the lower stage of barbarism, although some tribes were allowed, based on their use of particular implements, into the middle status. Though Morgan used the analogy of the Native and the child rarely, and only, it seems, as an uncomplicated metaphor (that is, unlike Robertson and the recapitulationists, he does not allow an idea of the nature of the child to guide his system of the ethnical periods, but uses the term only to mark a beginning state), his hierarchical system of progress, and the language used to express it, inherently continued the long-standing conception of the nature of the Native American as, if not an infant, at least a young child.

The pervasive influence that this ascription of childishness to Natives had on nineteenth century thought is demonstrated in an anthropological *cum fictive* text by noted ethnologist Adolf Bandelier, *The Delight Makers* (1890). Bandelier, who was greatly influenced by Morgan's ideas regarding anthropological methods and systems (Barnett 191, Zolla 333), presents a fictional yet "geographical[ly], ethnological[ly] and archaeological[ly]" authentic narrative of the Pueblo peoples in *The Delight Makers* (Bandelier v). Bandelier reflects Morgan's interest in "truer knowledge" of scientific observation insofar as he hopes to demonstrate the "sober facts" of Native lives (Morgan *League* ix, v); however, in his attempt to
make these facts understandable to the general reader, Bandelier also reflects Morgan's hierarchy of culture, and its accompanying assumptions of inferiority and childishness.\footnote{I am indebted to Louise K. Barnett's study of The Ignoble Savage for calling attention to Bandelier's perception of the Pueblos as a childish culture (194-195).}

Bandelier's narrative includes heavy-handed authorial commentary intended to clarify the vast amount of anthropological information included in the novel. It is this authorial intrusion which reveals the extent to which the assumptions of childishness infiltrate the novel. The narrator commonly compares the Pueblo people to children. For example, after a discussion of a Zuni community ceremony, the reader is informed that "These things [certain ceremonial acts] are delightful according to Indian notions, and are well fitted to show how much of a child he still is" (135). A discussion of manners reveals that "To beg pardon for an offence committed is to him [the Indian] a very difficult task. He is a child, and children rarely make atonement unless compelled" (303). Regarding the Native language, the reader is informed that "His speech was picturesque, but not consciously poetic; for the Indian speaks like a child, using figures of speech not in order to embellish, but because he lacks abstract terms and is compelled to borrow equivalents from comparisons with surrounding nature" (165). In fact, "childish" is here the adjective most often applied to individual Native thoughts and practices in this novel; in all aspects of life the Native American is juvenile in the most demeaning sense of that word. As one critic remarked, "for Bandelier, the child is no Wordsworthian ideal but a name for limitation and arrested growth" (Barnett 193).

After the turn of the century, anthropologists turned away from the evolutionary model of linear development across cultures, and toward an understanding of Indigenous cultures which had, in fact, been in existence since first contact: that the cultures of the New World possessed governments, arts, and religions equal to any in Western culture, which could be seen if only one looked without "a preconceived attitude" (Hanke 86).\footnote{Bartolomé de Las Casas put forth this position in a disputation against Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda at Valladolid, Spain, in 1550. Las Casas argued, "They [the Indians] are not ignorant, inhuman, or bestial. Rather, long before they had heard the word Spaniard, they}
cultural pluralism and cultural relativism encouraged the study of local culture characteristics, and focused examination of a single culture replaced the cross-culture comparisons of prior ideas of progress, and the unilinear model of the social evolutionists. No longer was the Native American perceived at the bottom of the scale of progress, for the scale had come to be regarded as an inaccurate and altogether inappropriate deductive approach for understanding the great diversity of Aboriginal, and all other, cultures. Essentially, "anthropologists pulled the scientific rug out from under the long-time deficiency image of the Indian" (Berkhofer 66). However, the new anthropologists were fighting against centuries of theories and an ingrained popular image which consistently placed the Native in an inferior and ultimately child-like position in relation to Western individuals and societies. The conception of the Native as a child was firmly entrenched, hard as the anthropologists sought to eradicate it. Though the foundation of theory had shifted, the childish image remained even in the absence of the philosophical and scientific theories which had created it.

A collection of fictional accounts of Native American life written to explicate this new anthropology for a popular audience demonstrates the persistence of the metaphor. Elsie Clews Parson’s *American Indian Life by Several of Its Students* (1922) includes an introduction by A. L. Kroeber, an early proponent of cultural pluralism. Kroeber, in explaining the intention of *American Indian Life* to impart reliable, accurate information within the fiction, cites one “important precedent” for the work: Bandelier’s *The Delight Makers*. The older volume, Kroeber asserts, "still renders a more comprehensive and coherent view of native Pueblo life than any scientific volume on the Southwest"(13). Even as Kroeber appeals for a new approach, he recommends a work rooted in the old systems of evolution and progress, and these systems’ assumptions of the childishness of Native Americans.16

16Though I do take his point that what makes Bandelier’s book valuable is its wealth of information based on observation of Pueblo culture.
As we have seen, various histories of human development located the Native American at the beginning point of human existence. This point of origin had a long history of association, analogically, then biologically, with the beginning stages of the human life cycle, the infant and child. Berkhofer states that "It is in the process of combining past and present into one history of all mankind that we find the interaction between the contribution of the Indian image to the study of man in this period and judgement on the Indians as a result of that study" (45), and while he is specifically referring to Enlightenment ideas of progress, his estimation of the reflexive nature of observation and judgement are relevant in terms of the idea of the Native American as child. Situated at the beginning of human history, at the "childhood" of the human race, Native Americans were increasingly paralleled with children, and assigned child-like qualities. Though in fact they were members of distinct cultures with profoundly developed religions, finely honed arts, formal and informal social, economic and governmental structures, and histories of their own, Native Americans were ultimately defined as children, a position that was usually inferior, and always demeaning.

We can see the effects of this persistent construct reflected in the political interaction between Natives and Whites, particularly in the United States. Since colonial times, White politicians had commonly considered the Natives to be children—children who required parental supervision. Michael Paul Rogin notes that in the colonial period, Massachusetts ratified a law in which Indians were classified with children and the insane, and he asserts that "if one takes seriously the evidence of speeches and documents, whites could not imagine Indians outside the parent-child context" (188). Traders, frontier governors, treaty commissioners, as well as Presidents, freely called the Native people their children. In 1821 Thomas L. McKenney, the first head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs announced: "Our Indians Stand [sic] pretty much in the relation to the government as our children do to us. They are equally dependent, and need, not infrequently, the exercise of parental authority to detach them from those ways which might involve both their peace and their lives" (from a report delivered by McKenney to the Senate, December 27, 1871; in Chamberlin, Harrowing 163; also
in Sheehan 153). This parent-child metaphor signified the power relationships that existed between Red and White nations. Constructing the Natives as children, the Whites constructed themselves as benevolent White Fathers who would offer them support and care, and upon whom the Natives, being children, would be ultimately dependant. As Stephen Jay Gould observes, "the primitive-as-child argument stood second to none in the arsenal of racist arguments supplied by science to justify slavery and imperialism" (126).

In the United States, Native Americans' political and legal status as children was reinforced with Supreme Court Justice John Marshall's 1831 opinion that Indian tribes were to be legally regarded as "domestic dependent nations": nations that were sovereign unto themselves, yet whose members were legally classified as wards of the federal government. Not surprisingly, the last vestige of 'adulthood' allowed to the tribes, their sovereignty, was eventually denied them. In 1871 it was declared that "no Indian nation or tribe ... shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe, or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty..." (Washburn II, 2183). This Indian Appropriations Act rejected the concept of independent Indian nations capable of making treaties and conducting their own political business, and ended all ongoing and future treaty negotiations, thus alienating Native tribes from the legal process altogether.

It would be many years before this process of infantalization was reversed. In 1887 the Dawes Allotment Act was passed. The Dawes Act was believed by its supporters to mark the end of Indian dependence. Proposed by Massachusetts senator Henry L. Dawes, the Act granted a tract of land to each Native head of household to be held in trust for 25 years by the federal government. After the trust period, the individual would be granted full title to the land and could maintain or sell it as he desired. Surplus land would be sold off for settlement to westward moving immigrants. The Act enforced a "coming of age" for the Native people who had been reduced to the status of dependants through the political policies of the previous decade. Essentially, the Act insisted that the Native people "grow up" into an adulthood of family, land, and economic responsibility in the Euroamerican mode. Based as it was on the
assumption of childlishness: ignorance and incompetence, and the process of "growing up"—becoming educated on White terms and learning to handle property in ways approved by Whites—perhaps it is not surprising that by 1928 the Dawes Act was regarded as a failure.

Not only did this pervasive construct affect Native Americans' legal status, it also affected the way that Native poetics were perceived. As mentioned above, Bandelier, for example, revealed to his readers that "the Indian speaks like a child, using figures of speech not in order to embellish, but because he lacks abstract terms and is compelled to borrow equivalents from comparisons with surrounding nature" (165). The Dial's review of Natalie Curtis' The Indians' Book (1907), a scholarly study of the music of Indigenous cultures, suggested that "to most white readers this book will be a revelation of the vaguely stirring genius and the art, mystic in its intent, spontaneous in its symbolism, of a child race" (382). Forty years later, Margaret Astrov would explain a feature of Native poetics through an apparently unquestionable analogy with the child:

Furthermore, repetition, verbal and otherwise, means accumulation of power. In fact, the magically coercive quality that seems to determine the character of most of the prayers, incantations, and songs of the American Indian, is so conspicuous that the other driving force which leads to the iteration of statements—the need of organization—is frequently overlooked. A child repeats a statement over and over for two reasons. First, in order to make himself familiar with something that appears to him to be threateningly unknown and thus to organize it into his system of familiar phenomena; and second, to get something he wants badly. (12)

What Native people had to say for themselves, at least as it was interpreted by non-Natives, was infantile and studied or dismissed as such. It was also easily and readily given to children: The Indians' Book appeared on numerous children's book lists, and collections of Native narratives, as we shall see, were also frequently published as children's books.

The equation of Indians with children may have also contributed to the fate of the Indian in literary history as discussed above. One of the harbingers of the decline in the interest in Indian subjects was Granville Mellen. In an essay in the July 1828 North American Review, Mellen declared:
... the species of writing [Indian fiction], we believe, began in mistake; heretical as it may seem, it strikes us that there is not enough in the character and life of these poor natives to furnish the staple of a novel. The character of the Indian is a simple one, his destiny is a simple one, all around him is simple. We use the expression here in its most unpoetical sense. But mere simplicity is not all that is needed. There must be some event in the life of a hero, to keep us from growing weary of him. He must not lie upon our hands; the author must keep him in business, and he must have more business than is comprehended in the employment of the scalping-knife or the paddle, to become the subject of our refined sympathies, or to gratify a cultivated taste. He must be mentally engaged. The savage says but little; and after we have painted him in the vivid and prominent colors which seem necessary to represent him amidst his pines and waterfalls, - after we have set him before our readers with his gorgeous crown of feathers, his wampum and his hunting-bow, it would seem that we have done as well as we could for him. (141)

Mellen reveals his disparagement of Indian subjects clearly, and is quite precise in his reasons. The Indian is too uncomplicated to reward any serious and extended consideration by the literary artist. This simplicity derived not from Native individuals, but characters created on the models of infancy which would not allow for depth, complexity, and so interest. Where those seeking to define America and American letters, and those "looking back" in romantic fervor turned their gaze was to a time prior to the arrival of the European. What they found was the Indian, and what they portrayed was a child, whether the noble child of primitivism or the deficient child of progressivism. When the appeal of the past declined in favor of interest in present day, the child, like the country's childhood, was effectively dismissed as a topic of sophisticated literary interest.

* * *

While Native Americans were being constructed and treated as children, turn-of-the-century children were being regarded as Indians. The Indian and the child had been linked, as we have seen, in romantic constructions of the child of nature, and the noble savage. These figures were alike in that both the child and the noble savage were equal in innocence, in purity, and in freedom from the ills of civilization. Jean-Jacques Rousseau envisioned his ideal
natural man as one raised in the purity of the woods, and imbued with the spirit of the wilderness, apart from decadent civilized society. Importantly, however, the child cannot remain forever in the wilderness. Rousseau explained:

... voulant former l'homme de la nature, il ne s'agit pas pour cela d'en faire un sauvage et de le reléguer au fond des bois; mais qu'enfermé dans le tourbillon social, il suffit qu'il ne s'y laisse entraîner ni par les passions ni par les opinions des hommes... Le même homme qui doit rester stupide dans les forêts doit devenir raisonnable et sensé dans les villes, quand il y sera simple spectateur. (282)

The child and the savage are here equated, but the child progresses beyond his initial woodlands education to move into society. The natural man is tempered by nature, but ultimately functions in civilization using the wisdom he has garnered from the wilderness.

Rousseau's ideas were influential to the English Romantics, whose cults of nature and of the child further linked the two images. Drawing from Rousseau's ideas, Wordsworth, among others, envisioned the child of nature as a child born and reared in nature, who absorbed wholesome influences from the scenery among which he or she was raised. Whether this child of nature was an actual Indian or not (most often he or she was not), the child of nature and the wild and free Indian were often made kin to one another. In "Presentiments" (1835), Wordsworth revealed the upbringing they held in common:

Star-guided contemplations move
Through space, though calm, not raised above
Prognostics that ye [presentiments] rule;
The naked Indian of the wild,
And haply too the cradled Child,
Are the pupils of your school. (306)

Here the Indian and the child are poetically clustered as similar beings. This is not to assert that the two are equated, but that, as Hoxie Neal Fairchild suggests, "the two conceptions are harmoniously related" (384).

17 "... when I want to train a natural man, I do not want to make him a savage and to send him back to the woods, but that living in the whirl of social life it is enough that he should not let himself be carried away by the passions and prejudices of men ... The same man who would remain stupid in the forests should become wise and reasonable in towns, if he were merely a spectator in them." Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Emile, trans. Barbara Foxley (London: Everyman's Library-J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1974) 217.
The connection between the child and the Indian was destined to outlast the Romantic child of nature and noble savage conventions. In the late nineteenth century, children—and boys in particular—were frequently described as Indians or savages. William DeanHowells mused in A Boy's Town (1890) that while it was often said that "a savage is a grown-up child," it was "even more true that a child is a savage." He explained the similarities:

Like the savage, he [the child] dwells on an earth round which the whole solar system revolves, and he is himself the center of all life on the earth. It has no meaning but as it relates to him; it is for his pleasure, his use; it is for his pain and his abuse. It is full of sights, sounds, sensations, for his delight alone, for his suffering alone. He lives under a law of favor or of fear, but never of justice, and the savage does not make a crueler idol than the child makes of the Power ruling over his world and having him for its chief concern. (6)

Charles Dudley Warner remarked, "Every boy who is good for anything is a natural savage," and suggested,

The scientists who want to study the primitive man, and have so much difficulty in finding one anywhere in this sophisticated age, couldn't do better than to devote their attention to the common country-boy....You want to catch your boy young, and study him before he has either virtues or vices, in order to understand the primitive man. (198-199)

The idealized boyhood created in the fiction of the late nineteenth century revelled in depicting boys as rough, often dirty (and quite averse to getting clean), wild and carefree. Anthony Rotundo suggests that during this period, boyhood began to be perceived as a distinct culture—"Boy Culture"—a race which existed apart from the social spheres of the domestic world of women, girls and small children, and the public world of men (31). It is not surprising that, as they seemed to exist apart from the established realms of civilized society, the home and the marketplace, boys were equated with civilization's antithesis, the savage. Howells' boys would agree: "There was not a boy in the Boy's Town who would not gladly have turned from the town and lived in the woods if his mother had let him;...If they could, the boys would rather have been Indians than anything else ..." (150). When the boys spy a group of Wyandots travelling through town, they are given a rare chance to see real live Natives.
Their encounter allows Howells to reflect on the boy's fondness for, and their similarity to, the Indians:

In fact they [the Wyandots] were, old and young alike, savages, and the boys who looked on and envied them were savages in their ideal of a world where people spent their lives in hunting and fishing and ranging the woods, and never grew up into the toils and cares that can alone make men of boys. They wished to escape these, as many foolish persons do among civilized nations, and they thought if they could only escape them they would be happy; they did not know that they would be merely savage, and that the great difference between a savage and a civilized man is work. (151)

Howells' and Warner's linking of the child and the savage Red Indian, while picturesque and philosophical, actually had scientific support from late nineteenth-century biology. As discussed above, biological theories of recapitulation validated the "primitive as child" argument that "lower" races could be seen in the children of "higher" races, and so one might examine the Euroamerican child to understand Indigenous cultures of North America. However, "the argument could be reversed, usually with more benevolence, to ask what comparative anatomy and evolutionary history had to say about the nature of children" (Gould 135). Thus children were biologically, as well as metaphorically, connected to the Indians of North America.

G. Stanley Hall's 1904 text Adolescence (1904) codified the familiar image of boys as savages with his own application of the doctrine of recapitulation. Hall insisted that "The child and the race are each keys to the other" (Adolescence I, viii), theorizing that boys reenacted the development of the human race, progressing through past culture "epochs" as they matured from infancy to adulthood. Thus, the stages of cultural evolution provided "a normative guide to child development" (Macleod 99). He argued that boys 'recapitulated' as instinctual drives the traits and skills once possessed by extinct ancestors; male adolescents felt "the deep and strong cravings ... to revive the ancestral experiences and occupations of race"

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18Recapitulation was also applied to such fields as criminal anthropology (where it was posited that the normal adult progressed through the various phyletic stages of development, but the criminal stalled somewhere in his savage stage, a case of arrested development) and psychoanalysis (Gould 117, 121).
(Adolescence I, xi). Play, he believed, was not to be regarded as necessary for developing skills for adulthood, but instead "rehearsing racial history" (Adolescence I, 207). Rather than preparation, play was a revisitation of man's struggle for survival as embodied in the hunt and chase.

Hall argued:

Rousseau would leave prepubescent years to nature and to these primal hereditary impulses and allow the fundamental traits of savagery their fling till twelve. Biological psychology finds many and cogent reasons to confirm this view if only a proper environment could be provided. The child revels in savagery, and if its tribal, predatory, hunting, fishing, fighting, roving, idle, playing propensities could be indulged in the country and under conditions that now, alas! seem hopelessly ideal, they could conceivably be so organized and directed as to be far more truly humanistic and liberal than all the best modern school can provide. Rudimentary organs of the soul now suppressed, perverted, or delayed, to crop out in menacing forms later, would be developed in their season so that we should be immune to them in maturer years." (Adolescence I, x)

Through what amounted to an "Aristotelian catharsis" (Adolescence I, x), the adolescent must be free to act out his instincts in order that he become a whole and civilized adult. The child had to have the freedom to be a savage first, so that he might be a civilized man later.

Hall's doctrine of recapitulation was not the only formulation of the concept of recapitulation, nor the only study of childhood and adolescence at the turn of the century. However, Adolescence was one of the most influential statements of recapitulation as it was applied to child development in North America. In his study of the history of adolescence, Joseph Kett believes it to be "the seminal book" (216) in forming an understanding of the juvenile between 1900 and 1920, and its influence continued through the first half of the twentieth century. Hall continued to be regarded as an authority on child development and cited in scholarly texts on the subject through the 1940s.19

19Macleod and Kett consider the range of adolescent theory during this period, and place Hall's version of recapitulation in the larger context of social movements (Macleod) and social-scientific theory (Kett) in the United States. Gould considers Hall in the context of European configurations of recapitulation and their influence in child development and primary education.
Drawing from Hall and a number of other educational reformers, Joseph Lee, an early proponent for the playground movement, recognized what he was to call the "play instinct" in children, similar to Hall's ideas of instinctive impulses. In his study *Play in Education*, he posited a "Big Injun age" of child development (Book IV, 186-192). Because of a perceived "predilection for demonstrated greatness," Lee names the period between ages six and eleven the Big Injun age, when "the child wants to be Big Injun, to show himself great and glorious and to be acknowledged as such" (191). This desire for attention and making an impression is reflected, according to Lee, in the propensity for boys to sneak a smoke. He explains,

> The cigarette is I think in some sort the equivalent of the paint and feathers, the scalps and claws of grizzly bears, affected by the original Big Injun. Boys smoke not wholly from any pleasure which they may derive from the experience, but largely to be seen to smoke - though there may be a choice as to who sees them. (191)

Here the Indian is used to suggest a "show off," conscious of risk, exploit and glory for the sake of attention and admiration. The equipment of paint and feathers, scalps and claws are grouped together as trappings for outward show, elements of decoration intended for the sole purpose of impressing others. The Big Injun age was further characterized by the need for real experience and so it was the age of exploration, the age of coming close to nature, and the age of tools. Play in this period involves competition, hunting, chasing, climbing and falling; not surprisingly, during this age, playing Indians is one of the most common and appealing pastimes. In fact, Lee offers as an example his own play of *Le Renard Subtil* in *The Last of the Mohicans* as typical of the games of this period (300).

With these theories, boys now had biological and psychological support for their "anti-civilized" behavior. In fact, rather than being discouraged from rough play, dirt, and "wild" behavior, boys were now encouraged to act out their natural savage instincts in pursuits which mimicked, purportedly, Indian ways. Activities such as building fires, tracking animals, and hunting with bow and arrows were considered appropriate pastimes for pre-adolescent boys. This woodcraft served as the means to allow boys to express their savagism under the guidance and supervision of adults. Thus, with the turn-of-the-century theories of
recapitulation, and the growing woodcraft movement (the result of the "American celebration of savagery" after the turn of the century (Nash 151), an increasingly organized and institutionalized construction of boys as Indians entered the culture.

The leader in the woodcraft ideal for boys was Ernest Thompson Seton. In May of 1902 Ladies Home Journal printed the first of a seven article series entitled "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys: The New Department of 'American Woodcraft' for Boys." Opening with the remark: "I suppose that every boy in America loves to 'play Injun,'" Seton's presented seven lessons of essential woodcraft knowledge. The articles were united in a small booklet, How to Play Indian, in 1903. After a third, more detailed version of the guide in 1904, Seton expanded his work yet again, and in 1906 The Birch-bark Roll of Woodcraft was complete. This guide served as the preeminent woodcraft handbook for a great many boys who aspired to play Indian "properly," but Seton was not satisfied with his handbook and revised it, yet again, a year later.

Seton's Two Little Savages (1903), subtitled Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned was a curious hybrid of his woodcraft guide, an autobiography, and the boy stories which had been popular during the second half of the nineteenth century. The story revolves around Yan, a twelve year old boy who "was much like other twelve-year-old boys in having a keen interest in Indians and in wild life, but he differed from most in this, that he never got over it" (1). The book is divided into three parts to recount Yan's progress in his study and practice of woodcraft. The adventures of two (and sometimes three) boys playing Indian (in the safety of their back woodlot) is filled with wilderness how-tos: how to trap small animals, how to successfully shoot a bow and arrow, how to build a serviceable teepee, etc. In Two Little Savages Seton created two characters who play Indian, and in the process also teach readers "How to Play Indian," and found it a highly successful hybrid form which he was to modify only slightly with his later novel Rolf in the Woods.

Closely akin to the woodcraft movement, and far more popular (and enduring), was Sir Robert Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys (1908). Scouting borrowed Seton's organizational
structure, yet in general left the Indian play behind. When the Boy Scouts were established in the United States in 1910, Seton revised Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys* into the first American scout handbook. He was also elected the Chief Scout of the American scouts but was to leave the Boy Scouts in 1915, "edged out' (Macleod 239) because of his eccentric and inappropriate fondness for the noble savage Red Indians, and his extreme idealization of the wilderness which rejected the values of modern, industrialized America. One could play Indian, it seems, but Seton came uncomfortably close to being one (in the eyes of many Scout leaders at least), because he promoted Indian spirituality and philosophy (that is, his own interpretation of "Indian" ideas and philosophy), rather than just Indian activities and attire.

Although he appreciated the larger recapitulationist relationship between boys and "savage societies," Baden-Powell, on the other hand, explicitly distanced himself from the Indian movement:

> I see that I have been quoted as advocating woodcraft as 'the key activity for true Scouting.' That is correct. But, then, the term 'woodcraft' has been explained as meaning to dress up like Red Indians, and that, therefore, I advocate the adoption of 'scalp locks and wampum, teepees and feathers.' This is not correct. I know a little about the Red Indian, and he is not (and was not in his prime) all he is pictured by some who write about him only on his sunny side. Still, I am not hostile to him. If we pick the plums out of the pudding, we find his romantic story, picturesque dress and customs appeal, in some cases, to the boy, and he can thus be useful to us. So can his African brother, the Zulu, the Haussa, the Somali and the Arab - all of whom I know. ... But woodcraft goes a great deal deeper than the surface attraction or imitation of one or other of the more primitive tribes of men." (in Reynolds 103)

However, Baden-Powell used the Indian's link to scouting when it suited him. A picture which Baden-Powell drew as an illustration for his autobiography depicts three figures standing side-by-side: Buffalo Bill, the Boy Scout, and the Indian, suggesting the parentage of American scouting whose influence continued into the second half of the twentieth century (Sell and Weybright 238).

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20See Rosenthal for discussion of where Baden-Powell and Seton differed (64-81).
The interest in having children play Indian soon expanded beyond the backyard and woodlot which Seton had promoted in his earliest publications. The desire for more, but controlled, outdoor experience, and the distressing disappearance of suitable wild space (it was becoming increasingly difficult to track wild animals in the urban areas of the early twentieth century), led to the establishment of hundreds of youth "woody" camps throughout the United States and Canada. Here playing Indian was writ large, with camps encompassing acres and acres of land for such activities as hiking, canoeing and tenting. Speaking of Canadian camps, Daniel Francis observed that

> Often their leaders borrowed their ceremonies and woodcraft activities from the pages of *Two Little Savages* and *The Birch-bark Roll*. With names like Oconto, On-da-da-waks, Wapomeo, Ahmek, Keewaydin and Tanamakoon, these camps offered urban children their first, and most probably their only, glimpse of Indian life. In the words of a British magazine writer: 'the boy may become a true white Indian.' (154-55)

School teachers, like their summer counterparts the camp counselors, soon recognized the rich potential that Indians had as pegs on which to hang not adventure, but education. As the author of one of the highly recommended Indian activity books observed,

Camp Directors and leaders of the great outdoor movements such as the Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, and Camp Fire Girls have found in Indian lore an opportunity to enrich their programs in handicraft, pageantry, and ceremonial and to give to their work more romance and color. The schools, too, have found in the almost universal appeal that the Indian makes to the child, a method of using Indian lore for teaching many subjects. A project in Science carried out by the Lincoln Elementary School, Teachers College, Columbia University, which began with a study of Indian methods of growing cotton, led the children to a general study of Indian life. When it was over it was found that in addition to Science the children had touched on the following subjects: Reading, through Indian stories; Spelling, through Indian words; Geography, from the study of the Indian's physical environment; History, through a study of the Indian's relations to the white race; Household Arts, by cooking Indian dishes; Fine Arts, by reproducing Indian designs; and Physical Education, through Indian dances. The report says, "It is a study that is rich in worth-while leads. It has a historical as well as a social significance for the child. It is a subject to which children continually return, even after it has been replaced by another central activity." (Salomon x-xi)
Juvenile literature reflected this interest in encouraging children to return to nature and particularly to play Indian. Nature was one of the bestselling subjects of children's literature in the early decades of the twentieth century, though it had been unheard of in the nineteenth century (Tebbel vol 3, 266), a phenomenon due in no small part to the encouragement of reading by the Boy Scout organization.\(^{21}\) In addition to the many editions of Seton's woodcraft guides and the American scout manuals, there were a number of publications which detailed Indian arts and crafts, dances, music, ceremonies, and activities, all intended for the education and entertainment of children. Daniel C. Beard's *Outdoor Handy Book* (c. 1930) included a section on Indian games adapted for boys,\(^{22}\) and the *Little Folk's Handybook* (c. 1930) instructed children on "playing Indian with costumes made of newspapers." Other recommended titles were Julian Harris Salomon's *Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore* (1928), W. B. Hunt's *Indian and Camp Handicraft* (1938), and *Indiancraft* (1942), and Bernard W. Mason's *The Book of Indian Crafts and Costumes* (1946). In fact, there was apparently enough interest in the topic to warrant a separate section for "Playing Indian" in the *Children's Catalog* from 1930 to 1936 so readers could easily locate useful guidebooks.

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\(^{21}\)The Boy Scouts were actively involved with the promotion of reading among children, particularly boys. They even had a chief Boy Scout librarian. Franklin Mathiews, the first to hold this position, is credited by Tebbel for the idea of Children's Book Week, holding the first local one in 1913. In 1913, Mathiews addressed the American Booksellers Association, calling their attention to the "new field for the sale of books. In the last three years, books numbering perhaps 1,000,000 copies have been sold to the Boy Scouts ..." encouraging the creation and production of better quality books for boys (Tebbel 266).

\(^{22}\) Daniel C. Beard was the founder of an early outdoor boys activity group called the "Sons of Daniel Boone." His woodcraft emulated the American pioneer rather than the American Indian, and unlike Seton's pacifist approach, was quite militaristic and much against the Noble Savage which Seton promoted, but MacDonald considers both Beard and Seton the "Uncles" of American scouting (13). Considering how much against Red Indianism he was (perhaps more because Seton posed stiff competition to his ideas), it is revealing that Beard still included a section on playing Indian in his woodcraft book. In woodcraft, one could not avoid the Indian.
Though I've separated the two constructs, the Indian as child, and the child as Indian, as a way of examining them clearly, it is important to recognize that the two constructs existed as a reversible equation into the early twentieth century, which led to ironic, and disturbing, consequences. At the same time that Native cultures were expected to grow up (that is, assimilate), and leave behind their language, stories, ceremonies and dances, essentially, their cultures, Euroamerican children were being encouraged to "play" Indian ways: read Indian stories, wear Indian dress, and dance Indian dances. What was forbidden to the first group was at the very same time encouraged in the second.

For example, while Native children were compelled to enroll in schools where speaking their tribal languages was forbidden, and their traditional narratives were replaced with Bible verses, White children were given collections of Indigenous narratives for their reading pleasure and entertainment. With the nineteenth-century equation of children with earlier "primitive" cultures, folklore and fairy tales had been perceived as most appropriate for children, and in America as well as Canada there was great interest in the publication of Native North American narratives specifically for children. This interest was also influenced by the fact, discussed earlier, that Indigenous oral storytelling was viewed as evidence of the Native's infantile intellect and immature culture, which made Indigenous narratives (purportedly) pleasing to children, but too unsophisticated for adults. One of the earliest collections of Native narratives was Cornelius Matthews' The Indian Fairy Book, (1867), which was later re-issued as The Enchanted Moccasins and Other Legends of the American Indian (1877), but there were many more. R. C. Armour's North American Indian Fairy Tales, Folklore & Legends (1905); George Bird Grinnell's Blackfeet Indian Stories (1913); Frank S. Linderman's Indian Why Stories: Sparks from War Eagle's Lodge Fire (1915), and Indian Old Man Stories (1920); Gilbert Wilson's Indian Hero Tales (1916); Frances J. Olcott's The Red Indian Fairy Book for the Children's Own Reading and for Story-Tellers (1917), Elizabeth DeHuff's Tjaytay's Tales (1922), Charles Gillham's Beyond the Clapping Mountains (1943), and Alice Marriott's Winter-Telling Stories (1947) are just some of the many recommended
collections of Aboriginal narratives which were published specifically for children in the first half of the century.

The irony inherent in the historical equation of Indians and children is nowhere more chilling than in the fate of the Sioux Ghost Dance. The Ghost Dance was the central feature of a messianic religious movement, an amalgamation of Christianity and tribal religions, which spread through the Native tribes of the Plains in the last decades of the nineteenth century. According to one of the earliest scholars who sought to understand the movement:

The great underlying principle of the Ghost dance doctrine is that the time will come when the whole Indian race, living and dead, will be reunited upon a regenerated earth, to live a life of aboriginal happiness, forever free from death, disease, and misery ... The white race, being alien and secondary and hardly real, has no part in this scheme of aboriginal regeneration, and will be left behind with the other things of earth that have served their temporary purpose, or else will cease entirely to exist. (Mooney 19)

If the Indians followed God's commandments (as interpreted through the Paiute Wovoka, one of the founders of the religion), were industrious, honest, virtuous, and peaceful, they would join their ancestors in heaven. The Ghost Dance, which involved praying, dancing and singing, allowed practitioners to 'die' temporarily and visit heaven to catch a glimpse of their departed relations and their future happiness.

The dance arrived among the Sioux in 1888-89. Although Wovoka's message promoted peace above all, the Sioux, long suffering from particularly grim circumstances on their reservations, and ongoing disappointment in promises made to them by the Whites, shaped the Dance into one which expressed "if not ... war, at least ... vicious antagonism" to the Euroamericans who surrounded them (Utley 73). One of the features of the Sioux Ghost Dance was the Ghost Shirt, coarse cloth shirts fringed and decorated with eagle feathers and sewn with sinew (one aspect of the Ghost Dance religion was that the Indians were to reject those things brought by the newcomers and return to the old ways, thus sinew was used; buckskin was not, because of the lack of buffalo). Each shirt was designed with symbols which had particular spiritual significance and were often related to Dakota cosmology or an individual's
visions achieved during the dance. This shirt, the wearer believed, would protect him or her from bullets or weapons used by the Whites.

The Ghost Dance raised tensions on the already tense Sioux reservations. Reservation agents saw in the Ghost Dance, and Sitting Bull’s support of it, a political uprising, and begged for military backing to control the threat the dancers posed. In November of 1890, United States army troops arrived at Rosebud and Pine Ridge reservations, and their presence led to a breaking point: the arrest and murder of Sitting Bull on December 15, 1890. When a group of Ghost Dancers left the Standing Rock Agency against the orders of the military, the Seventh Cavalry (the regiment which had suffered unequivocal defeat at Little Bighorn) was sent to round them up. Though the exact events are unclear, the result of the Cavalry’s pursuit is not: it ended with the massacre at Wounded Knee, South Dakota, when the troops killed around 200 Sioux, including a significant number of women and children.

With apparent ignorance (or utter disregard, given that the book is marked by extensive research of tribal traditions) of the dance’s historical, cultural, and spiritual significance, Julian Harris Salomon suggests the Sioux Ghost Dance as a possible camp performance for children. In The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore he presents a modified version of the dance which children can enact. After the entrance of the dancers, and the dance of the medicine men, the drummers give a "signal roll,"

... and the large circle moves about again as it did at first, but this time the step gradually gets faster. The medicine men get up and dart in and out among the dancers, waving their wands in the faces of those who they think are weakening. When such a person is found, he or she follows the medicine man in toward the center of the ring. The medicine man whirls his feathered wand rapidly in the face of the dancer in an effort to bring on a hypnotic trance. Suddenly the dancer falters, totters, and falls face downward and the medicine man searches out a new subject. In the meantime the big circle moves about, singing. After it has circled about four times the dancers till standing stop, shake out their blankets to drive away the spirits, and then walk off the field. The dreamers gradually awaken, draw their hands

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23 Utley provides the most complete description and analysis of the events (200-230).
24 The exact death toll is unknown, but according to military records, 146 Sioux were buried by the cavalry: 84 men and boys, 44 women, and 18 children (Utley 227).
across their eyes, slowly get up, and with faltering steps leave the dance ground. The drummers give a final roll which marks the end of the dance. (343)

Salomon also instructs his readers to paint and wear Ghost Shirts (341). And so while Native religious ceremonies were outlawed, and violently crushed, White children were being taught these same ceremonies as activities to entertain and educate them.25

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25 In the United States, Native ceremonies, particularly the Sun Dance, were prohibited until the 1934 Wheeler-Howard Act (under Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier) which accepted if not encouraged tribal religions; in fact, it was only in 1978, with the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, that Native people's rights to "believe, express, and exercise the traditional religions" would be fully recognized (Hagan 208). In Canada, the potlatch was officially outlawed in 1884, and the law was not removed from the Indian Act until 1951.
Chapter Two:
Mistaken Identities

What has two legs like an Indian? Two eyes like an Indian? Two hands like an Indian? Looks just like an Indian? But is not an Indian?

A picture of an Indian.
Though Indians were a mainstay in children's books by non-Native authors, a small group of books written by Native Americans were included alongside the popular texts that dominated the book market. In the *Children's Catalog*, a resource for librarians, teachers, and parents searching for "approved" books for children, works by Francis La Flesche (Omaha), Charles Alexander Eastman (Santee Sioux), Zitkala-Sa (Yankton Sioux), Luther Standing Bear (Lakota Sioux), and Louise Abieta/E-Yeh-Shure (Isleta Pueblo) were listed among those by Cooper, Seton, Alsheler and Skinner (see Third through Eighth editions). The Department of the Interior's 1926 *Bibliography of Indian and Pioneer Stories Suitable for Children* included La Flesche, Eastman and Zitkala-Sa. Other resource material directed specifically to Canadian children's librarians and parents included Emily Pauline Johnson's (Mohawk) works (Smith).

In her column "Books and Readers" featured in *St. Nicholas* magazine, Hildegard Hawthorne actively promoted Charles Eastman's three children's volumes, *Indian Boyhood, Wigwam Evenings*, and *Red Hunters and the Animal People*, to the readers of the popular and influential magazine, insisting that "Every American boy and girl should know these books ..." (284). And it seems that children did get their hands on them. Bettina Hürlimann, a German critic of children's literature, recalls:

*Aber aus diesen Namen, die wir trugen, ist es deutlich erkennbar, daß es der Coopersche «Lederstrumpf» war, aus dem wir unsere grundlegenden Kenntnisse bezogen. Dazu kam durch einen glücklichen Zufall Eastmans «Ohijesa», die wirklichen Erinnerungen eines Siouxindianers, der später ein Doktor bei den Weißen wurde, als Kind jedoch noch ein wirkliches Indianerwaldleben sowie die letzten blutigen Aufstände der*
Hawthorne's and Hürlimann's comments remind one of the range of books about Indians available to the young reader, from the classic Leatherstocking Tales to the dimes and their followers. They also demonstrate that children (in North America and abroad) discovered and were encouraged to read books by Native Americans when reading about the adventures of Indian life from Cooper and his non-Native followers.

It is important to consider why these books, some of the earliest writings by Native Americans, were made available specifically for child readers. It is fair to say that in some cases these books may have been found on children's shelves because that was simply where books about Indians ended up. Because Indians as a subject were known to be, or believed to be, quite appropriate for children, libraries often stocked two copies of certain books: one for adults, and another for children. This was the case with Natalie Curtis' *The Indians' Book* (1907), a readable collection of Indigenous songs assembled by a noted musicologist, and Emily Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* (1911), an entertaining volume of Squamish stories collected by the Mohawk poet. This cross-cataloging is not at all unfamiliar in any study of what constitutes "children's literature," for children often appropriate, or are given, books which appeal, or might appeal, to them.

1 Karl May, known as the German Fenimore Cooper, was the author of the three volume novel *Winnetou* (1892). In place of Leatherstocking and Chingachgook, May created Old Shatterhand and his noble Redskin companion Winnetou. May's novel was phenomenally popular both in Germany and abroad, selling seven and a half million copies in German alone prior to the Second World War (Hürlimann 90-95).

2 "From the names which we took for ourselves in our childhood games it is obvious that it was from Cooper's Leatherstocking that we got our main ideas. By a lucky chance we also got hold of Eastman's Ohijesa [sic], the true memoirs of a Sioux Indian who in his later years became a doctor among the whites, but as a child in the 1860s had experienced the life of a forest Indian, even down to the last bloody battles of the 'Redskins.' In addition to these we gorged ourselves on Karl May and on cheap little books that we could get with our pocket-money." Bettina Hürlimann, *Three Centuries of Children's Books in Europe*, trans. Brian W. Alderson (London: Oxford University Press, 1967) 113.

3 *Indian Boyhood* was translated into French, German, Danish, and Russian, and so for many children Eastman was the primary Indian author.
Other books, as we shall see in Chapters Three and Four of this study, seem to have been written and published with child readers as their primary audience. That is, the authors intended their books to be read by children, and they were subsequently released and reviewed as children’s literature. However, sometimes books ended up on children’s shelves not as a result of cross-cataloging, and not because the author believed children were the proper audience for his or her writing, but because they were mistakenly shaped as, or believed to be, children’s books. This chapter examines two such cases of mistaken identity, Mourning Dove’s *Coyote Stories* (1933) and E-Yeh-Shure’s *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* (1939), to demonstrate the problematic nature of many of the early Native authored children’s texts.

Perhaps the most provocative instance of mistaken identity is Mourning Dove’s *Coyote Stories*. Humishuma, whose English name was Christine Quintasket, was born around 1882, and was enrolled as a member of the Lake tribe on the Colville Reservation. However, she commonly referred to herself as Mourning Dove (the English translation of Humishuma), and as an Okanogan (Brown, "Mourning Dove" 259-260). Although she had very little formal education, and the ongoing competing pressures of a large extended family, illness, poverty, and the transience and exhaustion which came with her work as a migrant laborer, Mourning Dove aspired to be a writer. In 1912 she completed a draft of her first and only novel, *Cogewea, the Half-Blood*, and over the next two years, she began to record the oral narratives of the Okanogan. With the help Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, whom she met in 1914, she revised and edited the novel for publication in 1915-16. Mourning Dove scholar Alanna Kathleen Brown suggests that "had the cost of paper and other printing supplies been less during World War I, *Cogewea* might have been published as early as 1917 or 1918" (260), but for whatever reason, the novel was not accepted for publication. After six years of searching for a publisher, McWhorter re-edited the novel, this time without Mourning Dove’s input, and attempted, once again, to have it published; he succeeded, and it appeared in print in 1927. During the time he

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4 Her married names were Christal McLeod and Christine Galler.
sought publishers' interest for the novel, McWhorter strongly encouraged Mourning Dove to continue collecting the Okanogan stories for publication (even when she desired to continue writing fiction), and six years after the novel was published, the story collection *Coyote Stories* was made available to the public.5

In its final "as published" form, *Coyote Stories* appears to be directed toward children. In the author's preface, the reader is told that children make up the audience for Okanogan stories:

It used to be the custom for story-tellers to go from village to village and relate *chip-chap-tiquik* to the children. How gladly were those tribal historians welcomed by busy mothers, and how glad were the boys and girls when one came to visit! ... Some of the women were noted story-tellers, but they never made it a business to go from village to village to tell them. We children would go to them. I particularly remember Ka-at-qqhu (Big Lip), Old Jennie, Tee-qvalt (Tall), or Long Thresa, and my maternal grandmother, Soma-how-atqhu (She-got-her-power-from-the-water). I loved these simple, kindly people, and I think of them often. And in my memory I treasure a picture of my dear mother, who, when I was a very little girl, made the bedtime hours happy for me with the legends she told. She would tell them to me until I fell asleep. (10-11)

Whether they are told by the tribal storytellers or parents and close relations, these narratives are, apparently, always told to children. To underscore this emphasis, the author's preface concludes with the explanation that the legends were "set down by me for the children of another race to read" (12). Thus, from the information which precedes the text, it seems that the stories recorded here are part of a tradition of oral storytelling for children, a tradition which this book now records for non-Native children.

5 Alanna Kathleen Brown's research on Mourning Dove is indispensable to any study of her writing. Particularly important for this thesis is "The Evolution of Mourning Dove's *Coyote Stories*" (1992), "The Editorialized Mourning Dove" (1993), and the overview published in *Dictionary of Native American Literature* entitled "Mourning Dove" (1994). However, Brown has published a number of other studies on Mourning Dove, and her important work is ongoing. I am indebted to her research for providing an understanding of Mourning Dove and her relationship with her editors McWhorter and Guie, and for her initial examination of the correspondence which I cite here. Also helpful in my research was Alice Poindexter Fisher's 1979 dissertation *Transformation of Tradition*. 
However, *Coyote Stories* has a complicated editorial history which throws into question its obvious existence as a children's text. *Coyote Stories* was not written by Mourning Dove alone, for she had the aid, and sometimes interference, of two editors: Lucullus Virgil McWhorter and Heister Dean Guie. These editors were so involved in her work that Brown comments "the primary critical problem" in any study of Mourning Dove's writing "remains how to distinguish Mourning Dove's work from that of her editors in order to accurately assess her place in the literary canon" ("Mourning Dove" 259). This is, of course, a not unfamiliar quandary in any study of literature, because books extend beyond the author and his or her manuscript to editors and printers (among other hands) who create the final "thing" that is ultimately read as the book. The problem of distinguishing author from editor(s) is intensified in Native American literary history because texts in English by Native Americans who did not speak or write English were produced through a series of translators, writers and editors, each of whom influenced (to varying degrees) the final text. What makes *Coyote Stories* significant in this study is the fact that Mourning Dove's collection of Okanogan narratives had actually been written in English by Mourning Dove herself, but was ultimately shaped into a very different book by her editors. Thus, the primary critical problem here is to accurately assess Mourning Dove's intentions for her collection of Okanogan narratives, and to consider the influence of her editors on the collection's ultimate publication as the children's book *Coyote Stories*.

Though it was McWhorter's persuasion which led her to set aside her own creative writing in favor of putting all of her literary energy into preserving the traditional narratives of her people, Mourning Dove had been collecting the stories of the Okanogan prior to meeting him. It seems, from her correspondence, that she had envisioned a volume of stories and a title for it before becoming acquainted with McWhorter, as another of her correspondents, J. W. Langdon, referred to the work in a letter in which he encouraged her to contact McWhorter for
the first time (11; 1505; September 30, 1914). Her original vision for the collection was a sophisticated one. Brown suggests that "Mourning Dove wrote the legends to record spiritual recollections of a people's beginnings and to examine states of mind, to explore the psychology of animal behaviors including that of human beings" (Evolution 164). The title which she planned for her collection, Okanagan Sweat House, reflects her regard for the stories as fundamental sacred and communal narratives. For the Okanogans the sweathouse held "an essential place in Indian life" (Cline 167). The story of the sweathouse is the Okanogan's foundational "naming myth" which recounts how all the beings of the world, called the Animal World by Mourning Dove, received their names and power from Hah-ah' Eel-me'-whem, the Great Spirit or Spirit Chief. Along with their names and power, the Spirit Chief gave the new people the "benefit of the spiritual works of the Sweat-house" (Hines Tales 64-5) by giving them the sweathouse and its power to physically and spiritually purify those who bathe within it. Because of its power, the sweathouse is sacred, and its construction and use are religious rituals which are undertaken with respect and reverence; sweathouse songs and prayers (some held in common, some known only to the individual and taught by that person's power) are an important part of the sweat bath. The sweathouse is at the same time a social center where individuals can come together to address community issues in a sacred manner. So important did Mourning Dove regard the sweathouse for her people that she not only titled her collection Okanagan Sweat House, but also suggested that the story of the sweathouse, "The Great Spirit Names the Animal People," be placed first when the book was published (Fisher 130).

Her collection was also to be a thorough one. In 1916, Mourning Dove wrote to J. P. MacLean about the narratives:

6 This, and all subsequent letters are housed in the Manuscripts, Archives and Special Collections Division of the Washington State Universities Libraries, Pullman, Washington 99164. The correspondence between Lucullus Virgil McWhorter and Mourning Dove is organized in folders, with each sheet numbered within the folder. I have adopted the notation style of Alanna Kathleen Brown in her extensive research on Mourning Dove by indicating the folder number, and the sheet number within the folder, as well as the date of the letter.
The supply is great and I have hardly touched the field. I want to make as complete a collection as possible. Indeed my hope is to make it the best tribal work ever written. To do this I do not think it best to rush into print without first having a tradition as complete as possible. ... But I am in it and I love the work and I want to preserve the sacred stories of my fast disappearing people. (33; 392; March 23, 1916)

Between 1912 and 1921 she collected thirty-eight stories from a variety of tribal storytellers and planned, apparently, to publish them all.

Although McWhorter had heavily edited the earlier novel Cogewea, the Half-Blood into its final published form, he allowed Mourning Dove greater control over the narratives of Okanogan Sweat House. His primary interest was ethnographic accuracy and he made few changes in the stories themselves, hoping to keep them as close to the oral narratives as possible. He also respected Mourning Dove's skills as a collector and a storyteller and allowed her much freedom in deciding what to tell and how to tell it (Brown, "Evolution" 276).

McWhorter considered the collection an important volume because he envisioned it for a wide audience, not for one of the two audiences aboriginal narratives were usually presented to: scholars or children. Primarily, McWhorter made it clear that even though there was interest in the stories for children, he did not wish to limit Mourning Dove's collection in that way. In a letter dated December 3, 1916, he wrote:

> Our idea is that a well written work in plain english [sic] would meet with a recognized demand for pure native folklore stories. Many of our local teachers have spoken to me on this subject. It has been put up to me that a volume written especially for children would meet with a ready sale, but I am averse to engaging in such work, at the present time especially. (34; 392)

And so McWhorter avoided editing Okanogan Sweat House for the lucrative audience of children, and worked to have the stories published for a general audience, which both he and Mourning Dove believed appropriate for the collection. In 1922 the book was ready for publication but, although there was some early interest in it, McWhorter did not succeed in getting the book to print.

In 1929, McWhorter introduced another hand into Okanogan Sweat House when he asked Heister Dean Guie, a young journalist from Yakima, Washington (McWhorter's home
town), to proofread the manuscript. Over the next five months, however, Guie became the illustrator and full-scale editor of the volume, urging a new title and a different prospective audience for the text, and shaping the collection to suit that audience.

Guie’s editorial hand can be observed when one compares the collection as it was published in 1933, after his involvement, to a collection of Mourning Dove’s stories edited by Donald M. Hines in 1976 entitled Tales of the Okanogans. Recognizing that “the original edition was extensively rewritten and made proper,” Hines created an edition of Mourning Dove’s stories which would present them "approximately as Mourning Dove typed, translated, and submitted them to McWhorter,” and so eliminated the many changes that Guie made for the first edition (10, 9). It is important to acknowledge, however, that Hines did his own editing of Mourning Dove’s text, for he regularized the capitalization, punctuation, spelling and grammar of the original manuscripts. Brown offers a just criticism of Hines when she observes that even though this edition begins to approach what Mourning Dove originally intended for her collection, "Hines’s editing does dilute the oral force and accuracy of Mourning Dove’s translations because he edited so extensively. He even went so far as to rephrase some sentences and to substitute other words for Mourning Dove’s, and such choices also have slightly altered the tone of the tales” (“Evolution” 284). However, until a more accurately edited volume of Mourning Dove’s manuscripts is available, Hines’ volume serves as a reasonable and accessible reference for a study of how the narratives were altered from Mourning Dove’s early transcripts for their eventual publication in 1933.

The most obvious change made to Mourning Dove’s original text is the title of the volume. The original title, Okanogan Sweat House, focused on a fundamental sacred object and practice of the Okanogan people (as discussed above). Guie suggested a change in the title, and through some discussion between Mourning Dove, McWhorter and Guie, the title Coyote Stories was finally decided upon (Fisher 129-130; see also the letter to McWhorter from Mourning Dove 64; 526; June 7, 1929). The final title does retain the sacredness of the original, because Coyote is a very important figure in Okanogan spirituality. He is the ancestor of the Okanogans, and
is responsible for making the world into the world as it is known to human people today. But it is also a title which is not immediately spiritual, and is broadly understandable. While very few non-Okanogan, non-Native readers would know or understand what a sweathouse is, and its importance in the spiritual life of the people, and would perhaps be put off from buying or reading the volume because of this, the new title suggested animal stories, a type of literature familiar to Western readers through Aesop's Fables and fairy tales (perhaps in line with Mother Goose tales). Significantly, these genres of literature—animal stories and fairy tales—were (and are) generally accepted as primarily children's fare. This understanding is so common that Roger Sale, in his recent examination of children's literature *Fairy Tales and After*, wrote that animals form "the backbone of children's literature as we know it" (99). Thus the change in title from *Okanogan Sweat House* to *Coyote Stories* makes the collection more accessible to non-Native readers, and particularly dresses it as a children's book.

One substantial change which Guie made was his decision to collect only twenty-seven of Mourning Dove's original thirty-eight stories for *Coyote Stories*. The main thrust of his alterations is not surprising, given 1930s sensibilities regarding what would and would not be appropriate for children. Stories which include events like infanticide and incest are eliminated. For example, "How Disease Came to the People" ['The Origin of Diseases'\(^1\)] an account of a man who kills a baby he has fathered with his sister, is not included in the edition. "Fisher and His Brother Skunk" ['Skunk and Fisher'], a story which has Skunk "making wind" and putting "his fluid" on things is, not surprisingly, also left out. As well, Guie excluded long and complicated narratives, such as "Boy Lynx and Owl Woman," or those which contain a large amount of violence, as does "The Three Wolf Brothers and Three Bear Sisters."

In fact, he frequently changes the titles of the stories provided by Mourning Dove, even when

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1 Donald Hines frequently uses different story titles (and a different organization) from those given by Mourning Dove (listed in Fisher, 152). Throughout this chapter I have included both titles: Mourning Dove's is listed first, followed by Hines' in square brackets [ ], except in cases where the titles are identical.
he does not alter their content severely, to remove any hint of violence from them. Titles like "Coyote Kills Wind," "Chickadee Kills Elk," and "How Crawfish Whipped Grizzlybear" are changed to "Coyote Meets Wind and Some Others," "Chickadee Makes a Shoo'-Mesh Bow," and "Crawfish and Grizzly Bear," respectively.8

Guie also edits out sexual, violent, and scatological references within the texts of the stories he does include in the final collection. In Mourning Dove's narrative "Coyote Devours His Own Children," Guie has Coyote abandon his offspring, rather than dine on them. He titles this new version of the story "Coyote Quarrels with Mole." In "The First Sun Dance" Mourning Dove's conclusion relates the dance which originated long ago to the present day: "This dance the new people, who came afterwards, still dance in time of war" (80). In the Coyote Stories version of this tale, "Porcupine Learns the Sun-Dance," Guie eliminates this reference to violence with a new ending: "The New People, when they came, were able to learn the Sun-dance" (188). With this change, Guie avoids any statement of war, and the suggestion that war might "still" be on the Okanagan's minds. His editing also leaves out a reference which demonstrates the contemporary nature of the stories, in that Guie's version does not show that the Sun Dance is "still" a part of Okanagan culture.

In the story of "The Gods of the Sun and the Moon," Guie is quite creative in his attempt to get around the sexual events of the story. In Mourning Dove's early version, "The Moon and Sun Gods," Coyote left Mole, his wife, in search of new adventures after their children left home. Mole lived alone for a long time, but grew tired of waiting for Coyote to return; when she saw a rock which took her fancy, "She pretended it was her husband, Coyote. Mole made love to the rock. After nine months there came to her a boy papoose. She named him Stee-qu'-let (heated rock child)" (54). After a time, she became lonely again. She found a white root

8 Titles are a convention of written texts. Stories within Aboriginal oral traditions are not generally known by titles but are referred to by the events recounted in the story; thus Mourning Dove's titles are perhaps as arbitrary as Guie's, though she may have titled them according to the way they were referred to by the storytellers. In any case, it is notable that she did furnish them, if only to provide a "shorthand" by which the stories could be discussed in correspondence.
which attracted her, made love to the root, and nine months later came another boy papoose.

This child she named Swoe'-let (white root). When Coyote returned, "He knew that he had been at fault for his wife's unfaithfulness in his absence. He took the children to himself" (55).

Guie changes the story to avoid any overt evidence of sexual relations between Mole and rock and root. In the Coyote Stories version of "The Gods of the Sun and the Moon," Coyote and Mole have two sons at home when Coyote leaves. The reader is told:

Every sun Mole became more lonely. One day she saw a rock of odd shape. She liked it. She pretended it was Coyote; she made love to it. After it she named the older of her two small boys. ... On another day, while digging roots she found a root that was white. It pleased her. As her smallest son's skin was light in color, she named him after the root. (179)

Guie's changes remove the central sexual act from the story; after all, making love can mean "romancing" as well as having sexual intercourse. Significantly, no offspring result from the relationship Mole has with rock and root, and so, even if one would want to read sex into this scene, there is not clear proof of it; further, the illegitimacy of the children, which would be scandalous in a children's book of 1933, is avoided. However, in Mourning Dove's original, the children's parentage of rock and root is important because it is this which gives the two children their color, their character, and their connection to the earth - important qualities when they later become the Sun and the Moon. Also essential in the original is Coyote's forgiveness and understanding of Mole's actions as the result of his wandering, and his acceptance of the two boys as his sons; there is an honest examination of human (and animal) nature in relationships here which is expunged from Coyote Stories.

Guie not only removes particular elements from the text, he also adds them. For Guie, every event and action in the stories must be understandable, and so he must frequently explain situations so that they make sense. Mourning Dove scholar Alice Poindexter Fisher examines one case of this explanation in the opening to "Coyote and Buffalo," which in Mourning Dove's version begins:

Coyote [Sin-ka-liip] was walking along a prairie country where he saw no trees. He came to a flat and there found an old buffalo skull, grey
with age. As he looked at the bones lying around, he thought of the times when the Buffalo Bull was alive, how he feared him. Now that Buffalo [Quasp'-et-za] was dead and helpless, he was going to take his revenge. He would make sport of Buffalo’s bones. (149)

Guie alters this by adding an introduction to the story, what Fisher calls a "framing device":

No Buffalo ever lived in the Swah-netk'-ghu country. That was Coyote’s fault. If he had not been so foolish and greedy, the people beside the Swah-netk'-ghu would not have had to cross the Rockies to hunt the quas-peet-za (curled hairs). (63)

Fisher points out that "What is taken for granted in the oral tradition—that is, Coyote’s behavior inevitably accounts for the way things are—must be articulated in the written. And in this case, Guie uses the framing devices for the tales to not only state their didactic purpose but to lend them credibility as well" (142). Although "Coyote and Buffalo" offers one of the best examples of this "framing device," because Guie seems so uncomfortable allowing Coyote’s actions to stand alone, it is not the only story to which Guie adds explanation.

In "Coyote Quarrels with Mole" (which Mourning Dove calls "Coyote Devours His Own Children") Guie once again writes an new beginning for the story. "Coyote and his wife, Mole, and their children were living by themselves, away from the winter encampment of the people," Guie opens:

The other people did not want Coyote around, he was so lazy and tricky. Coyote and his family were poor that winter. They had only a little food, and that was supplied by the faithful Mole. Each day she would go out and gather herbs and moss and dried and shriveled sko-geau (rose-hips). She did that to keep the five children from starving. And she carried all the wood and water, while Coyote loafed and practised his war songs.

One sun, as Mole was chopping a rotten stump .... (115)

Mourning Dove’s story begins "One sun as Coyote's wife, Mole [Pul'laqu-whu], was chopping an old rotten stump ..." (85). From a comparison of these two openings, it is clear that there is much unstated in Mourning Dove’s story which Guie must explain, particularly that Coyote’s character is dubious because his children are starving, because he does not hunt. Mourning Dove allows the fact that Coyote cannot even kill a small deer which his wife is holding with her bare hands to demonstrate information about these characters, while Guie “fills in the blanks” so that there is no question as to how one should regard Coyote and Mole.
Just as he adds introductions to the narratives to explain them, he also frequently introduces absolute conclusions or morals to the endings of the stories. For example, in her story "Coyote Kills Owl-Woman," Mourning Dove ends the narrative with Coyote's admonitions against Owl. She writes: "Coyote told the bird, 'In the future, Owl-woman's remains will only be a thing to scare a bad child into sleep. You will only travel by night because you will be blind in the daylight, only able to see in darkness, because your eyes were burnt out with the pitch.' So it is to this day. Indian children are still afraid of Owl-woman" (102-103).

Guie, on the other hand, closes "Chipmunk and Owl-Woman" with a reflection on the death of Owl: "In that way perished the wicked Owl-woman. Bad persons always must pay for the evil workings of their minds" (59). With this alteration, Guie avoids instilling a fear of owls in his readers, but he also adds an unmistakable moral statement which is not part of Mourning Dove's text.

The most remarkable alterations which Guie made to Mourning Dove's words are not found in the text of the stories themselves, but in Mourning Dove's preface for her collection. Mourning Dove was well aware that the Okanogan narratives were not part of the "literary heritage" of non-Native people, and she created a preface which would provide context for these stories so that someone unfamiliar with the culture and Okanogan oral storytelling could begin to understand what the stories, as a group, are about, the role they play within the Okanogan community, and how and why she decided to translate and record them.

In her original preface, Mourning Dove included a thorough discussion of the time of the Animal World and of the important figure of Coyote. She explained:

When the animal world was in progress, the animals of today were supposed to be in the intermediate stage between man and animal. It seems that they were somewhat in the form of humans, but were able to turn themselves into animals at will, like the old Indian doctors were supposed to do, as believed by the Indians in the early days. These half animal people knew all the time that at some later date the creation of man would come. When that day came, the Great Spirit created man, and the speech of the animals was forbidden.

The Indian believed that there was a time when the animals and men combined to rule the world. Man-eating monsters of the earth were a curse to man for his disobedience, caused by Coyote using his evil
Manitou powers. The Indian also believed that his ancestor was the notorious Coyote, from whom he inherited the slant eye. My people called Coyote Sin-ka'-lip, which means Imitator. He delighted in mocking and imitating others, or trying to. As he was a great one to play tricks, sometimes he was spoken of as Trick Person. Coyote lost his power through his evil ways. With it went his power of reading signs, and only picture writing was left. But the Great Spirit gave the Indian the sweat-house to use as medicine for his body. Herbs were also given for mankind's benefit. It is believed that the Animal World and Man ruled, and after so long, the generation of man came to stay. But the Great Spirit gave the Indian his shoo'-mesh powers through the medium of animals. (13-14)

Guie, in keeping with his abbreviated collection of the narratives, summarizes the discussion of Okanogan spiritual life to focus on Coyote. "The Animal People were here first—before there were any real people," the preface to Coyote Stories begins,

Coyote was the most important because, after he was put to work by the Spirit Chief, he did more than any of the others to make the world a good place in which to live. There were times, however, when Coyote was not busy for the Spirit Chief. Then he amused himself by getting into mischief and stirring up trouble. Frequently he got into trouble himself, and then everybody had a good laugh—everybody but Mole. She was Coyote's wife.

My people call Coyote Sin-ka-lip', which means Imitator. He delighted in mocking and imitating others, or in trying to, and, as he was a great one to play tricks, sometimes he is spoken of as 'Trick Person.' (7)

To be sure, this is one aspect of Coyote's character, but, like the change in title from Okanogan Sweat House to Coyote Stories, this discussion greatly simplifies Coyote's role among the Okanogans as the instigator who shaped their world, and the relationship between the stories of the Animal World and the contemporary one.

Significantly, according to Mourning Dove, the stories contained in this volume are told to adults and children alike. In her preface, she notes,

Chip-chap-tequlk, Indian Myths, were told from one generation to another by the storytellers. It was their business to go from teepee to teepee telling the ancient stories of the Animal World [C-caw-cawa Sk'illa-whnl]. The storytellers went from one Indian encampment to another to tell the tales to their people, both old and young. They were welcomed at every fireside to do their work. Vividly I recall .... (12)

This statement is markedly different from the explanation within Coyote Stories (cited at the beginning of this discussion), which states that chip-chap-tequlk were told to "boys and girls,"
the storytellers serving almost as babysitters for busy mothers rather than skilled artisans respected and welcomed by "both old and young." Not surprisingly perhaps, Guie also saw fit to add the final "dedication" to "the children of another race" (12), a statement not made anywhere in Mourning Dove's original preface.

Another change which Guie makes to this preface is his inclusion of a particular statement about the way the narratives are understood among the Okanogan: "To the younger generations, chip-chap-tiquulk are improbable stories; that is a result of the white man's schools. But to the old Indians, chip-chap-tiquulk are not at all improbable; they are accounts of what really happened when the world was very young" (7). Like the dedication, this statement does not appear in Mourning Dove's original preface. It is a disturbing addition because it is a judgement of the truth of these stories, one which Mourning Dove did not make. According to this statement, these stories are "accounts of what really happened when the world was very young" only to those "old Indians" who do not know "the white man's schools." To those who are educated (in the Western mode of reading, writing, and arithmetic), these stories are improbable, only fantasy or fiction. Guie's addition thus does not allow for a contemporary belief in the Okanogan narratives.

Finally, Guie also edits the deeply personal reflections which were included in the original preface. Here Mourning Dove revealed the true anxiety she felt in recording the stories in print:

I have L. V. McWhorter of Yakima, Washington, a man who has much interest in Indian life, to thank for this attempt at putting into words the tales and folklore of my people. My interest was in writing novels showing the Indian viewpoint. But he suggested that I preserve that which is fast vanishing out of our reach, namely the traditions of the Okanogans and Swah-netk'-qha people. In the whirl of civilization, our young Indians are losing their savage ways so fast that folklore is not of interest to them anymore. The younger generation of Indians has purposely forgotten the beliefs of his ancestors. He has taken the God of the white man as his own, and forgotten the Great Spirit of his people.

I first wrote the lines of these stories much against my will, but as I worked and gathered tales among the oldest Indians of my people, I found a rich field that had hardly been touched by the hand of the white man, although he has attempted it several times. But a white
man cannot understand what an Indian will see, and he cannot know that which comes from the heart and not only from the voice. The work aroused great sympathy and interest among my fast-vanishing people, people who will all go in a matter of a few years to their last Happy Hunting Grounds, never to return.

Although my people of today may have lost their confidence in me for exposing their guarded traditions, I will feel well rewarded if I have preserved for the future generations the folklore of my ancestors.

Mourning Dove (as related to L. V. McWhorter). (14)

Her words are compelling, for the reader is given a glimpse into the conflicts faced by an individual who chose to record in print the "guarded traditions" of her people: she speaks of their sympathy and interest, as well as their loss of confidence in her. She also reveals why she was finally convinced to write down these narratives: first, because there is more to these stories than can be understood with a mere translation of voice common among anthropologists, and second, a version written by someone intimately familiar with the stories and the people would capture the "heart" of the narratives, not just the "voice" of them.

However, as compelling as these conflicts of interest and emotion may be, there is no room for conflict or possible regret within Coyote Stories. The 1933 version of the preface concludes:

And I must acknowledge my debt to a blue-eyed 'Indian,' Lucullus Virgil McWhorter, whom the Yakimas adopted many snows ago and named He-mene Kawan (Old Wolf). His heart is warm toward the red people. In him the Indians of the Pacific Northwest have a true friend. But for his insistence and encouragement, these legends would not have been set down by me for the children of another race to read. Mourning Dove. (12)

Thus the difficult decision to record the stories is, like the rest of the collection, simplified into a statement of excessive and stereotypical gratitude to the benevolent White man.

What is revealing is not only that Guie edited Mourning Dove's texts for children, but why he did so, and the fate of the volume once it was published in this format. Guie was acquainted with a manager of Lowman and Hanford's book department by the name of Erickson, and consulted him regarding a draft of Coyote Stories. In a letter to McWhorter June 26, 1929, Guie wrote about Erickson's response:

He said they were a little too scholarly (not highbrow but having an appeal more to adults than to children). And that is the thing to
avoid, he said. There should be an adult appeal, but it should be subordinate to the juvenile appeal. That is, the legends should be presented so that adults would enjoy reading them to their kids but also so that the youngsters would want to read them by themselves. Edward S. Curtis, in his two books for children, made the mistake of "writing above the heads" of the children to some extent. As a consequence, his books have not enjoyed good sales according to Erickson. He advised me to speed up the legends in spots, where possible, and to avoid some of the repetition; to use simpler words in lieu of some that would not be understood by children. He thought the length of the legends just about right, but said that there should be no more than 20 in the volume. Twenty legends of the length he saw would make about 200 pages, with illustrations, which would be a slightly flatter book than "Indian Why Stories" by Linderman. The latter is a little too big, he said. He suggested that without delay I shoot in three or four legends to William Morrow Co., New York, or to Little, Brown & Co., together with the illustrations, and get their opinion.

Erickson advised speed in submitting the sample legends, in order to get ahead of anyone else who might have western legends in preparation. He said "ours" should go over in good style, particularly as none or few have been published of the eastern Washington Indians. Especially should they appeal to the Morrow company, as Mrs. Morrow is Honore Willisie [sic] (?), the western woman writer and novelist, and the firm leans to stuff from the "wild west." He said I should submit the samples as written and as revised to meet juvenile taste better, with the explanation of the reason for submitting both; that he could push the sales here in Seattle and that every library in the U.S. would buy two or three copies. ... He should know what the public wants, as he has been with Lowman & Hanford book dept. for 15 years, working up from errand boy to manager of his dept. and knows the book selling business throughout. (90; 386)

While McWhorter had tried to have the stories accepted by publishers with the understanding that they were for a broad audience, and had been reluctant to release them for publication as children's stories, Guie was not so particular. He was interested in having the book accepted on any terms, and it seems that by 1929, with the earlier Okanogan Sweat House unpublished, McWhorter was now prepared to bow to the publishing world which was still ready, and even eager, to publish the narratives for children and thus the market of public libraries, school libraries, classrooms, and home libraries which catered to them.

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10 Little Brown published Charles Eastman's Indian Boyhood, as well as most of his other books.
As we have seen, Guie followed the bookseller’s advice, honing down the stories to twenty seven, and keeping the volume to a total of 229 pages of simplified text complete with illustrations by Guie himself, plus fifteen pages of notes by McWhorter. It was published by Caxton in 1933, and was, in Brown’s words, "a stunning publishing success" ("Editorialized" 283). Even though the book appeared in the midst of the Great Depression, when children’s book publishing was greatly limited and sales were generally extremely low, it was well received by reviewers and buyers alike, and went into a second printing by 1934 (Brown, "Mourning Dove" 261).

Clearly, Mourning Dove’s Okanogan Sweat House was shaped into the children’s book Coyote Stories because that was how publishers would accept her manuscript. The history of this Native-authored children’s text raises questions about what early twentieth-century publishers regarded as the appropriate or best place for books about Indians, and books by Indians. Brown suggests that it was only as a children’s book that Mourning Dove’s stories could be told; that as an Indian her words were only regarded as appropriate, or at least sellable, for children ("Evolution" 175). I believe that she is correct, but that this is only half of the story. That is, it is clear that Okanogan Sweat House could only be published, and has only been readily accepted, in the form of Coyote Stories (Hines’ edition went quickly out of print while the children’s book has been reprinted), and this fact demonstrates the general regard that the publishing world, and Euroamerican culture, had (and perhaps still has) for Aboriginal voices: that they were effectively children, and their writing was, by extension, childish and so for children.

However, it is also important to be aware that Mourning Dove was not the only Indigenous person to record her people’s stories in English with the hope of releasing them as a book for adult readers in the early decades of the twentieth century. Arthur Parker and Ella Deloria, Native anthropologists whose Seneca Myths and Folk Tales (1923) and Dakota Texts (1932), respectively, appeared in the same period as Mourning Dove’s collection, were able to accomplish what Mourning Dove had not. It may be that lacking the academic credentials
(and academic connections) which allowed Parker and Deloria an entry into the scholarly book market, the only other form a collection of narratives could take was a children’s book (I will discuss this in greater detail in Chapter Three).

This possibility reflects on a group of children’s books compiled by Gilbert L. Wilson. Though my focus is Native-authored children’s texts, and Wilson was Euroamerican, his work deserves some mention here because of the fascinating turns that his career as a writer and scholar took throughout his life. Wilson was a Presbyterian minister serving in Minnesota and North Dakota just after the turn of the century. While a pastor in Mandan, North Dakota, Wilson began to visit Mandan and Hidatsa villages, and to attend a variety of Native community events. Like Heckewelder and other missionaries who had recorded studies of the Aboriginal people with whom they interacted, Wilson began to collect Native objects and to document Hidatsa culture. In 1906 he traveled to Fort Berthold Reservation to clarify information for a work he and his brother were planning about Indian mythology (Gilbert was to write the book while Frederick, his brother, was to illustrate it), and through a series of church connections, Wilson met three Hidatsa individuals who were to have significant influence on his future work: Buffalo Bird Woman [Maxidiwiac or Waheenee], her brother Wolf Chief, and son Goodbird. He spent much time with Buffalo Bird Woman and her family, was eventually adopted into her clan, and collected volumes of information about the culture, through interviews and ongoing discussion arising from his close connection to this Hidatsa family.

The interesting thing about Wilson’s career is that his earliest publications, with the exception of one coauthored paper, were three children’s books: *Myths of the Red Children*

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11 Wilson supported his work with the Hidatsa by collecting objects and information for museums. In 1907 he sold a collection to George Heye, founder of the Museum of the American Indian in New York. In this collection was the sacred bundle of the Waterbuser clan, which Wilson bought from Wolf Chief; Wilson's first professional publication, co-authored by George Pepper, was about the origin of the bundle and its use: "An Hidatsa Shrine and the Beliefs Respecting It" in *Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association* 2 (1908): 275-378. The sale of the bundle away from the clan was controversial, and was not settled until the bundle was returned in 1938.
(1907), *Goodbird the Indian: His Story* (1914) and *Indian Hero Tales* (1916). Similar in intent to the Grimm's *Kinder- und Haus-Märchen* (1812), *Myths of the Red Children* was a collection of tales founded on American soil. "Who has not longed for a fairy lore of our own—one native to our broad America?" asked Wilson, and he provided a collection which would present "true examples of Indian folklore," taken from anthropological sources such as the Bureau of American Ethnology, for a wider audience, particularly children (v, vii). Wilson then edited his notes of the Hidatsa culture, particularly his talks with Goodbird (though he incorporated some information he learned from Buffalo Bird Woman into the narrative as well) into *Goodbird the Indian: His Story*, a children's book for the Council of Women for Home Missions to be used in their Inter-denominational Home Mission Study Course (Schneider viii). The third book, *Indian Hero Tales*, was similar to *Myths of the Red Children* as a collection of Aboriginal culture hero narratives edited for young readers. Though he had been collecting notes on the cultures voluminously, and had in fact worked for the American Museum of Natural History, he did not publish scholarly works until after he received a doctorate in anthropology in 1917. After 1917, Wilson went on to a scholarly career, publishing a series of monographs on the Hidatsa culture,12 but he returned to children's literature once again in 1927 with *Waheenee, An Indian Girl's Story*, the story of Goodbird's mother assembled from his notes taken over ten years earlier.

Why Wilson chose to present the information that he gathered in these two diverse formats, children's books and scholarly monographs, is not clear. Mary Jane Schneider suggests that he had an interest in providing accurate information about Native cultures to children (viii), a particularly honorable, and believable, reason for writing children's books. But looking at Wilson's publishing history, and in light of the history of Mourning Dove's text, as

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well as others which were not published for children (Deloria's and Parker's), it may be that it was only as children's books that Wilson could publish the information he had gathered.

It is important to note the period in question here: the first decades of the twentieth century. While it was often possible, indeed quite common, for those who were not strictly academic (e.g. "gentleman scholars") to publish books about Indians for a general audience in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—Heckewelder's work, for example, or J. B. Patterson's *Life of Ma-Ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak or Black Hawk* (1833)—with the rise of anthropology as a discipline after 1900, in the words of Arnold Krupat, "... American anthropologists would no longer be largely self-taught, sponsored by the government or the great urban museums; rather, they would be university trained, -accredited, and -affiliated" (For Those 75). As part of this professionalization, I suggest, the opportunities for publishing became increasingly stratified into two markets: scholars, and children. If one did not have the necessary training, accreditation, or affiliation to publish for scholars, children's literature was the only other option. As we have seen, McWhorter and Mourning Dove tried to work around, or against, this stratification by producing a volume in "plain english [sic]", but they were unsuccessful, and *Okanogan Sweat House* became *Coyote Stories*, a well received book, but not the one that Mourning Dove started out writing. It may be that, as a minister and not an anthropologist, Wilson's books could only be for children.

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The second case of mistaken identity is E-Yeh-Shure's *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*. Very little is known of the author of this intriguing picture book, listed as E-Yeh-Shure (Blue Corn) on the title page, and as Louise Abeita in *The Children's Catalog* (1941). The introduction to *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* explains that E-Yeh-Shure is (was) the daughter of an Isleta Pueblo man who recognized the grace and skill with which she wrote poetry in English and encouraged her to write the words for a book which would be illustrated by local Indigenous artists.
Assuming that this is an autobiography (which would be logical, based on the title and the first-person details narrated in the text, but it is by no means certain), the author was young enough to call herself a girl, rather than a woman, but it is not clear how young she was when she wrote her story.

Though little is known about her, the book which she had a hand in creating was well known in its time. I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl was published in 1939 by William Morrow, and was released in a special limited edition by E. M. Hale that same year. The book was highly recommended by a number of children's book reviewers, including those for "Horn Book," "Library Journal," "New York Times Book Review," and the "Saturday Review of Children's Books." E-Yeh-Shure's book was also listed in the Children's Catalog while it remained in print (through 1951).

I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl is, in many ways, a typical picture book for children. Text and picture are paired to form a series of vignettes about a young Pueblo girl's daily experiences. Although most of the "chapters" (each of which consists of a page of text and an illustration) are prose, the final two are poetry: "Birds and Their Feathers," and "Beauty." E-Yeh-Shure's language is direct, concise and facile; her text is at once informative and appealing. For example, in her discussion of "Making Bread," she writes: "When we are through making our bread and the oven cools our dog uses the oven for his house—when grandmother isn't looking. Some strange visitors think our oven is a cute little doghouse and we laugh." The illustrations, created by four Pueblo, Apache, and Navaho artists, are beautiful and inviting, particularly those which depict the child's experiences throughout her day: baking bread with her grandmother, washing her hair with her mother, and tending to her ponies.

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13 The pages of I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl are not numbered, and because the book is quite short, I have assumed that it will not be difficult for the reader to find the cited passages as necessary.
However, E-Yeh-Shure's *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* is in many ways a very unusual children's picture book. What sets it immediately apart is an introduction written by Oliver La Farge. La Farge was a vocal supporter of American Indian empowerment, and published articles in the same journals as John Collier, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs during the "New Deal for Indians" period of the 1930s and 40s. La Farge was also the author of a number of works of fiction about Indians for adults, not children—notably *Laughing Boy*, for which he received the Pulitzer Prize in 1930. His opening provides some background for the book, and suggests how readers should approach it.

La Farge warns the reader not to mistake the overt simplicity of the text and pictures, remarking that this simplicity stems from E-Yeh-Shure's desire "to make her way of life understood in the simplest possible way," because she wants to make her experiences accessible to non-Pueblo, and non-Native readers. He also suggests that the picture book form here reflects a high degree of artistic sophistication: "The American Indians, like the Chinese, have highly developed the type of poetry which consists of a juxtaposition of compactly stated pictures and implied ideas." Such statements are unusual (indeed, unheard of) in a book presumably intended for children: in a children's book it is simply understood that the text is simple because a child must be able to read it, and that pictures go along with the text to provide interest, and to expand upon the story's text.

This argument against the deceptive simplicity in Native American language has been made frequently. Howard Norman was asked by a student why the translations of Indian materials seemed 'unsophisticated' and 'childlike' to Western ears. Norman's insightful response is worth quoting in full here; he explained:

"Well, I'm always amazed, not at the complexity of the Cree language but in its economy. There's so much that can be assimilated into so little phrasing. My favorite anecdote about this is ... there are hermits scattered all throughout the north. A lot of them are Indians, and they live in isolated places, but you usually stop to talk to them before you go further. There were three of us traveling, two older people and

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14 See the 1932 issue of *Progressive Education* for articles by both La Farge and Collier.
myself, and we came upon this hermit. Now we all had packs with a
lot of things, and we were trying to find out what we needed to carry
with us. We also wanted to know how far and what direction the next
village was. The hermit came out on the porch, and this was the
exchange: '[Cree] Where was this village?' Basically, 'how far?'

And he said a phrase back, and everybody reacted by taking certain
things out of their packs, and leaving them on his porch, and then
setting out. No other words were spoken in reaction, except a kind of
perfunctory thank you. The term he said, when we asked how far to
the village, was '[Cree],' basically, 'Two porcupines to the north.'

Now as a phrase, just objectively, you could say that it's simple. It
would be poetic in a sense. But under the circumstances that phrase,
given a context you're walking in, is extraordinarily helpful, and very
succinct. The reason is that you have to know a lot about the area
you're walking. So first of all, you know which direction you're going,
you're going north; secondly, porcupines, you know, are very territorial -
there's usually one every three to five miles, roughly speaking - so you
know that if it's two porcupines to the north, it's at least a five or six
mile walk. You know what porcupines eat - they eat birch and aspen,
basically speaking - so you know what kind of terrain you're going to be
walking over. And you know what feeds on porcupines - martins,
fishers, wolverines occasionally come into that area, coyotes,
occaasionally wolves, things like that - so you know possibly what other
kinds of activity there will be, based on what they eat, which is fish
and small animals, and the climate, and area, specifically, you're
going into. And then you base what you take with you, and your
behavior, and what kind of shoes you wear and things, on that. So
while on the surface level it's kind of a simple statement, it has
assimilated and balanced a whole evolution, a complex statement
about the ecosystem basically in that one phrase.

To get back to the poetry, I think that it's interesting that you use the
term childlike, because I think that's pretty equivocal [sic] to what
the people generally say about a lot of Indian poetry. The emotions
might be very simple, and unpolluted somehow, but I think the way the
Cree talk about their language is that it's easy to use a lot of words, but
it's hard to use a few words in a lot of different ways." (Howard
Norman at UCLA, 13 February 1980, as quoted by Kenneth Lincoln, 272-
3, note 10)

Papago woman Maria Chona said much the same thing far more concisely when she explained
the brevity of Papago songs: "The song is very short because we understand so much" (51).

As an example of this economy in I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl one may look to the opening
chapter, "The Earth," where E-Yeh-Shure writes:

My people say that the earth is the mother of all things. Plants grow
from the earth. Animals live on the plants. The sun shines down on
them all and makes them grow. We use plants and animals for many
purposes.

Streams come down the mountain sides into the rivers in the valleys
below. We live in the valley.
When springtime comes all the plants turn green. Then my people turn the river water into the big canals they have built and onto their fields. The crops begin to grow. We take care of them and they grow through the summer until Harvest time. Harvest time brings yellow leaves and many colors to the land.

The Earth Mother is good to us, for we have corn, beans, squash and fruit.

Winter comes and we have cold days and bare trees. The earth goes to sleep until spring.

This succinct group of paragraphs explains the place of the Pueblo people on the earth, and their connection to, and relationship with, the land. The first paragraph demonstrates that all things are connected to and through the earth. The second paragraph explains the place of the Isleta people on the earth. The final three paragraphs depict the seasonal cycles of the earth, and the way that the Pueblo people live, with the sustenance of the three sisters (corn, beans, and squash) as part of those cycles. This prose poem offers the same information that many ethnographic monologues have provided, but with far fewer words.

A second example of this condensation can be seen in the poem which closes the volume, "Beauty":

Beauty is seen
In the sunlight,
The trees, the birds,
Corn growing and people working
Or dancing for their harvest.
Beauty is in yourself.

Beauty is heard
In the night,
Wind sighing, rain falling,
Or a singer chanting
Anything in earnest.

Good deeds, happy thoughts
That repeat themselves
In your dreams,
In your work,
And even in your rest.

Joseph Bruchac explains that for the Navajo (Dineh), the word hozho occurs repeatedly in their healing songs. Although hozho is generally translated into English as "beauty," the English word lacks the dimensions which hozho carries: "in Dineh, hozho does not mean just beauty. It also means balance" (Roots 108). And balance, for Native cultures, encompasses all elements of existence; it is "found not only in reference to human health and mental balance but to the health of the biosphere which surrounds us, to Earth itself. Further, political and social balance, relations between family members, between the people in a given nation and (in some
cases) between nations of people are also regarded as the healthy and intended conditions of humanity" (Roots 109). Read with this understanding, E-Yeh-Shure’s poem becomes not, or not only, a study of the beauty of the natural world: the sunlight, trees, birds, corn, people... but also of the balance of the world and all that is within it. With "Beauty" E-Yeh-Shure defines what beauty is for her and her people: it is found not the way things look so much as the way things are in relation to one another.

In all his remarks, it is noticeable that La Farge makes no mention that this book is a children’s book. Instead, he asserts:

It is a shame that Indian languages are so many, and so obscure, that there can never be a large public for works written in them. This first effort offers the hope of another solution, to which one sees a parallel in Irish literature; the mastery of English will set free talents to use our language as it would not have occurred to us to use it, to the great enrichment of our minds and of our speech itself. I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl is only a first tentative step, yet from the point of view of the Indians it crosses a threshold till now deemed forever closed.

Rather than praising it as a remarkable children’s text, he places it as a very significant book for "us" (readers and speakers of English) because it offers ways of using and reading the English language which depart from, and thus enrich, "our " understanding and use of the language.

By writing in English, E-Yeh-Shure both participates in and forever changes English language and literary history. Crossing "a threshold till now deemed forever closed," I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl presents the "living literature" of the Pueblos, as written by a Pueblo, to the larger English speaking and reading public. Prior to this book’s publication, La Farge remarks, this literature was "pirated freely" by whites, who "profit[ed] by the publication of usually lame translations of poems which their makers recited free of charge. Known to us through translations, and mainly entombed in scientific publications, they remained obscure." Now, with a knowledge of English along with intimate knowledge and understanding of tribal languages and lifeways, Native people can begin to control their art and literature as it enters into English, appeal to a significantly large but heretofore unaccessible audience, and profit by
what is rightfully their own to distribute (or not) as they see fit. By La Farge's account to the reader, *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* is a very important literary milestone.\(^{15}\)

In his examination of Native American literature, *Letterati e lo Sciamano* [*The Writer and the Shaman*] (1969), Elemire Zolla remarked: "Attorno al 1930 una pleiade di biografie d'Indiani si costella e la divulgazione della voga non va senza uno sviemento, come nel caso di Flaming Arrow's People di James Paytiamo, il cui tono 'e quello dei libri per l'infanzia del periodo fioreso ...Del pari l'altrettanto fioreso ed infantile I Am A Pueblo Girl [sicl di E-Yeh-shuré (Blue Corn)]." (336).\(^{16}\) For Zolla the form of E-Yeh-Shure's book is suspect. He seems to recognize that *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* is not a children's book, but rather an adult book in a children's book's clothing and is, in its imitation of Western literary forms (the picturebook), debased.

One might consider that, lacking some of the narrative controls exerted by Euroamerican co-authors, the collaborative *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* may in fact be closer to a Native sense of narrative and poetics rather than debased. La Farge explains that the book is a combination of old and new Indian arts: the old arts of aboriginal poetics and graphic design communicated through the new language of English and the new medium of watercolor painting (which was introduced to the Native of the Southwest at the turn of the nineteenth century) are united, through the cooperation of verbal and visual artists, to "make a truly Indian book."

In fact, *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* appeared in 1939, during a pivotal period in the history of American Indians, when both the United States government and the arts community were interested in promoting cultural revival rather than cultural destruction among Natives.

\(^{15}\) It is interesting that La Farge does not seem to be aware here of earlier Native literature, particularly the stories recorded by Zitkala-Sa, Charles Eastman, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear. Perhaps because they were children's books?

"Progressive Education" devoted an entire issue to Indian education (February 1932), which contained articles by Oliver La Farge, John Collier, and educational leaders W. Carson Jr. and Rose Brandt. Carson and Brandt noted the current shift in the mode and aim of Native education: "Today, instead of teaching that 'everything Indian is bad,' we try to help the children ... understand something of the heritage they have as Indians" (quoted by Bader 161).

In 1933, Collier was named Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and under his strong guidance the Indian Reorganization Act, touted as the 'New Deal for Indians,' was passed in 1934. In 1936 the Indian Arts and Crafts Board was established to encourage traditional arts and support new artists in Indian communities.

Particularly important during this period was the artistic renaissance going on in the American Southwest. Santa Fe had been a center of Euroamerican art, for the area had developed into an art colony whose residents included Mary Austin, Ernest Blumenschein (the illustrator of Charles Eastman's Indian Boyhood), and Natalie Curtis. The Santa Fe Indian School, with the help of Aboriginal elders, the surrounding art community, and increased government interest and funding, encouraged students' artistic talents through intensive programming which provided instruction, studio space, and art supplies so that the young artists could develop their skills, and sponsored gallery exhibits throughout the Southwest and in New York City so that they could gain public recognition for their work. This artistic renaissance became known as the Santa Fe Movement, and some of its most prominent members participated in the creation of I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl. Allan Houser and Gerald Nailor contributed the majority of illustrations for the book. Houser, an Apache artist (and the great-grandson of Geronimo), was known for his ground breaking vision; according to the leading historian of the Santa Fe Movement, he "set styles which others in and out of his tribal group would surely follow for years to come" (Dunn 302). Nailor, a Navajo, shared studio space with Houser at the Santa Fe School, and was well known for his skill with form and pattern. Two other young artists, Tony Martinez (Popivi Da), a San Ildefonso Pueblo, and Quincy Tahoma [Tohoma], a Navajo, also contributed their work to E-Yeh-Shure's text. Interestingly, these
artists are not credited on the title page of the volume, though their signatures do appear on their illustrations, and Oliver La Farge makes reference to the "Indian artists, Navajo, Apache, Pueblo" whose work became part of the cooperative effort of *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*. Their illustrations were considered equally as important as E-Yeh-Shure's text, and great emphasis was placed on reproducing them superbly. In fact, the cost of printing the slim volume was extremely high (and was in fact underwritten by a special edition of five hundred copies sponsored by the National Gallery of the American Indian, a private funding organization) because the publishers employed the highest printing technology available to reproduce the watercolor illustrations (Bader 165). The money was well spent, for the illustrations more than the text received recognition by the book's reviewers and critics.

Art historian Dorothy Dunn has remarked that modern Indian painting "is a way of sharing beauty and a philosophy of life, as the Indian knows it, in a form available to his fellow men. Through this art, the Indian bridges a cultural gap, for his contemporary painting relates to both the old traditions and the new. It is at once of America's primal heritage and of her most modern expression" (367). Her words here echo what La Farge had to say about E-Yeh-Shure's crossing a threshold through her work in English, suggesting that this volume was an important milestone for more than just its author. But it was not a wholly original venture: verbal and visual forms have been traditionally linked for centuries in the arts of Southwestern Indigenous cultures (if not many others), and in fact are still linked in the work of modern Native artists as well.

The union of story and pictures is actually an ancient artistic form seen, for example, in the Navajo sand paintings which combine stories with pictures. The form reaches through to the present day in the work of another, and perhaps the most influential, Native American artist-poet: N. Scott Momaday. Momaday's first book, *The Journey of Tai-me* (1967), was composed of thirty three Kiowa narratives and seven woodcuts; like *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*, it was a collaborative effort, handcrafted by Momaday with the help of D. E. Carlsen and
printer Bruce S. McCurdy. In a later book, *In the Presence of the Sun* (1992), Momaday combined poetics and visual art again, explaining, "The poet says, Here, let me show you something. That is, let me help you to see something as you have not seen it before. And so says the painter" (xix). The same might be said of *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*, for the author and artists together attempt to verbally and visually portray the Pueblo and Southwestern Aboriginal world to those outside it. This picture book truly is a significant work, one which deserves serious reconsideration in Native American literary history.

However, Zolla's annoyance is quite important because it echoes a confusion about form, content and audience which had actually been articulated by the book's earliest reviewers. As mentioned above, *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* was reviewed as a children's book in columns such as the "Saturday Review's Guide to the Season's Books for Children" and the "New Yorker's New Books for Younger Readers." *The Saturday Review* considered the book "special," particularly praised the illustrations, and recommended it for children between the ages of six and eight (21). Other reviewers were not quite so sure of its audience, and some even warned that the book would not be understood by children. The reviewer for *Library Journal* commented, "It is an interesting book but one which will have very limited appeal for children," and recommended it "only for large picturebook collections" (37), while *Horn Book Magazine* suggested, "Probably the book's appeal will be to adults more than to children" (51). The November 12, 1939 *New York Times Book Review* offered the most substantial and telling judgement of the book:

There is beauty in the pictures, which are exquisitely reproduced, especially in those which show the Indian landscape. *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* is an interesting addition to American Indian literature. Some older boys and girls may enjoy it, but it will find its most appreciative audience among adult students of Indian life. It would be a mistake, indeed, to consider this a book for the 8, 9, and 10 year olds, an age when interest in things Indian is particularly keen. These younger children, eager for action, adventure and conversation, find the style oversimple and desire more detail than the author gives. (26)

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17 For a discussion of *The Journey of Tai-me*, see Lincoln 101-2.
Its not really clear who—E-yeh-Shure, her father, the editors or publishers—channeled the book into the ocean of children's books, or why, but it is clear from the way that it was reviewed that it was only uncomfortably accepted as one.

The problem here is not necessarily that *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* was not a children's book—there is no obvious reason why it could not be for children as well as for adults—but that it didn't fit with anyone's expectations of what books about Indians were. It looked like a children's picture book, to be read by young children (under the assumption that picture books are, for the most part, outgrown as one's reading skills improve). It presented a compelling view of Pueblo life and culture, but children interested in Indian things, children around the ages of 8 to 10, were too old for picture books and wanted action and excitement, not deeply symbolic language and art (according to the *New York Times* reviewer at least). But if the book would be best appreciated by "adult students of Indian life," it was certainly not recognized as an adult book because of its picturebook format, and wasn't released to or received by the public as one, either (as evidenced by the fact that it was reviewed on children's book pages). One wonders if, in spite of the high recommendations that it received (and its staying power in the *Children's Catalog*), it was purchased at all (in any significant number), and whether, given the reviews, libraries purchased this book for their children's collections or for their adult collections.18

These two works, Mourning Dove's *Coyote Stories*, and E-Yeh-Shure's *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*, tell us much about the market for books about and by Native Americans in the early twentieth century. In the shaping of the earlier *Okanogan Sweat House* into *Coyote Stories*, we can see one instance of how "market forces," or at least editors' and booksellers' perceptions of those forces, dictated the form a book of Aboriginal narratives could take, to the

18 I have not been able to find out who purchased this book. For what it is worth, it was not an easy book to obtain a copy of, even though it is only about sixty years old (and was published in a hardback edition which is easier to preserve and is usually more accessible than a paperback).
detriment (one might say utter loss) of the words the Native author herself wrote for those narratives. In E-Yeh-Shure's book we have a different but no less telling case. *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl* was, I suggest, an experiment in transferring verbal and visual arts, long a traditional union, into the new form of the picture book. However, because this form was commonly recognized as one for children, and because children's interest in Indian things was considered "particularly keen," the unusual venture was received as a children's book with, as we have seen, mixed success, and perhaps to the ultimate "loss" of the book to literary history (except, notably, the history of book illustration).
Chapter Three:
Traditional Narratives

"When that old Kiowa woman told me stories, I listened with only one ear. I was a child, and I took the words for granted. I did not know what all of them meant, but somehow I held on to them; I remembered them, and I remember them now. The stories were old and dear; they meant a great deal to my grandmother. It was not until she died that I knew how much they meant to her. I began to think about it, and then I knew. When she told me those old stories, something strange and good and powerful was going on. I was a child, and that old woman was asking me to come directly into the presence of her mind and spirit; she was taking hold of my imagination, giving me to share in the great fortune of her wonder and delight. She was asking me to go with her to the confrontation of something that was sacred and eternal. It was a timeless, timeless thing; nothing of her old age or of my childhood came between us."

— N. Scott Momaday, House Made of Dawn
The rigorous editing of Mourning Dove's *Okanogan Sweat House* casts a shadow of suspicion on all Native-authored children's books of this period. Because multiple versions of her stories survive, along with letters revealing the various interests involved in their publication, scholars are able to trace the "evolution" of Mourning Dove's collection from her earliest manuscripts into the children's text *Coyote Stories* (Brown, 1992, 1993). Given the literary milieu surrounding the works by Native Americans, it is difficult to know with complete accuracy why so many other books were published as children's literature: was it the author's choice to create a book for children? Was it a non-Native editor's influence? If the reason for publishing the book for children didn't originate with the author, did it go against the author's wishes for his or her book? Much more research into the bibliographical history of these texts is needed to answer these questions definitively for every work involved. However, based on what we currently know about these texts, there are a significant number which we can reasonably assume were created specifically for children by their authors: Francis La Flesche's *The Middle Five* (1900), Zitkala-Sa's *Old Indian Legends* (1901), Charles Alexander Eastman's *Indian Boyhood* (1902), *Red Hunters and the Animal People* (1904), *Wigwam Evenings* (1909), *Indian Child Life* (1913), and *Indian Scout Talks* (1914), Emily Pauline Johnson's *The Shagamappi* (1913), Arthur Parker's *Skunny Wundy* (1926), and Luther Standing Bear's *My Indian Boyhood* (1931) and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934).

There are many reasons why these authors may have chosen to write for children. In the first place, we must acknowledge that the authors, like their editors and publishers, were well aware of the growing interest in children's literature. The children's book market was exploding during the first half of the twentieth century. Hazard's figures of twelve million
books in 1919, twenty-five million two hundred thousand in 1925, and thirty-one million in 1927 reveal the growing market for children's books, and the opportunity which this market offered to aspiring authors. And Indians were, as *St. Nicholas*’ index makes clear, a standard topic of this literature.

Because of its expanding size, and the obvious cornerstone of Indians as a topic of interest, this children's market may have offered the primary, if not only, opportunity for many of these writers to have their words printed; this was the case with Mourning Dove's Okanogan narratives and may also have been the case with Gilbert Wilson's early books. It is not surprising that the children's market provided an entry into the literary world for two of the authors: Francis La Flesche and Charles Alexander Eastman started their careers as writers with children's books. Emily Pauline Johnson and Luther Standing Bear, on the other hand, seemed to recognize the potential of children's literature, and wrote specifically for this market in order to expand their audience and their sales. So it made pragmatic as well as economic sense for the authors (along with the publishers and editors who exerted control over the process of publishing, packaging and promoting a book) to aim their works to young readers.

A number of books specifically appealed to a child audience because they were strategically "positioned" as children's literature; that is, they tapped into a number of Western literary "subgenres" of children's books. For example, La Flesche's *The Middle Five* could be considered a late entry into the "boy book" trend which was hallmarked by such titles as *The Story of a Bad Boy* (1869) and *Tom Sawyer* (1876). Though La Flesche's characters are Omaha boys, and aspects of Native culture clearly underpin the whole of the book, the author makes it clear from the beginning that he wants to portray schoolboy life—boy's games and antics, joys and sorrows—in a "universal" way, much like Twain's *Tom Sawyer*. However, *The Middle Five* cannot help but stand out from other "boy books" because of the boyhood it recounts. While Tom Sawyer is punished by his aunt for being irresponsible or wily, the boys of *The Middle Five* are punished for speaking the Omaha language, and for running away, not to
play pirates and Indians, but to participate in the summer buffalo hunt, as well as for universally "boyish" antics such as climbing out a window at night, or flinging a slingshot.

In a similar fashion, Emily Pauline Johnson's stories are clearly part of the formulaic boy's adventure fiction which appeared in the juvenile periodicals of her day. In fact, throughout her career Johnson demonstrated an impressive awareness of the various media available to a professional author, and a savvy knowledge of the appeal of the Indian to the non-Native public. She made a name for herself on the lecture circuit reading her poetry dressed alternately in "Native" buckskin and fur and a "civilized" ball gown, thus constructing a memorable image of her bicultural background (Johnson's father was Mohawk and her mother was English). When it came to fiction, Johnson wrote for two very distinct but popular audiences: she published women's domestic fiction in Mother's Magazine, and boy's adventure/"schooldays" fiction in the magazine Boy's World. The adventure tales, which were collected and republished posthumously as The Shagginappi (the title was taken from one of her most memorable short stories, and the one which opens the volume), very consciously worked the formula common to juvenile adventure of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Canada: boy heroes doing exciting and always noble deeds in the name of the British Empire and Canada. Throughout, however, Johnson's heroes are, with very few exceptions, proudly Native (Mohawk, Cree, Ojibway, etc.), or in the most memorable case, mixed blood ("The Shagginappi"). Such heritage is demonstrated to be quite properly heroic because Natives are truly "Canadian Born," as well as absolutely loyal subjects under the British Crown. The book was dedicated to the Boy Scouts, and included an opening biography of Johnson by Ernest Thompson Seton.

Eastman's hybridization of traditional legends with adventure and animal stories in Red Hunters and the Animal People tapped into the literary branch of the wilderness and nature trend which was beginning to take hold throughout North America in the early twentieth century. Popularized by Canadian authors Ernest Thompson Seton (Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898) and Charles G. D. Roberts (Kindred of the Wild, 1902), this "animal
biography in realistic form" (Egoff and Saltman 88) depicted animals in their natural habitats doing natural animal activities. Unlike the common use of animals as "devices," as in fairy tales, or the sentimental and moralistic animal stories such as Black Beauty (1877) and Beautiful Joe (1893), this new type of animal fiction portrayed animals living and dying in the wilderness according to the laws of nature. Significantly, when man becomes involved in the struggle (indeed, for Seton and Roberts, it was man, and not woman), it is he that triumphs.¹ Eastman, like Seton and Roberts, portrays the animals in Red Hunters and the Animal People in a realistic fashion. However, the fictional tales demonstrate his Native perspective and Dakota-centered knowledge of animals rather than the "rigorous naturalism" (Egoff and Saltman 90) of the Anglo-Canadian authors. Eastman himself explains,

The stories contained in this book are based upon the common experiences and observations of the Red hunter. The main incidents in all of them, even those which are unusual and might appear incredible to the white man, are actually current among the Sioux and deemed by them worthy of belief.

When the life-story of an animal is given, the experiences described are typical and characteristic of its kind. Here and there the fables, songs, and superstitious fancies of the Indian are brought in to suggest his habit of mind and manner regarding the four-footed tribes. (vii)

In his portrayal of "Wild Animals from an Indian Standpoint," Eastman, like La Flesche and Johnson, molds conventional Western literary genres of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century children's books to incorporate Native perspectives. However, Native authors who chose to write for children were not working solely with Western literary models. Aside from readers' underlying assumptions, and authors' and publishers' economic motivations, there is another reason why these authors might have been writing for child readers — a reason rooted not in Western book publishing but in Aboriginal narrative traditions.

Scholars of the oral traditions of North America have had to fight a tough battle to convince readers that oral narratives are not inherently children's stories. In 1923, Arthur Parker warned readers of his Seneca Myths and Folk Tales that "These Indian stories are not

¹ See Egoff and Saltman, chapter 3, for a thorough study of this genre.
published for the mere entertainment of general readers, though there is much that is entertaining in them, neither are they designed as children's fables, or for supplementary reading in schools" (xxiii). In his 1982 introduction to *Smoothing the Ground*, Brian Swann had to remind his readers that "Native American literature is adult and serious" (xiv), and in 1986, Paula Gunn Allen was still arguing against the use of the adjective "childish" in any meaningful discussion of American Indian literature (66-68). The regularity with which these statements have been made indicates how deeply ingrained the constructions of the earlier decades had become, and how difficult they are to counter.

It is important that the true nature of traditional narratives be addressed. Far from being the "naive and childlike" stories which children "accept ... with a comfortable sense of superiority," as one historian and critic of children's literature concluded (Arbuthnot 260), traditional narratives are complex entities which articulate every aspect of life. As Joseph Bruchac explains so clearly in his valuable consideration of Native American stories *Roots of Survival* (1996), stories are sacred, as "powerful as medicine or tobacco." Like these elements, stories connect those that tell them and those that hear them to one another, and to the great power of the universe. But, like medicine or the tobacco, "whose smoke is used to carry prayers up to Creator, stories must be used wisely and well or they may be harmful to both tellers and hearers alike" ("Storytelling" 93). Using these stories wisely means recognizing their power, and handling them with respect.

Maria Chona's account² of storytelling in her home illustrates the careful attention afforded stories among her people the Papago:

> On winter nights, when we had finished our gruel or rabbit stew and lay back on our mats, my brothers would say to [my father]: 'My father,

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² Maria Chona's words to Ruth M. Underhill were "taken through an interpreter" in "as accurate a translation as the writer, engaged in a study of Papago grammar, could work out" (33). Underhill concludes that the wording of "The Autobiography of Chona" "expresses Chona's thought as accurately as may be" (33), and for the purposes of this paper, I have accepted and presented these words as Maria Chona's. For further discussion on the matter of Underhill's translation, see Gretchen Bataille "Transformation of Tradition: Autobiographical Works by American Indian Women."
tell us something.' My father would lie quietly upon his mat with his mother beside him and the baby between them. At last he would start slowly to tell us about how the world began. This is a story that can be told only in winter when there are no snakes about, for if the snakes heard they would crawl in and bite you. But in winter when snakes are asleep, we tell these things. Our story about the world is full of songs, and when the neighbors heard my father singing they would open our door and step in over the high threshold. Family by family they came, and we made a big fire and kept the door shut against the cold night. When my father finished a sentence we would all say the last word after him. If anyone went to sleep he would stop. He would not speak anymore. But we did not go to sleep. (50)

Because of their power, narratives of the long-ago time frequently have seasons, or "right" times for telling; many, like the Papago story about the beginning of the world, are restricted to winter evenings (though winter is defined variously across North America, falling for some between first and last frost, for others between the first frost and the spring ice break up, the spring hunt, or the first planting) (Bruchac Roots 76). According to Arthur Parker, the Seneca would not tell the gagas'hono (singular ga'gaa) in the summer months for two reasons:

... first, that no animal should become offended by man's boasting of his triumph over beasts, or at the same time learn too much of human cunning, and fly forever the haunts of mankind; and second, that no animal, who listening to tales of wonder, adventure or humor, should become so interested as to forget its place in nature, and pondering over the mysteries of man's words, wander dazed and aimless through the forest. To listen to stories in the summer time made trees and plants as well as animals and men lazy, and therefore scanty crops, lean game and shiftless people resulted. (Myths and Folk Tales xxxii)

So powerful are these stories, every creature from human to bug becomes their audience: every being takes part in the telling. Stories told out of season cause snakes to bite (Papago, Lakota), and bees to sting (Seneca), the result of a disgruntled universe; thus restrictions are established to maintain the balance and harmony of the natural world.

Seasonal prohibitions are not the only limits placed on storytelling. Some narratives are told only during certain ceremonies or particular activities; some are told only by specific, initiated individuals. Such stories, like those told in the Navaho Nightway ceremony, are often used as prayer and as conduits for healing. Improperly used, these powerful stories can cause illness, or death (Bruchac Roots 82, 88; Bierhorst Masterworks 288).
Aboriginal oral narratives are serious and sacred—dimensions which cannot be forgotten in any discussion of the stories. However, efforts to correct the all-too-often-held reductive and dismissive belief that narratives are strictly for children's amusement, while necessary, obscure the fact that, in many cases, narratives often are entertaining, and they are told to children. And, as we shall see, these categories are not mutually exclusive: an entertaining story told to children can be serious and sacred at the same time. Telling stories to children was an important responsibility of the elders, and served not just to pass time, but also to instruct and to connect the children to the larger community.

Consider how contemporary Lakota poet Virginia Driving Hawk Snewe remembers hearing her grandmother's stories as a child in "Story Tellers":

Unci, grandma seated on the Rosebud plain,
tossed sage, smothering supper's flame
to acrid smudge meeting the stars,
stinging our drowsy eyes, it drove away mosquitoes.
Unci told evening stories
weaving Lakota into English.
Words painting pictures on eager minds,
hands counterpoint
to Iktomi's tricks, turtle's wisdom.
We laughed as we learned. (1)

Snewe's remembrance of laughing while learning touches the heart of storytelling for children. The enjoyment of listening keeps the audience focused on the story, "words painting pictures on eager minds," but Iktomi and turtle do more than make the audience laugh. As one Mesquakie man insisted, "Our stories are not intended to be beautiful. Every story has a purpose and that purpose is to teach" (McTaggart 13). One of the crucial roles of storytelling stressed by Native storytellers, and those who have grown up listening to stories, is education.

Odawa Native Wilfred Pelletier suggests that "The closest they [the Odawa] ever got to formal teaching was to tell stories" (Hirschfelder 106), and he is not alone in his comparison between storytelling and the schooling of Western cultures. Charles Alexander Eastman considered the stories to be the Indian method of "education without books" and described children of the band gathered in the wigwam of a renowned storyteller to learn the stories of
the tribe as the Lakota "school of the woods" ("Education" 374). Mrs. Annie Ned, an Athapaskan/Tlingit woman, explained to Julie Cruikshank that the stories of her elders, the "long time people," served the same function in her community as the contemporary educational system, insisting, "Just like now they go to school, old time we come to our grandpa" (Life 268) and explaining, "Long time ago, what they know, what they see, that's the one they talk about, I guess. Tell stories—which way you learn things. You think about that one your grandma tells you. You've got to believe it, what Grandma said.... Old-style words are just like school" (Life 267).

If "old-style words" are indeed "just like school," what is taught through these stories of animals and tricksters, magic and power? At their most basic yet profound level, stories narrate the fundamental beliefs of the tribe. For example, the Seneca Earth Diver story explains how the world was formed by Muskrat on Turtle's back to make a world for Iago to'. Sky-Woman, who fell from the upper world. It also reveals how Sky-Woman brought plants, trees, and light, as well as tobacco, corn, a marrow bone, a cooking pot and a mortar and pestle from the world above to the newly-formed earth. The death of Sky-Woman's daughter plants "stringed potato," beans, squash, corn, and tobacco in the earth: the foods which sustain and nurture the Seneca people. And so the story of Sky-Woman tells of the creation of the world, and all that is upon it (Parker, Myths and Folk Tales 64). Other stories of the ancient time explain how the world, once created, was shaped, as in "How the Wood Duck Got His Red Eyes," a story told by Parker in Skunny Wundy (similar stories of Iktomi also appear in Zitkala-Sa's Old Indian Legends and Eastman's Wigwam Evenings). For the Seneca, this narrative tells how Coyote tricks a group of terribly curious ducks into dancing with their eyes closed so that he can enjoy a delicious duck feast. He warns them that if they peek, their eyes will turn red. Although Coyote is able to fool most of the ducks, and twists their necks as they dance, one duck, the wood duck, opens his eyes and becomes aware of the deception of the trickster. He calls out for the others to open their eyes before it is too late and flies in terror.
from Coyote's lodge. Because of Coyote's warning, this duck's eyes are red, as we know them to be today.

It is necessary to understand, however, that while such stories are important explanations of the world, they are not solely aetiological; that is, the story of Sky-Woman can say more than how the world was formed, and the story of Coyote and the Ducks can explain something other than how wood ducks got their red eyes. Stories which teach why or how also impart valuable lessons about conduct. When a member of the community acts improperly, often he or she can be told a story which will present a model of proper or improper action to show the wayward listener the good way to act. As Mohawk Ernest Benedict explained, the stories of the animal time "are meant to teach children about virtues and faults.

The story of how the robin got his red breast, for example, really tells you how to take care of birds and animals, and how you should try to treat them almost as people, as guests" (Morey and Gilliam 40). In a similar manner, the actions of Good Mind in the story of Sky-Woman might be recounted to demonstrate proper care of the harvest, and the story of how the wood duck got his red eyes might be told to warn the listener to be alert and aware when he or she might be inclined to be too trusting.

One of the most compelling demonstrations of storytelling as instruction comes from Barre Toelken's account of a story Little Wagon, a Navajo elder, told to some visitors. Toelken recalled:

Outside it had begun to snow lightly, and one of the travelers' children asked where snow came from. Little Wagon, in answer, began a long and involved story about an ancestor who had found a piece of beautiful burning material, had guarded it carefully for several months until some spirits (ye'ii) came to claim it, and had asked then that the spirits allow him to retain a piece of it. This they would not allow, but they would see what they could do for him. In the meantime he was to perform a number of complicated and dedicated tasks to test his endurance. Finally, the spirits told him that in return for his fine behavior they would throw all the ashes from their own fireplace down into Montezuma Canyon each year when they cleaned house. Sometimes they fail to keep their word, and sometimes they throw down too much; but in all, they turn their attention toward us regularly, here in Montezuma Canyon. (72)
After the story, the young boy who had asked about the snow asked why, if this is why it snowed in Montezuma Canyon, it also snowed in Blanding, another location. This question caused Little Wagon to remark, after the family had gone, that it was "too bad the boy did not understand the stories" (73). That is, he did not understand that the reason Little Wagon told the story was not to tell about the cause of snow. As Toelken came to understand in questioning Little Wagon, "...if the story was 'about' anything, it was about moral values, about the deportment of a young protagonist whose action showed a properly reciprocal relationship between himself and nature" (73). This is not to say that the story was "made up" for this purpose, for the story of snow is told by various Navajo and recognized as part of tribal oral tradition. Rather, Little Wagon's story of snow was a traditional legend told here as a way of teaching about the Navajo relationship between the individual and the natural world.

Cultural beliefs and moral wisdom are not the only things taught by these stories. Practical training is shared as well—often in the very same tale. (Indeed, in Roots of Survival Joseph Bruchac reminds us that "moral and practical" lessons are not necessarily separate lessons at all (73).) For example, Arthur Parker's "How Fox and Raccoon Trick One Another," in addition to teaching lessons about deceit and foolish avarice (among other things), imparts the knowledge that swamp mud is a helpful balm in the event of a bee sting because it is "the best pain plaster in the world" (Skunny Wundy 28). Similarly, his story of "Raccoon and the Three Roasting Geese," along with its lessons about vigilance, hospitality, and self-centered thinking, reveals that calamus root soothes an aching stomach (40). Far more than "naive and childlike," these narratives are cultural encyclopedias which convey a wealth of information. Tribal history, spiritual beliefs, proper and improper behavior, ecological relationships of plants, animals, geography, weather and seasonal patterns... all of this information is communicated through stories.

Vic Charlo (Bitteroot Salish) has said, "The stories are what we have to explore with" (Frey 172), and his concise explanation is perhaps best expanded upon by Julie Cruikshank's examination of traditional narratives as "part of a communicative process" and
"an indigenous intellectual tradition" ("Pete's Song" 71; Life 340). Cruikshank's landmark study of Indigenous women's autobiography Life Lived Like a Story (1990), and her work with Tlingit and Athapaskan elders suggests another very important way that stories are used by Native storytellers. Recounting Angela Sidney's multiple retellings of the Kaax achgök story, and examining the variations which Mrs. Sidney makes in the story for the different occasions for which and audiences to whom she tells it, Cruikshank suggests, There is more involved than textual analysis when we approach oral tradition. Her [Mrs. Sidney's] point, in her various retellings, is to show that oral narrative is part of a communicative process. First, she demonstrates, you have to learn what the story says. Then you learn what the story can do when it is engaged as a strategy of communication. Unless we pay attention to the reason a particular story is selected and told, we will understand very little of its meanings. Her point in retelling stories about Kaax achgök is precisely to show that a good story, well used, does not merely explain but also can add meanings to a special occasion. ("Pete's Song" 71)

Cruikshank also observes that Tlingit and Athapaskan women tell traditional stories as a way of telling and reflecting on their own experience; in telling about the Stolen Woman, for example, Mrs. Sidney is telling about her own life (Life 102-105). And so stories serve as ways of understanding and articulating, as well as teaching.

One can examine the interaction of Ohiyesa and Smoky Day depicted in Eastman's Indian Boyhood to understand how stories functioned in Indigenous communities. The young Sioux was expected to sit and listen with quiet attention to the words of his elder; after the story was told, he was often called upon to repeat it to his family the next day. Nights were spent, as Eastman explained, "committing to memory the tradition I had heard" so that he would be able to remember the stories well (122). Listening to the stories with close attention teaches one to listen, a vital skill in cultures which value attentiveness, not only to words, but also to the world. And remembering the stories is more than an exercise in rote memorization, for in remembering the stories—the land, the people, the past, the heritage, and all else that is bound up within them—as Cherokee Geary Hobson explained, "there is strength, continuance,
and renewal" (10). Remembering binds the past with the present, and carries the past into the future.

This bridge between past and future is articulated in the relationship between the young Ohiyesa and Smoky Day. On each visit to Smoky Day, the boy would bring a gift, tobacco, or some venison, to reciprocate for the gift of the story that the elder had given him. Over time, the young boy developed deep affection and respect for the old man who had shared so many evenings and so much wisdom, cementing a relationship which was fundamental among Native cultures. As Trudie Lamb-Richmond, a Schaghticoke woman, beautifully explained, "In our way of life it is the elders, the grandparents who are seen as the bridge to the past just as the young are the bridge to the future. And both are necessary to complete the circle of life" (Hirschfelder 121). The stories thus serve to connect the past to the future not only because they contain and recount the past in the present, but because the process of telling them connects, in a very real way, the generations of the society: the grandparents and the grandchildren (and the great grandchildren), the past and the future. Simon Ortiz observed:

It was the stories and songs which provided the knowledge that I was woven into the intricate web that was my Acoma life. In our garden and our cornfields I learned about the seasons, growth cycles of cultivated plants, what one had to think and feel about the land; and at home I became aware of how we must care for each other: all of this was encompassed in an intricate relationship which had to be maintained in order that life continue. After supper on many occasions my father would bring out his drum and sing as we, the children, danced to themes about the rain, hunting, land and people. (189)

And so stories are lessons, they are tools of communication, but they are even more that that.

Stories are history, community and culture.

At this point, it is understandable why, though they are frequently told to children, stories are not exclusively the province of children. As we see in Maria Chona's account of storytelling among the Papago, as well as Arthur Parker's description of the "atmosphere" of Seneca narratives (Myths and Folk Tales 37-55), when storytelling takes place, particularly on winter nights, whole clans and communities gather to hear the stories together; children are told the same stories as adults. J. Edward Chamberlin has suggested that stories are
"constitutional"—that is, both in the words that they contain, and in the very act of telling them, they constitute, "make up," the community, and his insight helps us to understand how fundamental these fundamental stories are. Navajo elder Yellowman asserted that the children needed to hear the Coyote stories because they had to learn how to be good people, but he also explained that they are important to every Navajo, child or adult, because "Through the stories everything is made possible" (Toelken 80). I take Yellowman to be referring here to everything: the cosmos, the world, the land the Navajo live in, who they are, what they do, how they do it, why they do it .... Thus every member of the community must hear them because they are "constitutional" narratives. Telling and re-telling the stories brings together the community, and allows for the continuance of the history, community and culture.

Obviously, because they are so important, these narratives do not become irrelevant when an individual grows up; one does not grow out of stories as one might grow out of clothes. Instead, one's relationship to and understanding of the story develops as the individual grows and changes. Upon being questioned about the meaning of a particular story, Mabel McKay, a Cache Creek Pomo basket weaver and medicine woman, said to Greg Sarris: "Don't ask me what it means, the story. Life will teach you about it, the way it teaches you about life" (Sarris 5). Victor Sarrancino, a Laguna Pueblo, commented directly on this life-long connection with the stories his father told him when he remarked: "Sometimes I believed him and sometimes I didn't; but the older I get, the more I am convinced all his stories were true" (Morey and Gilliam 8). And so stories are for young people, and they are also for old people.

In a sense, I've come full circle. I began by asserting that traditional Aboriginal narratives are sacred and serious, against the common assumption that they are merely children's stories. I then examined the tradition of telling stories to children, asserting finally that those stories told to children are often those which are the most sacred and serious. Thus, even as we acknowledge that stories are told to adults, it is crucial to understand that they are told to adults and to children. In all their various dimensions, stories are important to children. Because they serve as tools of instruction, children need to learn from them. Because
they are the core of a communicative, intellectual tradition, children need to learn them—"first you learn what the stories say." Because they are the cement which binds the culture, children also need to remember them, and retell them.

With this awareness, it is not surprising, perhaps, that a number of Native storytellers decided to record their stories in print for children in the early twentieth century. In the introduction to Old Indian Legends, Zitkala-Sa states that the stories which she offers were the ones "the little black-haired aborigine" enjoyed in nighttime storytelling around the fire (v); similarly, Luther Standing Bear asserts that "The Sioux people have many stories which are told by the older ones in the tribe to the younger" (v), which he retells in Stories of the Sioux. The stories of Charles Eastman's Wigwam Evenings are told by Smoky Day to an attentive and lively audience of children. Finally, Arthur Parker explains that while he has already collected stories in a book for "students" to read (Seneca Myths and Folk Tales), "after all, these tales are for boys and girls. It is a shame to hide them away. I wouldn't have liked it when I was a boy, so I am going to tell these stories" in a book for children (12). Clearly, Zitkala-Sa, Charles Eastman, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear welcome child readers into their pages.

It is worth noting that not all Native-authored/edited collections of traditional narratives during this period appeared as children's books (I mentioned this fact earlier, in my discussion of Mourning Dove, but it is valuable to reconsider here). John N. B. Hewitt's Iroquoian Cosmology (1904), William Jones' Fox Texts (1907), Ella Deloria's Dakota Texts (1932), Archie Phinney's Nez Perce Texts (1934), Francis La Flesche's The Omaha Tribe (1911) and The Osage Tribe (1924-1928), and Arthur Parker's Seneca Myths and Folk Tales were published within the scholarly discipline of anthropology (note the common use of the term "texts" rather than "stories") and include a wide variety of narratives and extensive scholarly apparatus (e. g. footnotes, endnotes, bilingual texts). The fact that they were able to publish for an adult, if restricted because elite, audience suggests that Native storytellers were not necessarily limited to children's texts, though the credentials one needed to produce a
scholarly collection may have been prohibitive to those writers who did not or could not pursue academic careers (Mourning Dove’s Okanogan collection is here a case in point), and the format and expectations of a scholarly volume may also have limited the storyteller in ways which he or she might have found unacceptable (which suggests why Parker chose to tell stories in two very different volumes). However, the fact that there was another option for these writers makes Zitkala-Sa’s, Eastman’s, Parker’s and Standing Bear’s decision to create children’s books all the more significant.

Given the aggressive assimilation policies which Indigenous cultures faced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is possible that Zitkala-Sa, Eastman, Parker, and Standing Bear collected their stories to preserve them for, and present them to, future generations of Native children who, speaking English and growing up away from family and relations, would be able to read and understand them. This desire to make traditional narratives available in a written format has encouraged some contemporary First Nations storytellers to record their stories in print for adults as well as children. According to Wendy Wickwire, Okanogan storyteller Harry Robinson was pleased to have his stories recorded in a book which she edited because, he said, “I’m going to disappear, and there’ll be no more telling stories” (Wright 15). Mrs. Annie Ned, an Athapaskan elder, wanted to have her stories put down on paper because she recognized the role that books play in the education of late twentieth-century children, Native and non-Native. Julie Cruikshank, who edited Mrs. Ned’s stories in a variety of formats according to the storyteller’s wishes (notably in Life Lived Like a Story and in small paperbacks to be used by her community), states, “She knows that, in her own childhood, instruction came directly from ‘long-time people,’ who taught with stories. Her primary concern is that now ‘schoolkids learn from paper,’ and so her continuing objective has been to prepare a book they can read” (268).3 It may well have been a concern shared by the

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3 This interest in writing their stories for children who know primarily, if not only, English, and read books, also motivated Cruikshank’s other collaborators: Mrs. Kitty Smith and Mrs. Angela Sidney. Cruikshank writes of all three: “These narrators want to produce booklets that their grandchildren can read. Their own childhood instruction came either from
earlier author-collectors, all of whom were educated in the Western mode of book learning, and were well aware of the importance of the written word for Western culture. Writing them down, recording them in a book, would give these narratives a legitimacy for Westerners which they did not have as oral tellings, and would allow the stories, hopefully, to be used in the Western schools which were now educating Native children.

While late twentieth-century collections of traditional narratives very often reach an audience of both Native and non-Native readers (in fact, many current volumes are issued by small, local, Native-run presses particularly for the children in their regions, for example Pemmican Press and Theytus Press) it seems that very few Native children ever got to read the collections by the earlier authors. In off-reservation boarding schools, the goal was to assimilate First Nations children, not to encourage their knowledge of their cultures. It wasn't until the work of Euroamerican Ann Nolan Clark, who, in the 1940s, set out to create books relevant to the lives and experiences of the Navajo children she worked with, that Native children were reading Native oriented books, not to mention Native authored ones. Even then, Native stories didn't reach very far. Growing up in 1950s America, Elizabeth Cook-Lynn "read everything: the Sears catalog, Faust, "Dick and Jane," Tarzan of the Apes, The Scarlet Letter, the "First Letter to the Corinthians," David Copperfield, "The Ancient Mariner," "Dick Tracy," "Very Like a Whale," Paradise Lost, True Confessions..." but found nothing to read about her own people, the Crow Creek Sioux (Swann and Krupat I Tell You Now 57). Cook-Lynn's experience, not uncommon in any discussion about growing up Native American (which is, observation or from oral tradition, but they recognize that children now learn from books" (Life 16).

4 Elsie Mather, a Yu 'pik woman, calls literacy a "necessary monster" (Morrow and Schneider 20).

5 On the point of the legitimacy of written texts, it is interesting to consider a volume of stories written down (and printed) by the students at Haskell Institute called Indian Legends and Superstitions (n. d.). It may be that the pupils used these stories as part of their education—perhaps more as writing exercises than reading exercises. It is also notable that the Bibliography of Indian and Pioneer Stories Suitable for Children published under the auspices of the Department of the Interior was printed at Haskell Institute, and may have in fact originated there, perhaps with input from the students. This is something I hope to examine in future research.
in fact, the title of a book which explores this subject: Patricia Riley's *Growing Up Native American* (1993), reveals how little impact these authors had on the Indigenous population.

This is not to suggest that their works were unsuccessful because they were (probably) not read by Native children. I would argue that rather than not reaching their hoped-for audience, these authors were not primarily interested in recording their tales for fear of their disappearance, or for the exclusive use of Native children. When one examines these texts, it is clear that these authors have carefully selected and edited stories so that they might be understood and enjoyed by those not at all familiar with Indigenous people, Indigenous storytelling practices, or the stories themselves (a group which may, in fact, include Native children removed from their tribal communities, but includes non-Natives as well). As each author makes clear, these stories are written so that they are accessible to those who do not know, as Arthur Parker put it, "the Indian tongue" (12). Zitkala-Sa insisted that "The old legends of America belong quite as much to the blue-eyed little patriot as to the black-haired aborigine," and decided to "transplant the native spirit of these tales—root and all—into the English language, since America in the last few centuries has acquired a second tongue" (vi). Parker tells his stories "not in the Indian tongue or even in the exact way that Indians tell them—but in the way boys and girls can understand" (12), suggesting here that the boys and girls he writes for are not Indians. Charles Eastman and Luther Standing Bear, as we shall see, selected and retold their stories so that non-Sioux readers could understand and enjoy them.

Publishing for a wide audience of children, or specifically for non-Native children, may have been a strategy to get the narratives published in the first place, and thus make them available to Native children, but it was also important to these storytellers, I suggest, to introduce their stories to non-Native children.

Once the storytellers decided to record their stories in print, each had to decide exactly how it should be done. How can one "write the voice on the page," as Paul Zolbrod might say? How can one communicate the performance experience, and all that goes with that experience, on a piece of paper? In his study *Reading the Voice*, Zolbrod reminds us that "print does not
easily recreate the physical impact of a storyteller's shifting eye contact, the unexpected shout or the sudden whisper, the wide sweep of a right arm or a left, the way he or she can become a large speaker ... by rising on the balls of his feet or throwing back her shoulder" (97). These actions display the storyteller's artistic skills, of course, but they do more than that. They serve to emphasize particular points in the narrative, and guide the audience in understanding the characters and events clearly. For example, tone and pitch of voice can communicate sarcasm, something difficult to convey clearly (or unquestionably) in a printed transcript.

But oral and written stories have other differences which complicate the process of writing them down. With oral stories, one can always choose whether to tell them at all, to whom, and how. Stories exist as potential to be told, potential that is actualized with each telling—and are told (or not), and shaped depending on the audience, on the time, the reason, and the creativity of the author. There is a dynamic between the teller and the listener out of which comes the story. That is, a story is told to a certain person (or people), for a certain reason, at a certain time, in a certain place. The listener is expected to pay close attention to the story, to the point where movement and interruptions are considered both inappropriate and impolite. With certain types of narrative, for example the Seneca ga ga, the audience participates in the story by repeating certain words which indicate the listener is listening. We see this also in Maria Chona's account, when she and her brothers would repeat the last word spoken whenever their father would pause; he would stop telling the story when they fell asleep, when they were no longer listening. As well, Yellowman's stories and his style of telling them is affected by the audience which is present. When the audience is composed of listeners, such as children, his stories contain "special intonations, changes in speed, pacing, and dramatic pauses." But when he speaks "in solitude to a tape recorder, Yellowman gives only a rather full synopsis of characters and incidents; the narrative drama" (Toelken 80). How, then, does a storyteller decide what to record in print when there is only the teller to create it?
If these questions are not difficult enough, there is another issue which those who choose to record Native stories for non-Native readers must face. How do you tell these stories to those almost entirely unfamiliar with the culture, with the practice of storytelling, and with the traditions which are inherently part of the narratives? Further, how does one choose what to record? As I mentioned above, stories are sacred and must be treated with respect. When the stories are recorded in a book, the teller no longer has control over that narrative—it can be read at any time or any place by anyone—and so a careless recording of stories may treat them with disrespect, or may allow them to be treated with disrespect.

Of course, many of these questions were addressed by non-Natives from the earliest days of colonization. From Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's *Algic Researches* (1839) to Jerome Rothenberg's "total translation" in *Technicians of the Sacred* (1968) and *Shaking the Pumpkin* (1972), Dennis Tedlock's typographic signals (spacing, capitalization) in *Finding the Center* (1972) and *The Spoken Word* (1983) to Dell Hymes' "ethnopoetics" in *In Vain I Tried to Tell You* (1981), there has been a ongoing concern by non-Natives about how to record traditional, oral Aboriginal narratives in print.6 My aim here is not to examine or critique these various attempts (as others have studied non-Native efforts in this area7) but to consider how this small group of Native authors, Zitkala-Sa, Eastman, Parker, and Standing Bear, have chosen to record their stories in print for an audience of children. Their collections are important, first, because they are some of the earliest Native writers to make the decision to write their stories down at a time when many non-Natives were doing the same thing, and second, because the children's book is different from a scholarly text (a form, as I mentioned above, other Native storytellers chose), and the form allows Native storytellers a freedom in telling which the scholarly form does not.

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6 One might consider that there does not seem to have been much concern on the part of non-Natives about what, or if, to record; only how.

7 Particularly Krupa in "On the Translation of Native American Song and Story: A Theorized History" and Clements in "Tokens of Literary Faculty."
The earliest published Native-authored collection of traditional narratives for children in North America is Zitkala-Sa's *Old Indian Legends*, which appeared in 1901. A Yankton Sioux, Zitkal Sa was born Gertrude Simmons in 1876 (she renamed herself Zitkala Sa, Red Bird, later in life). She was educated at a Quaker missionary school and Earlham College, and attended Carlisle Indian Training School as a teacher in 1898-99. She began writing autobiographical sketches and short stories for magazines, and three articles, "Impressions of an Indian Childhood," "The School Days of an Indian Girl," and "An Indian Teacher Among Indians," were published in *Atlantic Monthly* in 1900; two others appeared in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* in 1901. These writings were collected into a book, *American Indian Stories*, twenty years later. However, her first book, the children's book *Old Indian Legends*, was published by Ginn and Company in 1901.

The fourteen stories collected in *Old Indian Legends* include tales of Iktomi, Blood-Clot Boy, and Iya, significant figures of Sioux oral tradition. The narratives of these beings are a few of what Ella Deloria called *ohu'kaka*, which tell of a "very, very remote past, from a different age, even from an order of being different from ourselves" (ix). In her preface to the collection, Zitkala-Sa provides some general information about the stories, stating "the personified elements and other spirits [of the stories] played in a vast world right around the center fire of the wigwam. Iktomi, the snare weaver, Iya, the Eater, and Old Double-Face are not wholly fanciful creatures" (v), but she is less concerned here with documenting the genre than explaining why she has collected them as a children's book. She declares:

The old legends of America belong quite as much to the blue-eyed little patriot as to the black-haired aborigine. And when they are grown tall like the wise grown-ups may they not lack interest in a further study of Indian folklore, a study which so strongly suggests our near kinship with the rest of humanity and points a steady finger toward the great brotherhood of mankind, and by which one is so forcibly impressed with the possible earnestness of life as seen through the teepee door! (vi)
Zitkala-Sa raises, and answers, the ongoing question posed by anthropologists (and others) about the place of Indigenous cultures in the human family with the assertion that Indians are part of "the great brotherhood of man," but what makes her position interesting here is not only her answer, but that she chose the opening of a collection of stories for children as her forum to make the statement. Clearly, Zitkala-Sa hopes that her work will be read, not for mere amusement, but in order to encourage "blue-eyed little patriot[s]" to further study, and further understanding, of Indian narratives, and Indian cultures. This book is meant to be a first step in a long process of learning.

As a way of understanding just how Zitkala-Sa retold the stories for an audience of children, it is helpful to compare her collection with both the literal and free translations of Dakota stories in Ella Deloria's *Dakota Texts*, which was published under the auspices of the American Ethnological Society and edited by Franz Boas for a scholarly audience. By this comparison I do not mean to assert that one version is more authentic or authoritative than another; rather, each reveals the story as it is told in a particular situation, to a particular audience. In considering multiple versions of the same story, we can begin to understand some of the decisions that Zitkala-Sa made regarding the story, what to tell and how to tell it, in light of the form and audience which she chose.8

Considering that Zitkala-Sa was creating a book for non-Native children, some of the decisions she made regarding what to record in print are probably not surprising. (In fact, Heister Dean Guie was to make similar decisions for Mourning Dove's Okanogan narratives thirty-two years later.) Though she certainly knew a great number of *ohu' kaka* which she might have included in her collection, she leaves out certain tales of Iktomi, such as when he runs away with his mother in law and returns with children (for which he is subsequently run...

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8 Alice Poindexter Fisher uses this same comparison of Deloria and Zitkala-Sa in her 1979 dissertation *The Transformation of Tradition: A Study of Zitkala Sa and Mourning Dove, Two Transitional American Indian Writers*. Her aim was to demonstrate how Zitkala-Sa shaped the oral narratives recorded by Deloria in print; my own comparison is similar, but with a closer eye to how she (Zitkala-Sa) wrote specifically for children.
out of his village, or when he marries his own daughter, two stories which Deloria does include in her more thorough collection intended for a scholarly, and adult, audience. In addition to judiciously selecting those stories which would be appropriate and publishable for her audience, Zitkala-Sa also eliminates some of the verbal patterning which is part of telling the ohu' kaka among the Sioux. Deloria explains that all ohu'kaka stories end with the phrase "hehayela owi hake --That is all; that is the end" and it is a convention which she [Deloria] keeps in her literal translations by ending the narratives with "There it ends" or "That is all" (ix). Zitkala-Sa, however, does not include this phrase, perhaps because it was unfamiliar to readers, and not considered necessary in a book where it would be obvious when a story ends (because there is no more print on the page).

Zitkala-Sa's retelling, however, goes farther than simply removing those aspects unacceptable or unconventional to an early twentieth-century literary audience. She also adds much to her narratives. The majority of the stories involve Iktomi, the Dakota trickster, whom Deloria describes as "always visualized as having the appearance of a man. He is out to get the better of others, but generally comes through, the loser. The name is also the word for spider, and some translators and interpreters call him 'spider' in English" (5 n.3). Zitkala-Sa opens her collection with a present tense description of Iktomi which introduces the reader to the world of the ohu' kaka:

Iktomi is a spider fairy. He wears brown deerskin leggins with long soft fringes on either side, and tiny beaded moccasins on his feet. His long black hair is parted in the middle and wrapped with red, red bands. Each round braid hangs over a small brown ear and falls forward over his shoulders. ...Iktomi is a wily fellow. His hands are always kept in mischief. He prefers to spread a snare rather than to earn the smallest thing with honest hunting. Why! he laughs outright with wide open mouth when some simple folk are caught in a trap, sure and fast. He never dreams another lives so bright as he. Often his own conceit leads him hard against the common sense of simpler people. Poor Iktomi cannot help being a little imp. And so long as he is a naughty fairy, he cannot find a single friend. No one helps him when he is in trouble. No one really loves him. Those who come to admire his handsome beaded jacket and long fringed leggins soon go away sick and tired of his vain, vain words and heartless laughter. (3-4)
With these words she immediately provides the reader with a brief summary of Iktomi: who he is, what he does, and how one is to regard him. This information would be unnecessary for those who are familiar with Iktomi's travels (as would Deloria's footnote, for that matter), for they would already know about his tricky nature, having heard this story from the time they were born as part of family and community activities. However, for those who do not have the benefit of growing up with the stories, such an explanation helps one understand from the start what to make of this fellow and his adventures. Further, Zitkala-Sa concretizes the figure in terms a young reader familiar with the European fairy tale tradition can understand, for she makes Iktomi a "fairy" who retains his Dakota origins by describing him as a "spider fairy" and a "Dakota brave." It is only after this informative introduction that Zitkala-Sa begins to tell the stories: "Thus Iktomi lives alone in a cone-shaped wigwam upon the plain. One day he sat hungry within his teepee..." (5).

Perhaps the most revealing instance of Zitkala-Sa's art is her telling of the story of the genesis of Blood-Clot Boy, a Lakota culture hero. Deloria's recording of this story, "Blood-Clot Boy," is presented as one long narrative encompassing the conflict between Rabbit and Bear and the "birth" of Blood-Clot Boy, Blood-Clot Boy's run-in with Iktomi, and his successful courtship of a girl from the neighboring village (113-120). Zitkala-Sa takes a different approach, separating these stories into three, called "The Badger and the Bear," "The Tree Bound," and "Shooting of the Red Eagle"(61-74). As mentioned above, traditional aboriginal stories are flexible, and easily divisible. That is, just as there was not one way to tell the Kaax achnogok story for Mrs. Sidney, there is not one correct way to tell the story of Blood-Clot Boy, as one story, or as three (if not two or perhaps four). The telling would depend on the audience, the event, and the reason for the telling. With this understanding, it makes sense that Zitkala-Sa, in writing for children, might choose to present the story of Blood-Clot boy as three brief episodes, closely related but unified in themselves. On the other hand, it may be that Ella Deloria chose to bring together three closely related stories of Blood-Clot Boy's adventures to make a particular point about this hero of the Sioux.
In order to understand how Zitkala-Sa presents her story of Blood-Clot Boy, it is helpful to focus on the first of the three narratives, that which tells of the genesis of Blood-Clot Boy, and compare it to Deloria's longer story. "The Badger and the Bear" begins with a description of the badger family: the father, a successful hunter, the mother, busy helping to prepare the meat that her husband brings home, and the "baby badgers very chubby" (61). One day, a bear arrived at the badger's well-stocked home. First he came begging, his nose "dry and parched," indicating his sickly state. The storyteller explains, "Though he was a stranger and his strong paws and jaws frightened the small badgers, the father said, 'How, how, friend! Your lips and nose look feverish and hungry. Will you eat with us?'" (63). And he did. Day after day the bear visited and was welcomed in the same way, so often, we are told, that mother badger placed a rug in the place where he sat to welcome him and make him comfortable, for "She did not wish a guest in her dwelling to sit upon the bare hard ground" (64). Finally the bear was healthy, "his nose was bright and black. His coat was glossy. He had grown fat upon the badger's hospitality" (65). On that day, the bear threw the badger and his family out of their home: "'Wah-ough!' he roared, and by force hurled the badgers out. First the father badger; then the mother. The little badgers he tossed by pairs. He threw them hard upon the ground" (66).

Compare this detail to the opening lines of Deloria's narrative: "A rabbit lived happily until a bear and his young came and took possession of his home, driving him out" (113). There are some obvious differences here, not the least of which is the different character, rabbit rather than badger (which probably derives from particular local differences in the story). The extensive development of story and character in "The Badger and the Bear" tell the reader many things which Deloria does not emphasize. The exchanges between badger and bear, and the way that bear is received by badger and his wife, demonstrate the badgers' generosity and hospitality. Bear's actions show his ingratitude for all the good things he has been given: when badger comes to bear, begging for food the same way that bear had, bear not only refuses him even a small piece of meat but kicks him away with his "big hind foot" (68).
In Zitkala-Sa's narrative, when the badger finds a blood-clot on the ground where the bear was carving a buffalo, he picks it up, hides it in his blanket, and returns to his family. At home he prays to the Great Spirit to bless the small clot:

Thus he built a small round lodge. Sprinkling water upon the heated heap of sacred stones within, he made ready to purge his body. "The buffalo blood, too, must be purified before I ask a blessing upon it," thought the badger. He carried it into the sacred vapor lodge. After placing it near the sacred stones, he sat down beside it. After a long silence, he muttered: "Great Spirit, bless this little buffalo blood." Then he arose, and with a quiet dignity stepped out of the lodge. Close behind him someone followed. The badger turned to look over his shoulder and to his great joy he beheld a Dakota brave in handsome buckskins. In his hand he carried a magic arrow. Across his back dangled a long fringed quiver. In answer to the badger's prayer, the avenger had sprung from out the red globules. (71-72)

Again, consider how Deloria writes this scene: "Immediately he [rabbit] made a sweat-bath over the blood clot. He was busy pouring water over the hot stones when someone within heaved a deep sigh, and then said, 'Whoever you are who are thus kind, open the door for me.' So he opened the door, and a young man, red (from the heat), stepped outside" (114).

In her narrative, Zitkala-Sa provides great detail about the sweat bath, a practice most young, non-Native readers would know little about. Rather than just saying that the badger took a sweat bath (in fact, she does not use that term at all, and refers to the sweathouse as the "sacred vapor lodge"), she explains what one does when one prays, how one purifies oneself. This emphasis on the sweat bath stresses the good actions of the badger which bring about the birth of the Blood-Clot Boy. Deloria does recount this event, but her version, recorded from a story told among a group of Dakota, simply does not require the great amount of detail which a story to be read by non-Natives does. Rabbit's attention to the clot, "immediately" making a sweat bath, suffices to show his respect toward the bit of blood he was fortunate to have (which most would reject), as does the acknowledgement which the newly born young man gives him "'Whoever you are who are thus kind.'" There is no need to explain the sweat bath, because the listeners were most likely quite familiar with the purification ritual.
After Blood-Clot Boy is created in the sweatlodge, the descriptive emphasis in Zitkala-Sa and Deloria changes. Zitkala-Sa's narrative briefly details how, when Blood-Clot Boy, who calls himself the Avenger, travels with the badger to beg meat from the bear, the bear, recognizing the boy as the avenger who had been long talked of, welcomes the badger and invites him to cut favorite pieces of venison (73). Blood-Clot Boy then steps up and demands that the bear give the badger his dwelling back. The bear, with his family, flee in terror from the badger's rightful home. The Avenger does not kill the bears, but only sends them back into the woods.

In Deloria, this scene is filled with rather graphic violence. When Bear comes to Rabbit's buffalo surround, Rabbit refuses to come out to shoot the buffalo which the bear would then steal. Angry at this boldness, Bear comes into Rabbit's home, and Blood-Clot Boy summarily clubs him. Rabbit then fetches bear's wife with a lie that Bear needs help carrying the buffalo meat, and when she arrives "Blood-Clot Boy was ready for her and the moment her head appeared, he struck her with a resounding blow and killed her. The he entered the bear's home, and found all the bear children, sitting in a circle, eating their meal." After allowing the one cub who had helped rabbit in his distress to leave, "the boy killed all the other cubs" (116).

For Deloria, the focus of the story is on Blood-Clot Boy. His creation and early actions are only the first part of a longer story of Blood-Clot Boy's travels to the next village, his adventures with Iktomi, and how he brings home a bride from the village. Indeed, by presenting the narrative as one tale, the Rabbit-Bear episode highlights Blood-Clot Boy's actions as the avenger—a just, brave and strong young man willing to fight for his grandfather; these traits are reiterated later in the story when his helpfulness gets him into trouble with Ikto, who sticks him to a tree. In separating the narratives, Zitkala-Sa chooses to emphasize different aspects of the story: the good ways of the badger, his hospitality, generosity, and care of his family, and the gratitude and respect he shows to the clot (the smallest bit of blood which others would overlook as not worthy, favoring instead the heart or liver, or a fat piece
of meat instead), which bring about the creation of one who would avenge the ill treatment he and his family received at the hand of the ungrateful bear. Zitkala-Sa defines good and bad here in a way which does not concern Deloria but which makes the story of Blood-Clot Boy meaningful to an audience not familiar with this culture hero.

* * *

Though it is clear that Zitkala-Sa wrote her collection with a careful awareness of the non-Native reader, her stories seem almost unedited when they are compared to a collection of Lakota stories published nine years later. Charles Alexander Eastman's *Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folk Tales Retold* (republished as *Smoky Day's Wigwam Evenings: Indian Stories Retold* in 1910) was co-authored with his wife Elaine Goodale Eastman and was one of the best known Native story collections of the period. At 253 pages, and including twenty-seven stories, it is also one of the longest compilations of Native stories for children.

This was not the first book that Eastman wrote. He had achieved remarkable success with his first, *Indian Boyhood*, in 1902, and cemented his literary reputation with *Red Hunters and the Animal People* (1904) and *Old Indian Days* (1907). It is significant that Elaine Goodale Eastman was an author and poet in her own right, and had, at the early age of fourteen, published a book of poems with her sister which was excerpted in *St. Nicholas* under the title "Poems by Two Little American Girls."¹ Aware of the children's publishing market, and recognizing a potential audience for Eastman's writing, she persuaded him to send sketches of his childhood among the Lakota, which he was writing for his son, to *St. Nicholas*, and heavily edited them for submission. It is generally understood that Mrs. Eastman played a very important role in her husband's career as a writer, based on the fact that he acknowledged

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¹ *St. Nicholas* and its editor Mary Mapes Dodge were known to encourage young writers by publishing promising works. The poems by Elaine and her sister Dora Goodale appeared in December 1877; the book collection of their poems, *Apple Blossoms: Verses of Two Children*, was published by Putnam's in 1878.
her many contributions to his books, but also because his writing career essentially ended when he and his wife separated in 1921 (Wilson 191). *Wigwam Evenings* was the only book which carried both of the Eastman's names, though the depth of her involvement in the collection, whether as writer or editor, is not clear; it is notable that the preface to the volume is signed with her initials alone.

Goodale Eastman's preface is an interesting document, not only because it makes clear for whom and why the collection was written, but also because it provides some explanation about the stories themselves. Mrs. Eastman opens in her typically poetic style:

> These scattered leaves from the unwritten school-book of the wilderness have been gathered together for the children of to-day; both as a slight contribution to the treasures of aboriginal folk-lore, and with the special purpose of adapting them to the demands of the American school and fireside. That is to say, we have chosen from a mass of material the shorter and simpler stories and parts of stories, and have not always insisted upon a literal rendering, but taken such occasional liberties with the originals as seemed necessary to fit them to the exigencies of an unlike tongue and to the sympathies of an alien race. (iii)

Zitkala-Ša articulated much the same thing when she wrote of "transplant[ing] the native spirit of these tales—root and all—into the English language" (vi), but Goodale Eastman here is more explicit. She and her husband hope to make the stories not just appealing, but suitable for use in schools, and have adapted their language and content with this end in mind.

Goodale Eastman also eases the reader into the tales by making a connection between fairy tales—narratives which children, school teachers and parents would presumably be comfortable with— and the unfamiliar Sioux stories:

> There are stories here of different types, each of which has its prototype or parallel in the nursery tales of other nations. The animal

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10 It is unfortunate that the recent Bison book reprint of the first edition of *Wigwam Evenings* replaces Elaine Goodale Eastman's preface with an introduction by Michael Dorris and Louise Erdrich. This change avoids presenting the stories as a children's book, and instead asserts its adult interest, arguing that "They are not so much specifically intended for the moral education of children as they are required to be accessible to listeners of all ages" (ix). While Dorris and Erdrich make a valid and valuable point (which I too have attempted to make), the elimination of the original preface allows us to forget that the original collection was directed toward children.
fables of the philosophic red man are almost as terse and satisfying as those of Aesop, of whom they put us strongly in mind. A little further on we meet with brave and fortunate heroes, and beautiful princesses, and wicked old witches, and magical transformations, and all the other dear, familiar material of fairy lore, combined with a touch that is unfamiliar and fascinating. (v)

She translates Stone Boy and Star Boy, the girl who married the star, and the grandmother in "The Runaways" into brave and fortunate heroes, princesses, and wicked old witches of European fairy tales to make them readily understood by one unfamiliar with the Sioux stories.

Sometimes, however, the Aboriginal characters are not always so easily linked with familiar Western models. In her attempt to explain Little Boy Man, she is forced to equate him with an odd hybrid of Biblical and literary figures: "The 'Little Boy Man,' the Adam of the Sioux, ... is a sort of grown-up child, or a 'Peter Pan' who never really grows up" (v). For Western readers, this is an uncomfortable juxtaposition of characters—a progenitor forever a child—and her need to link Sioux and Western ways muddles rather than clarifies the complexity of the Sioux culture-hero. It also seems to reinforce the common perception of Indians, and their progenitors, as children "who never really grow up" (a position that it seems Goodale Eastman held).

The stories in the collection do, at times, resemble fairy tales; for example the first story in the collection, "The Buffalo and the Field-Mouse," begins with the familiar fairy tale frame "Once upon a time ..." (8). "The Good-Luck Token" begins almost exactly like "Hansel and Gretel," or "Jack and the Beanstalk," with a poor family who has no food: "There was once an old couple who lived quite alone with their little grandson in the midst of a great wood. They were wretchedly poor for the old man was growing too weak to hunt, and often came home at night empty-handed. ..." (74). The narratives in *Wigwam Evenings* also resemble fairy tales in the didactic morals which they convey. Lest the reader, the reader's parents or teachers, fear that the Native tales lack the judgements of right and wrong found in the familiar fairy tales, they are explicitly informed that the stories do: "The stories told by Smoky Day are seldom without a moral, and we may be sure that the children are not sent to him only to be entertained, but also to learn and profit by the stored-up wisdom of the past" (41). And just in case one might miss the moral, the Eastmans often include an overt moral statement. The
stories of the animal people, for example, are presented as simple behavior tales complete with their lessons attached.

In addition to including a clearly stated moral for their stories, the Eastmans often streamline these narratives so that they lead to that moral, a method of storytelling which becomes clear when one compares Wigwam Evening's version of "The Badger and the Bear" with that in Old Indian Days. Narrated by Smoky Day on the seventh evening, the Eastmans' version of the story tells of the badger family's "warm and snug" home, with their "fat and merry" children (64). The story continues similarly to Zitkala-Sa's telling, with bear arriving at badger's door, weak and hungry, and the badger family feasting bear well, "according to custom" (65), bear ultimately kicking the badger family out, and father badger being refused the slightest bit of food when he comes begging to bear's door. The family is kept from starving only by the generous actions of one little cub who secretly brings them food. "At last" we are told "came the Avenger, who sprang from a drop of innocent blood. He is very tall, strong and beautiful, and is feared by all wrong-doers" (68). In the Eastman's version of this narrative there is no mention of the sacred genesis of Blood-Clot Boy, indeed no mention of him or the blood clot at all, no sweatlodge, and no prayers. The Avenger becomes a quick, unexplained tool of justice, for when bear sees him approaching, he gathers his family and runs back into the woods, and the badger family "returned and joyfully possessed their old home" (69). This is the end of the story, which closes with an italicized moral: "There is no meanness like ingratitude" (69).

Obviously, the Eastmans here trim the story of Blood-Clot Boy into a rather simplistic moral narrative and exclude the sacred, which Zitkala-Sa chose to articulate, from the story altogether. One might argue that in their retelling of this story the Eastmans have utterly destroyed all that is complex and significant within it. But it is worth considering why they might have chosen to record this particular version in their book of stories for children. It may be that, like Zitkala-Sa's exclusion of the conventional ohu ka ka phrases, the Eastmans attempted to eliminate aspects of the stories that non-Native readers would reject, or wouldn't
understand. The genesis of a Boy Avenger from a small clot of blood honored by badger might have seemed too profound a story to set down in a book to be read by a child or a non-Native school teacher who knew little else about the culture. It may also be that the Eastmans chose to downplay Blood-Clot Boy in this collection so that they might emphasize another Sioux culture-hero, Little Boy Man, later in the collection. Both figures are revered progenitors among the various Sioux tribes, and the Eastmans may have decided that the idea of "Two Adams" would be far too confusing to those whose story of genesis allows for no variation.

They may also have excluded the sacred from this narrative simply because it was sacred, and not the kind of thing to be put down in a book which would be read by a potentially unlimited audience, over which the storyteller(s) would have no control. This decision is perhaps best explained through the experience of Fred McTaggart, an aspiring folklorist who was told only a small portion of a traditional Mesquakie story which he knew to have been told to others as a longer and more detailed narrative (he knew this because he had read it in a collection compiled by a non-Mesquakie anthropologist). McTaggart came to understand that he had been told only what the storyteller felt that he could, and should, know: "Mr. Wolfskin had told me only two small parts of a very long story, just as he had told me only parts of the story of Wisaka and his brother. He had apparently chosen for me the 'secular' parts, the parts I could understand and share (160). Perhaps the Eastmans chose the 'secular' story within the story of Blood-Clot Boy for similar reasons, because that is what they believed readers, by definition a virtually unlimited audience, should be told.

The Eastmans' Wigwam Evenings is a highly structured collection of tales. The twenty-seven chapters are organized around twenty-seven evenings of storytelling titled "First Evening," "Second Evening" up to the "Twenty Seventh Evening." The twenty-seven days neatly equal a month of tellings, but the stories are not recounted over a one-month period in narrative time: the first one is told in December, and the last one is told just before the village breaks up for the spring hunt. This organization links the stories to the cyclical patterns of the moon and the seasons, while presenting the stories in their proper season according to Sioux
storytelling practices: from the first frost to the arrival of the animals in spring (18). This may be the Eastmans' way of adapting oral narrative art into the contemporary medium of print—of telling the stories on paper while taking into account the appropriate time for such stories. While a book can be read at any time of the year without regard to the seasons, these stories are framed so that, in the time of the narrative at least, they are always told during the winter season.

The stories are framed by a third-person present narrative which sets the stage for the telling of the stories. The first chapter begins, "The cold December moon is just showing above the tree-tops, pointing a white finger here and there at the clustered teepees of the Sioux, while opposite their winter camp on the lake shore a lonely, wooded island is spread like a black buffalo robe between the white, snow-covered ice and the dull gray sky" (3). Using present-tense description, the authors are working in what Paul Zolbrod calls the "dramatic mode," narrative time which establishes that the action is taking place in the now and creates a sense of "immediacy" and "direct involvement" for the reader (81). Thus the stories, which are often understood as not only having happened a long long time ago, but having been told a long long time ago, are actually transported into, if not the present world, at least a present-tense one.

The reader is then introduced to Smoky Day, "the old story-teller, the school-master of the woods," and the "well-beaten paths" (3) that lead to his wigwam entrance. Inside Smoky Day's tent the fire is warm and bright, and ready for the audience who will gather that evening. The old man prepares his "long red pipe" "for the smoke of meditation" (4) as the children enter his dwelling. The first child to enter, "nine-year old Tanagela, the Hummingbird" (4), brings a gift of sun-dried buffalo tongue to the storyteller. After the children have gathered and the circle around the fire is filled, Smoky Day begins to tell the children the stories of long ago.

We have here what Paul Zolbrod would call a dramatic mode embedded with narrative, and this embedding serves a valuable function, for it allows each story to be told in a
specific context. Just as the narrative time frame of seasons locates the stories in the larger passing of a year, the individual stories are told at a particular moment in time, in response to a particular situation. They are not allowed to exist in a vacuum, but are given a reason to be told, and an audience to listen. Thus a story arises out of the need to settle a dispute between a sister and brother on the correct way to understand behavior ("The Eagle and the Beaver") or the need to teach a child the proper respect for animals, and proper regard for them in hunting ("The Good-Luck Token"). A bad night of winter storms encourages the telling of "The Wars of Wa-kee-Yan and Unk-tay-hee": "Hun, hun, hay! Old man Wazeya, the North Wind, is again on the war-path! You are brave children to come out to-night! You are no cowards, I am sure of that, so I shall tell you of the battle between Wazeya and one of our great heroes, the son of a mortal maiden and a Star" (215); a crisp night inspires a story of "The Ten Virgins": "There is a tang in the air and a stir in the blood to-night that moves the old man to tell a tale of youth and adventure" (223).

Smoky Day's words to his audience are directed to the children gathered in his wigwam, but through the immediacy of the dramatic frame, they are also directed to the larger audience of readers as well. Just as in a drama where the audience members become part of the action taking place on stage, in Wigwam Evenings the readers become part of the old storyteller's audience, listening to Smoky Day along with the Sioux children within the wigwam. Only rarely is this dramatic tableau broken by the authors: occasionally a third-person narrator steps in and informs (or reminds) the reader of some particular point (33).

Smoky Day, aside from being the storyteller of the narrative, is also an important historical figure in the life of Charles Eastman, for the real life Smoky Day was Eastman's first, and favorite storyteller (Indian Boyhood 123). Unlike the majority of his works, in which he uses the first person 'I' to make assertions about the authenticity of the information presented, Eastman makes himself (and his wife) invisible here: it is Smoky Day who holds the central position as storyteller, not Charles Alexander Eastman. By putting the story into the mouth of the elder, Eastman directly credits him with the stories that are recounted here.
This is another creative adaptation of storytelling events, for it incorporates the common practice of storytellers attributing the story they are telling to another, usually older, teller as a way of acknowledging one's source for the story, and asserting one's authority to tell it. (Mourning Dove, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear all do this, mentioning in their introductions, or, in the case of Standing Bear, within the stories themselves, individuals who told them the stories.) It is also a tribute to the storyteller who has come before and shared the gift of the story. Smoky Day was in fact to receive further acknowledgement when the reissued collection granted him top billing: the new title was Smoky Day's Wigwam Evenings.

The authors use Smoky Day not only as a mouthpiece for the stories, but also to communicate a wealth of information about them. For example, the elder begins an evening of stories by explaining the basic premise of the long ago stories (ohu ka ka, although the Eastmans do not use that term here). He states:

These old stories for which you ask teach us the way of life, my grandchildren. The Great-Grandfather of all made us all; therefore we are brothers.

In many of the stories the people have a common language, which now the Great Mystery has taken away from us, and has put a barrier between us and them, so that we can no longer converse together and understand the speech of the animal people.

Observe, further, that silence is greater than speech. This is why we honor the animals, who are more silent than man, and we reverence the trees and rocks, where the Great Mystery lives undisturbed, in a peace that is never broken.

Let no one ask a question until the story is finished. (7)

Helpful as this information may be to the children of the narrative, it is also helpful, of course, for the reader who is unfamiliar with the animal people of the Sioux stories. Because this information is ostensibly directed toward the children actually gathered in the fictional wigwam, the authors can cleverly insert necessary and helpful background details in a subtle fashion.

Much information is provided within this fictional frame of the storyteller and his audience. Through the conversations between Smoky Day and the children the reader is taught a basic understanding of the ancient stories and is introduced to many significant figures
of the Sioux, including Unktomee, Eya the Devourer, Two Face, and Little Boy Man. Because the fictional frame details the actions of the children, and their interaction with Smoky Day, the reader becomes involved in and thus learns about storytelling among the Sioux. As the frames of each of the stories are read, the reader learns the proper season and time to tell stories (winter evenings, 18), the proper way to behave as a listener (with attention and silence, 7), and the proper way one demonstrates one's appreciation and thanks for the stories (with a gift to the teller, 4). The result of this dramatic mode and the embedded narratives is that while retelling traditional stories, the Eastmans also tell a story about storytelling.

Through the creation of the fictional frame of storytelling events rather than unframed, unannotated stories (as in Zitkala-Sa's collection, though one might consider that her preface provides something of a frame), the Eastmans not only elucidate the stories, but also allow the reader to see inside Sioux culture (significantly, doing something far different than making war or whooping across the plains). With the detailed frames of each story, the reader learns about Sioux life and people: what the children wear (a doeskin gown and robe tanned with the hair on, 63), what they eat (wild rice, maple syrup and venison, 42), and how they play, act, and think. This story which surrounds the stories presents an abundance of detail to create an image of Indian life which seems at once culture specific and universal. It was an image which Charles Eastman had presented before, in Indian Boyhood, and would present again in his writings for adults.

* * *

Old Indian Days and Wigwam Evenings were the earliest Native-authored story collections to be published explicitly for an audience of child readers (and were in fact two of the earliest collections to be published for any audience); however, they are not the only collections created for children. Arthur Parker's Skinny Wundy and Luther Standing Bear's Stories of the Sioux were also published in this period, and these later collections have unique
approaches to telling traditional stories which demonstrate the range of artistic possibilities for the storyteller in a children's book.

Arthur Parker published two collections of Seneca Indian stories—*Seneca Myths and Folk Tales* (1923) and *Skunny Wundy, Seneca Indian Tales* (1926). *Skunny Wundy* however, is not merely a simplified or juvenile version of *Seneca Myths and Folk Tales*. In fact, it seems that very few of the stories which appear in *Skunny Wundy* were told in the earlier collection. While the first volume includes a wide range of stories, the stories Parker tells in *Skunny Wundy* are limited to stories of the animal people. They are, according to the narrator, the stories which Fox told to Skunny Wundy when he tricked Fox into telling "all the stories in the world" (16). "And so," the reader is told,

> every night for a moon Fox told Skunny Wundy his tales, and Skunny Wundy put them all in a bag made of otter skin and hid it away for boys and girls to find when they came on the earth. So that's how we know what the animals used to do in the dim long ago before people came to this old world.... Open your ears, listen, give attention, and you shall hear the wonderful tales Skunny Wundy heard when old Fox told all about his tricks. Listen, for it was I, maybe, who found the otter-skin bag. Na ho! (21)

Thus Parker sets up the stories he tells. Rather than an unframed collection of stories as in Zitkala-Sa, or a series of stories related to events in a dramatic frame as in Eastman, Parker here incorporates a narrator and establishes a distinct relationship between the narrator, the reader, and the stories. The narrator refers to himself or herself as I, and explains that if the reader, the implied "you," listens, he or she will be able to hear the stories from the otter-skin bag, the stories Fox told to Skunny Wundy.

This 'I' and "you" relationship is very important for Parker's storytelling. The relationship between the teller and the listener is not created with a fictional setting as in the Eastmans, but by the language of the narrator. While the Eastmans create a fully-described setting of storytelling, where the reader becomes one of the audience sitting around Smoky Day's lodge-fire—sits among the Sioux as it were, Parker tells his stories directly to the reader. That is, there is no fictionalized setting here in which the stories take place; the reader is not
transported to a time of wigwams and lodge-fires, but remains wherever he or she is. This narrative approach provides a timeless context for the telling of the stories; they are not rooted in the past, but are told now, to "you," the reader. For Parker, this was a very important point to get across to those who read the stories: that storytelling among the Seneca was (and is) alive and well. In his earlier volume *Seneca Myths and Folk Tales*, rather than depicting these as ancient practices, Parker explained that the Seneca "still preserves his rites and ceremonies, and on the reservations at Cattaraugus, Allegany and Tonawanda he still tells the folk-tales that his ancestors loved, and *these remain unaltered to this very day*" (55, emphasis Parker's). In his children's volume, he uses narrative voice to communicate this same fact, making the Skunny Wundy stories living and immediate each time they are read.

In his introduction to *Skunny Wundy*, Parker discusses how, in the winter time, the family and visitors would gather for supper, and sit around the fire, when an elder, perhaps a Grandfather, would be asked to tell a story, "And almost every time, he would" (10). He also tells about the relationship between elders and young people: "There was one thing that may seem odd to you. Every old Indian expected to be called 'Uncle,' and each spoke to us as 'Nephew.' And so it was that as we grew acquainted we would eagerly say, 'Uncle, tell us a story'" (10). He incorporates this relationship into the text of the stories: the narrator takes the role of Uncle, and refers to his audience, the "you," as nephew. Parker brings the reader into the relationship through direct address; he literally asks the reader into the story: "After all, who likes to get caught and eaten up? Maybe you, nephew, but not I" (14). By creating an "I" narrator, and addressing the reader as "you," and questioning the reader, Parker encourages involvement in the stories. The readers are no longer just passive readers but participants in the storytelling. And in recreating the Seneca storytelling relationship between elders and young people, Uncles and Nephews, he brings the reader directly into the storytelling traditions of his people.

One other major difference between Parker and his predecessors is that Parker is far more comfortable retaining particular Indigenous elements of the story which Zitkala-Sa and
the Eastmans remove. For example, he ends the stories with the "formula" for long-ago stories: "So the old folks say, and this is all they said. Na ho!" (30). Unlike the Eastmans, Parker does not include an explanation of the meaning and/or point of a story. Rather than trying to explain too much (which the Eastmans could be accused of), Parker is comfortable explaining very little, letting the stories speak for themselves, and allowing the reader to arrive at her or his own understanding. One of the best examples of this is the ending of the story of "How the Raccoon Ate the Crabs," where the narrator concludes the brief narrative with an inconclusive statement: "Not much of a story? Well, nephew, my old grandfather, who fought in seven wars and had one eye, thought a lot of this tale, and he could see a lot with his one eye" (71). The reader becomes responsible for returning to the story in order to discern its meaning with each reading, and so Parker's narrative becomes one which grows and changes as the reader grows and changes, as all well-told stories do.

In contrast to Parker, as well as Zitkala-Sa and the Eastmans, it is valuable to consider, briefly, the choices another Sioux storyteller, Luther Standing Bear, made when he chose to record the traditional narratives of his people. Stories of the Sioux (1934) is a collection of twenty "main events and historical happenings" (v), stories of a time more recent than the ancient period of ohukankan. As Deloria explained, such stories are "accepted as having happened to our people in comparatively recent times, perhaps in the lifetime of the aged narrator's grandfather or great-grandfather. Some of these tales are legends of localities; and while the miraculous still runs thorough many of them, they are regarded as occurrences that may happen to someone aided by supernatural powers" (x). Standing Bear's decision to record and publish Sioux historical tales reminds us that there is more to Native narrative than the often-told stories of tricksters and animal people.

Some of the narratives which Standing Bear includes account for significant events in Sioux history. He tells, for example, of the coming of the horse among the Sioux, and how this creature was given the name Sunke Wakan or 'Holy Dog' by the people, and of the first man to bring fire to the Sioux in 'The First Fire.' Other stories tell of remarkable individuals and
events in Standing Bear's and his people's more immediate memory, including an account of Marpiyawin - the "Old Woman who Lived with the Wolves," the meeting and marriage of Big Turkey and Star Woman, and the wondrous journey of a cottonwood tree which a group of Sioux witnessed one evening.

These stories are more than just interesting accounts of Sioux life, however, for they are an essential part of the storytelling tradition. As Simon Ortiz explains,

> There is a real link ... between historical stories, recent historical stories, and those other, older stories from the tradition that are in the past but are still very useful now. A lot of the stories that we hear about people—personality profiles—have a lot to do with histories, but they often refer to certain values that Indian people hold precious and dear. Whether the stories are tragic or happy, they are examples of values Indian people should follow, or see as reflections. (Winged Words 108)

We see this type of story in the cultural context in Eastman's Indian Boyhood, when Uncheedah asks Hakadah (the young Charles Eastman), "Do you not remember the 'Legend of the Feast-Maker,' who gave forty feasts in twelve moon? And have you forgotten the story of the warrior who sought the will of the Great Mystery?" (103), citing the historic stories of great men familiar to Hakadah in order to encourage the young boy to take his first steps into adulthood through personal sacrifice, strength and generosity. Standing Bear's Stories of the Sioux are further examples of this type of historical storytelling, as they recount and record admirable behavior long respected by the Sioux.

Many of the stories which Standing Bear includes demonstrate and praise courage, bravery, and clear thinking. Marpiyawin, for example, does not become afraid when lost in the woods, but trusts in the wolves and returns to her people with a very special understanding of and relationship to the wolves who sheltered her. "The Hunter who was Saved by Eagles" is admired for his skill in hunting, his bravery in attempting to capture the eaglets, his calm and cool-headedness in the face of danger, and his respect for and honor of the eagle who had saved him. Similarly, in "The Arrow-Thrower," Turning Bear's calm in the face of the unknown, his fast thinking and fast action are held up as a model to be admired by all who hear his story.
This praise of bravery is not limited to warriors and scouts of the Sioux, for Standing Bear also explains how Crow Butte, a treacherous landmark in Southeastern Dakota, was named in memory of the daring escape made by a group of Crow who were trapped by the Sioux on this butte. Standing Bear's grandmother, like the brave Crow, "lives in the memory of the Sioux people" (60) for facing head-on a charging bear and aiming her iron digging stick at the creature as if it were a gun. The bear stopped, and when Grandmother held her ground, and the bar, the bear ran away in apparent fear. Thus courage and bravery shown by any member of the community are honored and respected, and remembered, in these stories.

Many of the narratives in Standing Bear's collection demonstrate the proper relationship with the natural world that the Sioux value. The story of Marpiyawin, "The Old Woman who Lived with the Wolves," highlights the on-going relationship between humans and animals as one of respect and reciprocity, as does "The Hunter who was Saved by Eagles." The Sioux also respect and remember those who are "close to the source of all things—Mother Nature, or the Mother of All Things—Earth—" (41), and many of the narratives in Stories of the Sioux tell of the awesome powers associated with these individuals. Others pay tribute to famous Sioux medicine men, including "How the Medicine-Man Found the Lost Horses," and "Thunder Dreamer the Medicine-Man." Stories of dreamers, those who receive special powers and gifts from the natural world such as Deer Dreamer, Hawk Dreamer, and Thunder Dreamer, are also remembered here.

Standing Bear alluded to these historical stories in My Indian Boyhood, three years before he actually published them. He introduced the stories in his discussion of the history of the Sioux people, a history recounted in order to reveal that "the white men who have written histories of the Indian could not, of course, know of inner tribal matters" (5). He asserted: "The Sioux have lived a long time in this region. No one knows how long. But there are many legends about my tribe and also about the Bad Lands and the Black Hills, showing that we have lived there many, many years. These legends are historical and interesting and will be told in another book" (6). Standing Bear's Stories of the Sioux recount a history of the land and
the Sioux prior to the arrival of the European on the continent. These stories are a way of "laying claim" to the land which White settlers seemed so confident was unclaimed.

Though not explicitly a children's book, Emily Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* might be compared with *Stories of the Sioux* in this light. Johnson's stories are the stories of the land of the Chinook; they are significant because they are rooted in a time long before 1492. She reveals, for example, that while the Whites call certain mountains near Vancouver "The Lions," after the Landseer Lions in London's Trafalgar Square, the Indians have long called them by another name: The Two Sisters, whose story she then recounts. *Stories of Siwash Rock, Stanley Park, and places unnamed by Whites are remembered by Chief Joseph Capilano and recorded by Johnson. She explains "There was not a tree, a boulder, a dash of rapid upon which his glance fell which he [Capilano] could not link with some ancient poetic superstition" (22).

Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo) also articulates this connection between the land and the stories:

> The stories cannot be separated from geographical locations, from actual physical places within the land. And the stories are so much a part of these places that it is almost impossible for future generations to lose the stories because there are so many imposing geological elements ... you cannot live in that land without asking or looking at or noticing a boulder or rock. And there's always a story. (*Language and Literature* 69)

Just as one cannot live in the land without there being a story, Standing Bear's stories suggest that you cannot tell a story without telling about the land and its history. Significantly, the history Standing Bear tells is one in which the European newcomers do not participate.

Standing Bear's collection is a significant document not only for what it tells its readers about Sioux values and history, but also for what it reveals, finally, about the choices a storyteller might make in telling particular stories to particular audiences. Unlike Eastman's Smoky Day stories, Standing Bear's *Stories of the Sioux* are not limited to telling only on winter evenings. The author explains that these narratives were told:

> ... at any time and at any place whenever and wherever the teller and the audience were in the mood. Sometimes it was Grandmother who sat on the ground, perhaps with a small stick or drawing pencil in her
hand, drawing designs on the earth as she told a story that she had known ever since she was a child herself. The children would cluster around her, either lying or squatting on the ground listening. Sometimes Grandfather or Great-Grandfather was the story-teller as he sat and smoked at noonday. Even when on the march, if all were enjoying an afternoon rest and someone felt in the humor, a story would be related and enjoyed. So story-telling was in order with the Sioux at any and all times. (v-vi)

His selection of stories which could be told "at any time and at any place" suggests what this storyteller may have felt was appropriate to publish in a book which could be read at any time, by anyone. These particular narratives could be shared with a relative freedom that Standing Bear could not grant to other, more ancient, stories. Again, it is helpful to refer to the experiences of Fred McTaggart in his efforts to collect Mesquakie stories. When he questioned one storyteller, Jack Wolfskin,¹¹ about the sacred nature of one of the stories he had just been told, Mr. Wolfskin explained "All of our stories are sacred...Some are more sacred than others....That story is all right for you to know" (144-45). His response here reflects on the choice Luther Standing Bear made to present the historical stories for a wide, non-Native audience; perhaps he considered these "all right" for the non-Sioux audience, or the unlimited audience of a book to know.

* * *

All of these children's books, Old Indian Legends, Wigwam Evenings, Skunny Wundy, and Stories of the Sioux, are important extensions of Indigenous storytelling traditions, and valuable contributions to Native American literary history. One of the most important facts about these collections is that the storytellers are engaged in an act of remembering the stories, and in remembering them, to repeat the words of Geary Hobson, "there is strength, continuance, and renewal" (10). But it also important that they are retelling them to children. In my earlier discussion of the importance of storytelling for children, I quoted Trudie Lamb-

¹¹ McTaggart chose to change the names of the Mesquakies with whom he talked in order to protect their privacy.
Richmond's explanation of the circle of life which encompasses the old and the young, the links to the past and the future. Storytelling, it is vital to understand, served as the bridge to link the two. In recording their stories in print, Zitkàla-Sa, Charles Eastman, Arthur Parker, and Luther Standing Bear carried out the responsibilities of the older generation by ensuring that the oral traditions of their people were passed on to future generations, recognizing all the while that the mode of passing them on, and the audience that needed to hear them was, like many aspects of their lives, changing.

It is worth stating, once again, why these stories are important for children: they serve as tools of instruction, so children need to learn from them; they are the core of an intellectual tradition, so children need to learn them; finally, they are the cement which binds the culture, and so children also need to remember them, and retell them. These reasons are important to Native children, of course, but they are also applicable to non-Native children. First, all children can learn from the stories. Whether through the overt moral lessons of the Eastmans, the open-ended lessons of Parker, or the personal models presented within Standing Bear's stories, these narratives teach readers, Native and non-Native, many things about the way to behave in the world. Second, by collecting them and presenting them in a written format, children could learn them. This was valuable for Native children, for it created written texts containing vital elements of their people's history and traditions which they could read in the future. But this was also important for White children, because, through these stories, they could begin to understand one of the most important foundations of Native culture: storytelling.

Julie Cruikshank's experience in her encounters with Yukon elders is very revealing in this context. As a non-Native woman working among the Athapaskans, she came to understand that in order to understand storytelling, and obtain a true insight into the culture itself, "first you must learn what the stories say." And after you learn what they say, then you can begin to understand how they are used, and what they mean as historical and personal "records" of Native cultures. Learning the stories is thus the beginning of a long process, but it is an important and necessary beginning. If non-Natives were (are) ever to understand Indian people
and Indian culture, they must learn the stories because "You don't have anything if you don't have the stories" (Silko Ceremonv 2). In her preface to Old Indian Legends, Zitkala-Sa articulated this hope that the stories would serve as a starting point for "blue eyed little patriot[s]" to begin to understand Indians.

C. S. Lewis suggested that one writes a children's story "because a children's story is the best art-form for something you have to say" (208). His often-quoted statement is helpful here because it may not only be the audience, but also the form of the children's book which led these authors to create the books they did. That is, there were apparently only two forms a collection of traditional narratives could take during this period: scholarly text, or children's book. While scholarly texts were expected to record the narratives verbatim, the form of these collections allowed for a freedom of presentation: a distinction between the voice and the heart which Mourning Dove made, favoring the heart for a truer presentation of the story (Tales 14). The non-scholarly form, necessarily a children's text, allowed the storyteller to add, subtract, or alter elements of the narrative to adapt to the written form and the broad audience who would likely read it. I would argue in fact that in many ways these collections reveal far more about the storytelling traditions, and come closer to telling the stories, than do most scholarly versions of their period because they allow the teller to move away from a "direct transcript" of one telling, and re-tell the stories with a distinct awareness of the way telling on paper differs from an oral telling. Earl Nyholm (Ojibway) remarked "A lot of people use the word 'traditional.' I don't like that word. It's one of the most abused words in Indian-English today. In Ojibwe culture, we say that something has to be 'proper,' which means according to custom and whatever is necessary to make it correct" (All Roads 54). I suggest that Nyholm's perspective is a good perspective for these authors. While they are telling traditional stories, they are telling them in an untraditional, but proper way.
"... Forget where you came from, what you were before; let all that go out of your minds and listen only to what your teachers tell you."

— D'Arcy McNickle, *Wind from an Enemy Sky*
Although contemporary Native North American authors of children's books are perhaps best known for their written versions of traditional tales (for example Joseph Bruchac (Abenaki), Ignatia Broker (Ojibway), and Basil Johnston (Ojibway)), there was another genre which, historically, was popular with Native authors of books for children: autobiography. Three of the most prominent early writers used this form: Charles Eastman, Luther Standing Bear, and Francis La Flesche. Eastman's *Indian Boyhood* (1902), his first book, was phenomenally popular and was published in thirteen different English editions from 1902 to 1933, and three foreign languages (*Indian Boyhood*, xx, n. 1). Luther Standing Bear, who had garnered recognition for his first autobiographical book *My People the Sioux* (1928), tailored a version for children called *My Indian Boyhood* (1931). While Francis La Flesche is known for his collaborative work with anthropologist Alice C. Fletcher, which resulted in two publications for the Bureau of American Ethnology,¹ his first publication was actually an autobiography dedicated to children, *The Middle Five* (1900).

This particular genre of Native American literature has received a great deal of scholarly and critical attention in the past two decades. H. David Brumble's 1981 annotated bibliography of the genre led, in part, to his 1988 study *American Indian Autobiography* in which he explores "differences between the Indian's traditional conception of the self and modern, individualistic conceptions of the self" and begins to approach a history of the genre (18-19). Hertha Dawn Wong's recent *Sending My Heart Back Across the Years* (1992) focuses on one portion of the history which Brumble mapped, oral and pictographic forms of

¹ *The Omaha Tribe* (1911) and *The Osage Tribe* (1924-1928).
autobiography among the Plains tribes. Arnold Krupat's *For Those Who Come After* (1985) examines a number of collaborative "as told to" autobiographies based upon the principle of "original, bicultural, composite composition" which he labels "Indian Autobiography" (xxvii). There have also been a number of studies of Native women's autobiography, most notably Gretchen Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands' *American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives* (1984), which suggests themes and structures common to aboriginal women's autobiographies, and Julie Cruikshank's *Life Lived Like a Story* (1990), a compelling consideration of the uses of traditional narratives in Yukon women's constructions of the self and personal experience. As well, there have been numerous examinations of individual autobiographical texts. What the majority of these scholars do not consider (understandably, for it is not within their scope) is the significance of autobiography as a form for early twentieth-century Native-authored books for children.

In his consideration of the history of *American Indian Autobiography*, H. David Brumble identifies six "fairly distinct" types of autobiographical narrative told in pre-Columbian Indigenous cultures: coup tales, informal autobiographical tales, self-examinations, self-vindications, stories of the acquisition of powers, and educational narratives. To summarize Brumble's distinctions, coup tales, common among the Plains tribes, recount an individual's acts of particular bravery in warfare, based upon certain tribally recognized actions. To "count coup" meant literally to strike a blow on one's opponent (not necessarily to kill him), from the French *coup* "blow", but might also include such acts as wounding an enemy, stealing horses or scalping, depending on the tribe and the historical period in question. In general, among the tribes which practiced it, counting coup was an important way for a warrior to receive honor for acts of courage and skill. In order to gain public

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2 Brumble actually uses "preliterate" when referring to these narratives. I believe the term pre-Columbian, which describes a time before Western influence rather than a time before the act of writing (a rather unspecific and debatable term), to be a more accurate term for the period in question. As it seems Brumble is concerned not with writing per se but with evidence of autobiographical forms prior to Western influence, I have chosen to substitute pre-Columbian for preliterate in my adoption of his discussion.
recognition for these acts, the individual would announce (and sometimes act out) his deeds before an audience. The informal autobiographical tales were often similar to the coup tales in that they recounted events of war, but they might also detail one's experiences on a hunt, or some other remarkable or memorable occasion. Self-examinations were essentially "confessional" narratives which served as a means for the individual to reflect upon the propriety or rightness of his or her actions, while self-vindications were accounts of the self which were used to counter accusations made against one. The stories of the acquisition of powers were told by medicine men "as a means of setting before the tribe just what was the extent of the powers claimed" (43). Finally, the educational autobiographical narratives were those stories of personal experience which were told primarily to teach the audience particular facts or knowledge.

Brumble points out that children were often the intended or incidental audience for these autobiographical narratives. Citing Black-Wolf's (Gros Ventre) and Two-Leggings' (Crow) accounts, he observes that it was not uncommon for children to be present, or to make themselves present, when the coup tales and the more informal autobiographical tales of war and hunting were told. Black-Wolf claimed that hearing the coup tales of his elders led him to match their success in war. He asserts, "When I was a boy I heard about great deeds in war, and resolved to follow the tracks of such men." (32) Similarly, Two-Leggings recalled the stories the old men told and how they affected him as a boy:

"I was growing restless shooting rabbits and longed to join the war parties I watched going out. In the evenings I wandered through the village until I found a tipi where some old man was telling stories of famous raids. If I was not invited in I would sit outside, my ear pressed to the skin wall. Later that night, in my brother's tipi, I would imagine those same things happening to me." (32)

Brumble also reminds us that, as members of the community, children would be present when autobiographical narratives such as the self-vindications and self-examinations were told. These narratives were "among the tribes' primary instruments of socialization" (40),
demonstrating to the listener proper and improper, praised and vilified behavior, depending on how the story was presented by the teller and received by the audience.

In addition to these broadly instructive narratives, Brumble suggests that those autobiographical narratives whose "primary purpose" (40) was education were generally told to children. These narratives could impart valuable information and knowledge to the audience; from hunting tips to sex education, and deeper wisdom gained over time, personal experience would be shared with young people to "recreate a situation for someone who had not lived through it so that the listener could benefit directly from the narrator's experience" (Cruikshank *Life* 340). An example of this use of autobiography is when Charles Eastman's uncle Mysterious Medicine tells young Ohiyesa stories of when he was attacked by a panther while in pursuit of a buck, and when he became caught in a buffalo run while hunting, in order to demonstrate the importance of keeping one's presence of mind in the face of danger (*Indian Boyhood* 156-158). Athabaskan Joe Beetus remarked that he told his children stories of his own experience to teach them hunting and survival skills: "I tell my boys that story when we were out trapping last winter. I tell them stories every night because that's my own boys. They got to learn that way!" (in Brumble 41). One of the more interesting examples of this use of personal narrative to educate comes from Hopi Don Talayesva, who learned "good and bad ways in love-making" from his uncle Kayayeptewa's personal account of his sexual experiences with women (in Brumble 40). Mrs. Kitty Smith, a Tlingit woman insisted "Young girls, I could teach them!" (Cruikshank *Life* 340), and the stories of her life offer insight on women as individuals, sisters, cousins, wives, mothers and elders, based upon her personal experience.

Though Brumble posits that autobiographical narratives were frequently heard by or expressly told to children, he does not address the fact that American Indian autobiography comprised a relatively significant portion of the children's books written by American Indians after the turn of the century. 3 Why was autobiography such a prevalent form? I believe that

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3 Interestingly, he does consider the significance of Charles Alexander Eastman's *Indian Boyhood* as a children's book, but he roots his discussion in "Eastman's Social Evolutionist..."
the answer to this question can begin to be found in a number of the observations which Brumble makes regarding Indigenous autobiographical traditions, particularly when they are considered in light of the larger realm of children's literature about Indians discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.

Eastman's, Standing Bear's and La Flesche's children's books have one particular point in common: the authors claimed to tell the truth about Indians and Indian life, and reminded readers that they were able to do so accurately because they themselves were real Indians.

Charles Eastman waxed eloquent about the wonders of his real life experience in *Indian Boyhood*:

> What boy would not be an Indian for a while when he thinks of the freest life in the world? This life was mine. Every day there was a real hunt. There was real game. Occasionally there was a medicine dance away off in the woods where no one could disturb us, in which the boys impersonated their elders, Brave Bull, Standing Elk, High Hawk, Medicine Bear, and the rest. They painted and imitated their fathers and grandfathers to the minutest detail, and accurately too, because they had seen the real thing all their lives. (3)

To the reader of *Indian Child Life*, Eastman again asserted his authority as an authentic Indian, explaining, "You will like to know that the man who wrote these true stories is himself one of the people he describes so pleasantly and so lovingly for you" (v). He even goes so far here as to advertise and praise his publisher Doubleday, Page and Company, "who have kindly consented to the publication of the little volume in order that the children in our schools might read stories of real Indians by a real Indian" (vi). Luther Standing Bear is less ebullient, but no less authoritative, when he reminds readers that his history is significantly different from other accounts, commenting "The white men who have written histories of the Indian could not, of course know of inner tribal matters nor of the attitudes of the people in general" (5) in his testimony of *My Indian Boyhood*. Even though he purposely removes the feathers and assumptions" (160), not in a possible relationship between autobiography and children. While I don't disagree with Brumble (in fact, it was his observation that "Much of what was published about Indians during the first three decades of this century was intended for children" (162) which served as the primary catalyst for this thesis), I offer an extension of his observations and conclusions here.
buckskin from his Omaha boys, Francis La Flesche also assures his reader that they are real Indians:

... the boys who appear in these sketched have really lived and played a part in the incidents herein recorded. Each little actor, including the writer, made his entrance upon the stage of life in the 'tee-pee' or in the dome-shaped earth lodge; for, in the years when we boys were born, only the aboriginal dwellings were in use among our people, the Omaha tribe of Indians. (xvi)

The tee-pee, an object that every child knows is "Indian," serves to validate La Flesche's authenticity.

This authentic Indian had an incredible appeal for non-Native readers who wanted to know about real, not storybook Indians: W. P. Hooper's "A Fourth of July Among the Indians" a story featured in the "St. Nicholas" collection, opens with the exclamation: "Indians - real Indians - real, live Indians - were what we, like all boys, wanted to see" (St. Nicholas 22), while William Dean Howells' A Boy's Town boys dream of seeing "genuine Indians" (150). What young White boy (or girl), who himself (herself) played Indian, could resist the authenticity that Eastman, Standing Bear and La Flesche claimed? Bettina Hürlimann valued Eastman's account over that of Cooper or Karl May because Eastman had "ein wirkliches Indianerwaldleben sowie die letzten blutigen Aufstände der «Rothäute» ... miterlebte" (81) "experienced the life of a forest Indian, even down to the last bloody battles of the 'Redskins,'" (113).

Aside from attracting readers hungry for "real Indians," however, the assertions of personal experience and first hand knowledge made by Eastman, Standing Bear, and La Flesche offer a way of understanding how these books fit with aboriginal traditions of autobiography and personal narrative. It is important to point out that Native cultures recognize the authority of personal experience. Julie Cruikshank, Mrs. Annie Ned's literary collaborator, observes that "She [Mrs. Ned] is careful not to speculate when I ask her questions outside her experience: 'I don't know that one. That's what they say, but I don't see it. Whoever tells you this, ask him'" (Life 268), and her insistence here is one instance of a common respect among
North American Native cultures for first hand experience. Because they have personal knowledge of Native life, Eastman, Standing Bear and La Flesche are authorized to speak about it. Thus, the "I" of these autobiographies serves to validate as much as individualize what is presented in the pages of their books.

This authority of personal experience is what, I suggest, drives the self vindications which Brumble discusses in American Indian Autobiography. In the face of accusations, "one may exculpate oneself by reviewing the relevant portions of one's life" (38). Whether one was charged with being a Two-Heart or witch (as was Don Talayesva), or with savagery against Whites (as Black Hawk's Sauk and Sarah Winnemucca's Paiutes), the way to counter the charge was with an account of actions and events which one had (or had not) personally committed or witnessed (38-39). It is not surprising then that vindications took the form of self-vindications, and thus autobiography.

An understanding of the authority of personal experience within Native cultures and its role in autobiography is relevant to the autobiographies of Eastman, Standing Bear and La Flesche. What historian Bo Schöler wrote of Eastman's and Standing Bear's writings could also be said of La Flesche's: they "represent conscious efforts on the part of the authors to present counter-images to the received perception and understanding of Sioux, and in a broader sense, Native American life" (47). Essentially, these authors were writing self-vindications against the "charges"—stereotypes and incorrect statements—made against Native people. In this they were not alone, as Brumble points out: Sarah Winnemucca (Paiute), Yellow Wolf (Nez Perce), Geronimo (Apache), and Chief Joseph (Nez Perce) also wrote or dictated personal narratives which countered received perceptions of Native Americans and their actions. But it is important to remember that a number of Eastman's, Standing Bear's, and La Flesche's personal narratives were written for children. By telling their personal experiences to young people, those whose "interest in things Indian [was] particularly keen" as one children's book reviewer characterized the group (see rev. of I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl, New York Times), and who, in consequence, received so many false images of Native cultures and individuals, the
accusations made by the common stereotypes might be countered at the point of entry. This is not to insist that these images were intended only for children, for certainly adults—the parents who might purchase the book, or the children's librarian who sought good/educational/entertaining books to fill the shelves—would have read, or at least browsed through, these books and been exposed to these ideas and images (one might even argue that La Flesche's dedication "To the Universal Boy" refers to grown up boys, as well). However, it is to the children that these works were overtly directed, with the explicit goal of correcting the false images, providing accurate information about Native life and beliefs, and ultimately, encouraging a better understanding of Native people and Native cultures.

Charles Eastman's Indian Boyhood developed from a series of six articles originally published in St. Nicholas in 1893 and 1894. These articles, "Hakadah, The Pitiful Last" "Early Hardships" "Games and Sports" "An Indian Boy's Training" "The Boy Hunter" and "First Impressions of Civilization" make up about one quarter of the volume; the remainder is composed of chapters which further detail events in the young Santee's life, including ceremonies (the First Offering, the Bear's Dance and the Maiden's Feast), and numerous storytelling sessions. Selections from Indian Boyhood, including all the St. Nicholas articles with the exception of "First Impressions of Civilization", along with "An Indian Sugar Camp," "Evening in the Lodge," "A Midsummer Feast," and "Hakadah's First Offering" were later reprinted with stories from Eastman's Old Indian Days (1907) in Indian Child Life (1913), an edition published especially for use in schools.

It is clear that Eastman hoped his writing would encourage readers to reconsider the information and ideas that they had received from non-sympathetic sources. He wrote to his young audience in "A Letter to the Children" which introduced Indian Child Life that he was "not willing that all your knowledge of the race should come from the lips of strangers and enemies, or that you should think of them as bloodthirsty and treacherous, as savage and unclean," and so assembled his own images of Sioux life for the children in his books. Eastman asserted:
War, you know, is always cruel, and it is true that there were stern fighting men among the Indians, as well as among your own forefathers. But there were also men of peace, men generous and kindly and religious. There were tender mothers, and happy little ones, and a home life that was pure and true. There were high ideals of loyalty and honor. It will do you good and make you happier to read of these things. (v)

It will, most of all, set the record straight.

Throughout Indian Boyhood, Eastman attempts to correct numerous falsehoods perpetuated in popular literature. In his very choice of subject, Indian boyhood, Eastman directly confronted some of the most pervasive stereotypes of Native people. In the common idea, Indians were feathered warriors or evil witch doctors, princesses or old hags. Although Natives were considered to be child-like, very little had been written about aboriginal children, even in children’s literature; most were relegated to existence as mute papooses strapped to their mothers’ backs. Because Natives were cast as perpetual children, there was no need, apparently, to explore experiences of the young.

There were two major exceptions to this literary fact. The first was Longfellow’s description of Hiawatha’s childhood. This section of the popular poem had been frequently reprinted in children’s editions of Hiawatha, and in school textbooks. Eastman in fact calls upon his reader’s knowledge of this episode when he explains that he was “Born in a wigwam ... and early left motherless, he was brought up, like the little Hiawatha, by a good grandmother” (Child Life v). It is revealing that Eastman chose to refer to the quintessential literary Indian, one which most children knew (and could recite), in order to pique the reader’s interest and set the stage for his own true story.

The second exception was a book for juveniles published in 1899. Therese O. Deming’s Indian Child Life presents a series of vignettes of Indian children at play. The unusual thing about this book, and what made it a popular school and library book (it too was listed in the Children’s Catalog and the Bibliography of Indian and Pioneer Stories), was its realistic and reasonably accurate portrayal, in words and pictures, of Native people. It is one of the earliest illustrated (with watercolor paintings and black-and-white drawings) children’s books which
attempted to portray Native people in a culturally specific and accurate context, and was so popular that the Demings followed it with a number of similar volumes, including Red Folk and Wild Folk (1902), a collection of aboriginal "folk tales" (Bader 158). Eastman's Indian Boyhood often appears right next to Indian Child Life in book lists, as it probably did on bookshelves, and it may be that the Demings' thirty years of success in the field of children's literature with biographical stories and folklore showed Eastman, and later Luther Standing Bear, a promising path for their own writing.

He also countered a common assumption that Native children grow "like Topsy," as Julian Ralph concluded in "Fun Among the Red Boys," from Indian Stories Retold from St. Nicholas (1904), by presenting the facts of Sioux childrearing. Eastman devotes one whole chapter to "An Indian Boy's Training," insisting:

> It is commonly supposed that there is no systematic education of their children among the aborigines of this country. Nothing could be farther from the truth. All the customs of this primitive people were held to be divinely instituted, and those in connection with the training of children were scrupulously adhered to and transmitted from one generation to another. (49)

From pre-natal practices which positively influence the child's future to descriptions of daily physical and mental training, Eastman ensures that his readers understand that children were not allowed to "run wild." Instead, we are told that high expectations were placed on the child, and that mental and physical discipline were expected of him or her from a very young age (Eastman mainly speaks of boy life, but does present a few girls' activities through his companion Oesedah). According to Eastman, the Sioux child was responsible for "preserving and transmitting the legends of his ancestors and his race" (51) in regular sessions and evenings of storytelling. Throughout the book the reader sees this training in action, as Hakadah (Eastman's birth name; he was later named Ohiyesa) is told a variety of stories by his grandmother Uncheedah, his uncle Mysterious Medicine, and his favorite tribal storyteller Smoky Day. These stories serve, as Eastman was to explain later, as the Indian's "Education Without Books," for the stories transmitted essential knowledge to the young listener. Not
only was the young Santee responsible for listening closely to the stories, but he was also held accountable for repeating them faithfully. In addition, Eastman remarks that "our manners and morals were not neglected" (58) and that honor, respect and courtesy was shown to all, particularly elders (59). Contrary to the popular image of the heathen savage, Eastman informs his reader that underlying all of this education, "We were taught ... reverence for the 'Great Mystery.' Religion was the basis of Indian training" (59).

This is not to say that because Santee boys were not allowed to run wild, they were not permitted to run. Eastman particularly emphasizes that boys were given a great amount of freedom to play and explore the world around them, and reminds his reader that this too was part of a child’s training, for physical prowess and knowledge of the landscape were gained in free play. Many of the boys' activities, such as hunting chipmunks or making war on bees, were preparation for their adult roles in Santee society. However, physical skills (as well as mental) were achieved as much through strict discipline as through play: early mornings, cold baths, and regular fasting all served to make the boy strong and prepare him for the life of a hunter and warrior (56-58).

This perspective on child life also allowed for a vision of the Sioux markedly different from the much-written-about Indian wars, for Eastman could show the tribe from the inside, revealing "tender mothers, and happy little ones, and a home life that was pure and true" (Child Life v). Sentimental as this image may be, it was a remarkable statement for a children’s book about Indians in 1902. While the vast majority of authors were interested in using the stereotypical Indian as a peg on which to hang adventure and excitement, Eastman spends a significant portion of Indian Boyhood warmly describing and praising the individual figures who were important in his young life. Of his grandmother Uncheedah, who raised him and to whom he devotes a full chapter of his book, he states "She was a leader among the native women, and they came to her, not only for medical aid, but for advice in all their affairs" (23). In addition to lauding her bravery, wisdom, and intelligence, he recounts the love and attention she unfailingly gave to him, from feeding him specially prepared soup in lieu of
his mother's milk, to making his moccasins and singing him to sleep (7). And what child could resist a loving grandmother bearing goodies: while a White "grammy" might offer homemade cookies, "Unci" offers maple sugar candy (33).

While Uncheedah is presented with particular affection, she is not the only character carefully described by Eastman. Mysterious Medicine, Eastman's uncle, is demonstrated to be an honorable warrior and intelligent and skillful hunter. The author not only praises him, but also shows him offering wise guidance to the young boy through the stories that he tells (155-165). Ohiyesa's "playmates" Chatanna and Oesedah are depicted as affectionate and supportive friends, but more than that, Eastman allows the reader a sense of their individual personalities when he recounts their conversations and activities (77-82). Finally, old Smoky Day the storyteller is portrayed as Ohiyesa's favorite teacher: he greets the young boy with a warm "'Ho, mita koda!' (welcome, friend!)" (126), and tells wonderful and exciting stories. He is also recalled with a great deal of fondness, as Eastman remembers the "hoarse, cracked voice of the ancient singer" as he sang a "'strong-heart' song for his absent grandson" (218), and the sorrowful occasion of his death in an attack by the Ojibway (223). Eastman reveals his admiration in another way when he explains that when a fellow youth praised another storyteller, he [Ohiyesa] was reduced to insulting the competitor's skills because he "could not admit that old Smoky Day could have a rival" (123). Writing about boyhood and personal experience allows Eastman to introduce the reader to the Sioux, and demonstrate that they are warm, loving and friendly—everything the dime novel Indian and his fellows are not.

Another stereotype which Eastman confronts is the image of the stern, reticent and ever-silent Indian. He states that Indians come across this way to those who do not know them, not because they possess "instinctive and hereditary" manners, but because "All the stoicism and patience of the Indian are acquired traits, and continual practice alone makes him master of the art of wood-craft" (52). He further reminds the reader that these attributes were "absolutely necessary" skills rather than character flaws:
This was one of the most important traits to form in the character of the Indian. As a hunter and warrior it was considered absolutely necessary to him, and was thought to lay the foundations of patience and self-control. There are times when boisterous mirth is indulged in by our people, but the rule is gravity and decorum. (11)

Thus the myth of the stone-faced cigar store Indian is debunked at the same time a motivation for Sioux training is explicated.

Eastman was well aware that Indians were a popular subject for study and imitation—that children "played Indian" regularly and with great enthusiasm (he wryly informs his reader that the Indian boys played "white man," painting themselves with white clay, wearing fur beards and birch bark hats, and setting up a trading post, 72-73). Rather than dissuading them from doing so, he in fact encouraged young people to pursue Indian activities, reinforcing their appeal to his child reader when he wrote "The Indian boy enjoyed such a life as almost all boys dream of and would choose for themselves if they were permitted to do so" (18). He firmly believed that the wild life of the Indian was a superb environment for a child, and was exuberant in praising the benefits of his woodland upbringing including the "all-round physical development" (87), and an acute knowledge of the natural world gained from this way of life. In this he was not unlike his non-Native contemporaries who encouraged playing Indian, but he promoted Indian activity with a difference.

Rather than encouraging children to don war bonnets, divide themselves into warring factions and tomahawk or shoot each other (as they were wont to do, if Tom Sawyer and the A Boy's Town boys are any indication), Eastman introduced Indian activities relevant to a child, and most appropriate for children to imitate and practice. It is not surprising that it was his chapters on activities like Indigenous games, shooting bow and arrows, and hunting ("Games and Sports," "An Indian Boy's Training," "The Boy Hunter") that were the first of Eastman's published articles, for they speak directly to the Indian-playing children who would read them. He makes a point of explaining how certain bow and arrow games which might not be familiar to his readers were played, including the goal of the game and the rules of play. For the activities common to both Sioux and White children, like sledding, tops and hockey, he just
explains particular differences; for example, he states "Shinny, such as is enjoyed by white boys on the ice, is still played on the open prairie by the Western Sioux" (66). Interestingly, he also tells of playing "medicine dance" with the other children, but he points out that this activity was considered sacrilegious by actual medicine men and women "almost what playing church is among white children" (70). When his grandmother, a "medicine woman of the Turtle lodge," found out about his activities, she warned that "if any of the medicine men should discover them, they would punish me [Ohiyesa] terribly by shriveling my limbs with slow disease" (72). It is not clear from this included warning whether Eastman encouraged White children to act out this dance (though if they wanted to, his description is thorough enough that they could).

He also explains "the language of the feathers" (142). When Ohiyesa finds, but cannot identify, a feather in the woods, there is an opportunity for a discussion of feathers and war honors. Through the character of White Foot-print, Ohiyesa's uncle, Eastman creatively explains the feathers linked to the counting of coup and war deeds, and, importantly, those that are not. Ohiyesa queries, "Tell me, uncle, whether it would be proper for me to wear any feathers at all if I have never gone on the war-path," and his uncle replies, "You could wear any other kind of feathers, but not an eagle's" (145). After reading this exchange, the child (along with any other reader) would know more about how feathers are regarded and used among the Sioux; he or she would also know what is appropriate for him or her, like the young Ohiyesa, to wear for adornment.

Interspersed with these descriptions of youthful activities is a discussion of Indian life and ways made accessible to young readers. One of Eastman's primary strategies here is to make a direct comparison between Native and White ways. Recall, for example, that he compares a medicine dance to a church service. The midsummer feast is made familiar when it is described as "something like a State fair, in that there were many side shows and competitive events" (36-37). A lacrosse game played during this feast is recounted in great detail, and Eastman wittily sums up the excitement generated by this tribal sport in a way that
almost all American sports fans can understand: "Cheers and war-whoops became general, such as were never equaled in any concourse of savages, and possibly nowhere except at a college game of football" (43). Similarly, his discussion of games like sledding, tops, shinny and marbles show Indian play to be very like that of White children.

At other times, Eastman attempts to translate Sioux ways and beliefs and present them so readers, particularly child readers, can understand something of their significance. Eastman addresses the challenging subject of Indian humor in "The Laughing Philosopher." "There is scarcely anything so exasperating to me as the idea that the natives of this country have no sense of humor and no faculty for mirth," he remarks,

I don't believe I ever heard a real hearty laugh away from the Indians' fireside. I have often spent an entire evening in laughing with them until I could laugh no more. There are evenings when the recognized wit or story-teller of the village gives a free entertainment which keeps the rest of the community in a convulsive state until he leaves them. (267)

He demonstrates this humor by recounting one of these evenings--the stories of hapless Tamedokah and his determined grip on a buck's tail, Chadozee's wet wrestling match with a bear, and Hachah's dreams of flying--proving that the Sioux can tell some truly funny stories. But his most perceptive point is not only that non-Natives don't often see the laughter, but also that they don't understand the humor when they see or hear it. He explains that "Indian humor consists as much in the gestures and inflections of the voice as in words, and is really untranslatable" (267), and so non-Natives are really missing out on the fun because they don't see it, and even what they do see they don't understand. Vine Deloria, in Custer Died for Your Sins, and most recently, Joseph Bruchac in Roots of Survival, were to make similar points about "Indian humor." Deloria echoed Eastman's position when he noted that "The Indian people are exactly the opposite of the popular stereotype" (146), while Bruchac reiterated the "untranslatable" nature of the humor, writing:

Puns and wordplay of all sorts—which are common throughout Native North America—are hard to translate out of their original languages. As [N. Scott] Momaday pointed out to me later on in our discussion, he remembered very clearly some of the old Kiowa men telling jokes
which would seem totally unfunny to anyone not Kiowa. In fact, some non-Indians might be totally puzzled by what passed for humor among them. (155)

It seems that these things cannot be said enough. However, Eastman's observations here were made in 1902, and his decision to devote an entire chapter to the discussion demonstrates a sharp awareness not only of the stereotypes he was attempting to confront, but also the difficulty of making the truth understandable to those totally unfamiliar with every aspect of Native life and culture. In fact, much of Indian Boyhood, and Charles Eastman's career as a spokesman, writer and lecturer for Indians stemmed from trying to translate Sioux life and culture to those outside of it.

He also attempted to demonstrate the Sioux relationship to and interdependence with the natural world. The reader clearly sees how the boy is trained in nature, for Ohiyesa grows up with outdoor activities and develops physical skills suited to the hunt. However, throughout the book, he also learns to look at the natural world closely, and to try to understand what he sees. His uncle Mysterious Medicine questions him: "On which side of the trees is the lighter-colored bark? On which side do they have most regular branches?" (52) or "How do you know that there are fish in yonder lake?" (53). Eastman explains that "He did not expect a correct reply at once to all the voluminous questions that he put to me on these occasions, but he meant to make me observant and a good student of nature" (53-54). His Uncle also told Ohiyesa to watch animals closely for "In hunting you will be guided by the animals you seek" (55), and to mimic shunktokecha (wolf) and look twice in any situation.

As a boy he also engaged in a bit of competitive observation about the natural world when he and his companions, O'esedah and Chatanna, were questioned by Uncheedah. Once asked "To what tribe does the lizard belong?" O'esedah bested Ohiyesa with the correct answer of the creeping tribe (77). On another occasion, Ohiyesa made the better answer to the question "What bird shows most judgement in caring for its young?" (78). Chatanna answered "The eagle!" for:

"The eagle is the wisest of all birds. Its nest is made in the safest possible place, upon a high and inaccessible cliff. It provides its young
with an abundance of fresh meat. They have the freshest of air. They are brought up under the spell of the grandest scenes, and inspired with lofty feelings and bravery. They see that all other beings live beneath them, and that they are the children of the King of the Birds." (79)

Ohiyesa, in response, counters that the oriole is the wisest bird in caring for the young, for:

"it provides both sunshine and shadow for its young. Its nest is suspended from the prettiest bough of the most graceful tree, where it is rocked by the gentle winds; and the one we found yesterday was beautifully lined with soft things, both deep and warm, so that the little featherless birdies cannot suffer from the cold and wet." (80)

In one sense, these exchanges seem modeled on Western Socratic dialogues; they also seem influenced by the Romantic tradition of a nature which stirs emotion in the viewer. Brumble argues that this passage is one example of Eastman's sentimental construction of Indian life, charging: "Eastman obviously invents many such dialogues, and many situations as well, in order to provide narrative contexts for the exposition of his romantic conception of pre-reservation Indians" (Annotated 55). He is certainly right that Eastman's work does wander into the realm of the romantic savage, and that the style and sentiment are quite common to Indian Boyhood. But whether the dialogue is invented or not, sentimentality and romanticism are not the only things communicated through these passages. The reader is shown the way a young Sioux boy learns about the natural world: through first hand experience, the stories of his elders, and a gradual process of training.

Eastman also explains, cautiously it seems, other connections which the Sioux have to nature. Animals, he suggests, can influence humans: "certain kinds of animals would confer peculiar gifts upon the unborn, while others would leave so strong an adverse impression that the child might become a monstrosity (50). Further, animals and plants have particular powers which can deeply affect human life. He states,

It was one of the superstitions of the Santee Sioux to treat disease from the standpoint of some animal or inanimate thing. That person who, according to their belief, had been commissioned to become a medicine man or a war chief, must not disobey the bear or other creature or thing which gave him his commission. (169)

Of the power of plants, he suggests that "there are supernatural powers in the herbs ... hence those who understand them have these powers at their command" (170). While there is some
ambiguity, as he calls the belief in animal medicine "superstitions," and suggests that there is a difference between one who is commissioned by the Great Mystery to cure illness (read "superstitions") and those who understand the power of the herbs (read "trained/educated in the science of botany"), it is clear that Eastman at least attempts to present these ideas in an sympathetic way. Regarding Eastman's discussion here, it is notable that the Lakota medicine man Lame Deer points out "We have different names for different men doing different things for which you have only that one puny name [Medicine Man], and distinguish pejuta wicasa the healer who cures with herbs and wakan power, the yuwäpi, who uses the power of rawhide and stones, waayatan, the man (or, presumably) woman of vision who sees into the future, wapiya" the conjurer—what you might call a witch doctor" (144). It may be the distinction between pejuta wicasa and the wapiya which Eastman articulates here.

Eastman was less tentative in depicting another aspect of Sioux life for his reader: Santee religion. The chapter "Hakadah's First Offering" recounts the boy's first sacrifice made to "the Great Mystery." Like the discussion of Indian training, this account of Indian religion is easily criticized for its heavily romantic overtones. When Hakadah, having agreed to sacrifice his best-loved dog Ohitika, approaches the site of the sacrifice, "the scene was impressive and wild":

The boy and his grandmother descended the bank, following a tortuous foot-path until they reached the water's edge. Then they proceeded to the mouth of an immense cave, some fifty feet above the river, under the cliff. A little stream of limpid water trickled down from a spring within the cave. The little watercourse served as a sort of natural staircase for the visitors. A cool, pleasant atmosphere exhaled from the mouth of the cavern. Really it was a shrine of nature and it is not strange that it was so regarded by the tribe. A feeling of awe and reverence came to the boy. 'It is the home of the Great Mystery,' he thought to himself; and the impressiveness of his surroundings made him forget his sorrow. (110-111)

Nonetheless, readers are provided a glimpse into a highly sacred and deeply personal event in the life of a young Sioux boy. The Santee warrior must seek the will of the Great Mystery, and this lifelong relationship begins with the first sacrifice, the sacrifice of the belonging that is dearest to the individual. For Hakadah, that means his dog Ohitika. In the paragraph
quoted above, one can see how Eastman attempts to present the sacred nature of the sacrifice with a tone of "awe and reverence." However, he also demonstrates the personal nature of this sacred event: the reader sees the struggle, the sadness, and the courage of the young boy as he consents to the sacrifice, prepares his pet for the ceremony, and finally allows Ohitika to be led away.

As Eastman recounts it, the ceremony itself is brief:

Very soon Wahchewin came with some difficulty to the steps. She placed the body of Ohitika upon the ground in a life-like position and again left the two alone. As soon as she disappeared from view, Uncheedah, with all solemnity and reverence, unfastened the leather strings that held the four small bundles of paints and one of tobacco, while the filled pipe was laid beside the dead Ohitika. She scattered paints and tobacco all about. Again they stood a few moments silently; then she drew a deep breath and began her prayer to the great Mystery: 'O, Great Mystery, we hear thy voice in the rushing waters below us! We hear thy whisper in the great oaks above! Our spirits are refreshed with thy breath from within this cave. O, hear our prayer! Behold this little boy and bless him! Make him a warrior and a hunter as great as thou didst make his father and grandfather.' And with this prayer the little warrior had completed his first offering.

(111-112)

There are a number of things to say about this abbreviated account. In the description of the ceremony, Eastman leaves out the fact that the dog was probably eaten as part of the religious ceremony. It may be that this fact was gracefully edited out of the account for young readers' sensitive ears; such expurgations are not uncommon in children's texts (recall Zitkala-Sa's avoidance of particular Iktomi stories, and Guie's editing of Mourning Dove's Okanagan Sweat House into Coyote Stories). However, when one considers the sacred nature of the ceremony itself, there is another possibility for this exclusion.

In Wolf That I Am (1976) Fred McTaggart offered an astute observation about the contemporary Mesquakie practice of eating dog. McTaggart noted:

I remembered reading about the special relationship that had been established between Mesquakies and their dogs. The dogs had been with them for many years and in religious ceremonies dogs were sacrificed and eaten in something akin to the Christian communion. Many American Indian tribes have given up the practice of eating dog, I have been told. Mesquakies have not. One man later told me: 'I'm sure you have heard that we eat dog. We are very upset that white people
found out about that. It is sacred to us and we don't appreciate having people make fun of our religion.” (35-36)

Though Eastman is best known for what he tells his reader about the Sioux culture, here it is worth considering what he does not tell. It may be that he decided not to include certain details of the ceremony, particularly the practice of eating part of the dog, so as not to disclose sacred practices to an unaccepting audience. It may be, as well, that he chose not to tell about the specifics of the ceremony because, like certain sacred stories or rituals, it is something which simply should not be told, or spoken about, outside of the ceremony itself, particularly to a non-Sioux audience. With this in mind, it is understandable why he may have left the Sun Dance, the most sacred and important community event of the year, out of his description of the midsummer feast, and out of Indian Boyhood altogether.

It is true that the readers of Indian Boyhood were getting a romanticized and edited version of Sioux life, but it is is important to understand that Eastman takes on a remarkable challenge here. He attempts to portray Indian life in a way that is true to Native experience and which does not reveal that which should not be spoken of outside the culture, while at the same time making that life understandable to a youthful non-Native reader. Eastman is not just providing dry facts of Sioux life; he is presenting a window into the pre-reservation Sioux world, translating Sioux culture for non-Sioux as a counterpoint to the mass of incorrect constructions of Indian life which children were exposed to, and which they played out regularly. Though romantic prose and nostalgic digressions do at times overwhelm the book, these passages never stand alone, for throughout Eastman provides tremendous detail about Sioux life and culture in a way no Native author before him had.

His portrayal of his boyhood is also colored by the fact that Eastman, at the time his first autobiography was written, was highly educated (he received a bachelor's degree in science from Dartmouth College in 1887, and a medical degree from Boston University Medical School in 1890), a Christian convert, and a vocal proponent of assimilation. Eastman's biographer Raymond Wilson suggests that he "had developed a type of syncretism" of Sioux
and Western cultures, believing "a person could function within both worlds by adopting the best attributes from each" (87, xi), and Indian Boyhood demonstrates his particular vision.

It is worth noting that Eastman's articles and Indian Boyhood preceded both the woodcraft books of that very famous promoter of "playing Indian" Ernest Thompson Seton, and G. Stanley Hall's 1904 text Adolescence. Seton published his articles on woodcraft in Ladies Home Journal in 1902, and expanded them into How to Play Indian in 1903 and The Birch-bark Roll of Woodcraft in 1906. According to Robert H. MacDonald (whose 1993 historical study Sons of the Empire examined the Boy Scout movement throughout England and North America), Seton met Charles Eastman shortly before he published the Ladies Home Journal articles, and claimed that he [Seton] learned about Indian life from Ohiyesa himself (141). Seton's well-known autobiographical how-to, Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned, appeared in 1903, soon enough after Eastman's Indian Boyhood to provide some competition for readers' attention.4

It is not surprising, perhaps, given his promotion of Indian boyhood as good training for life, and the success of the book itself, that Eastman eventually became involved with the Boy Scout movement. In this he followed Seton's footsteps rather than preceding him. Eastman joined the Boy Scouts of America in 1910, and according to Raymond Wilson, Seton "held Eastman and his works in high esteem" and was "extremely happy at having a national figure like Eastman participating in the movement" (151). Eastman wrote a number of articles for the scouting magazine Boy's Life, spoke to scout troops, and for a period of time served as a camp director and National Councilman (Wilson 150-151). In 1914, Eastman published Indian Scout Talks: A Guide for Boy Scouts and Camp Fire Girls (retitled Indian Scout Craft and Lore), which was dedicated to "the Boy Scouts and the Camp Fire Girls of America." The full

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4 However, Seton's well received Wild Animals I Have Known (1898), a groundbreaking work of "animal biography in realistic form" (Egoff and Saltman, 88) appeared six years earlier than Eastman's Red Hunters and the Animal People, which, I suggest, borrows from Seton's approach.
dedication reminds one of Eastman's statement of authenticity and his belief that Indian life could provide a beneficial model for activity which structured Indian Boyhood:

These chapters represent the actual experiences and first-hand knowledge of the author. His training was along these lines, until he was nearly sixteen years of age. It is with the earnest hope that they may prove useful to all who venture into the wilderness in pursuit of wisdom, health, and pleasure, that they are dedicated to The Boy Scouts of America and The Camp Fire Girls of America. (N. pg.)

Though not an official handbook, Indian Scout Talks became "a useful guide and reference for Boy Scouts and their sister organization, the Campfire Girls of America, to employ in their activities and programs" (Wilson 151).

As in Indian Boyhood, in the scout manual Eastman once again explained and translated Sioux practices so that non-Sioux children could incorporate "Indian ways" into their activities with chapters on "Indian Methods of Physical Training" and "How to Make and Handle Indian Canoes." Particularly interesting is his explanation of the wearing of feathers, for while he does not want readers to stop the practice of donning feathers, he does at least want them to understand that this adornment had significant meaning among the Sioux. He allows that "Anyone may wear any sort of feather as ornament merely, or in imitation of the old-time warrior, but with him [the Sioux] it was a serious affair. He adopted only the feathers of certain birds, and these must be worn in accordance with well-understood law and custom" (126). He then describes the practice in some detail.

When presenting "Indian Ceremonies for Boy Scouts," Eastman goes a step further, for he does not simply explain the steps of Sioux ceremonies so that his readers might reenact these tribal events. Instead, he "specially adapts" three for public use. He explains, "Indian ceremonies are always in demand, and I shall give you several which have been specially adapted to your use from the ancient rites of the Sioux nation" (137). He details "The Ay-chay-tee, or Scout's Bonfire," "The Bear Dance" and "The Peace Ceremony" for boys, and a version of "The Maiden's Feast" for girls. The ceremonies are shorn of most of their sacred elements, or at least their overtly sacred aspects. Eastman does include modified prayers, for
example "To the Great Spirit" and "To our Grandmother, the Earth!", however, the Bear Dance, which Eastman describes in *Indian Boyhood* as "an entertainment, a religious rite, a method of treating disease -- all in one" (172), is here presented only as entertainment, as a "game" similar to tag; it also lacks the serious consequences of the Sioux ceremony: a boy is simply out of the game if he trips and falls, he does not face death. Very significantly, these re-created, (one might even argue created anew), ceremonies also allow Scouts to remain Scouts, rather than having them pretend they are members of a Native culture: the children who dance Eastman's Bear Dance are not playing Indians dancing the Bear Dance, but dancing the Bear Dance as the children they are.

In this way, Eastman's adaptations here are quite different from the Indian ceremonies and dances promoted by Julian Harris Salomon in *The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore* (1928). Salomon "adapts" ceremonies in order to shorten their performance time, but easily instructs the child to wear the Ghost Shirt and dance the Ghost Dance with little acknowledgement of the profoundly spiritual, not to mention cultural and political, significance of the dance. Conversely, Eastman presents ceremonies that were (are) performed, in part, as entertainment, focuses on the social and entertaining aspects of them, and trims their spiritual elements.5 He was to present traditional Sioux narratives in a similar fashion--"adapting them to the demands of the American school and fireside"-- in his later collection *Wigwam Evenings*.

Eastman was not content to limit the promotion of Indian activities to the Boy Scouts of America, and in 1915 he and his wife Elaine Goodale Eastman began their own summer camp for girls on Granite Lake in New Hampshire, called "The School of the Woods." In its initial year the camp was open only to girls, but it proved enough of a success that the Eastmans expanded the camp to welcome boys in 1916, at which point the two camps were renamed: Camp Oahe for girls, and Camp Ohiyesa for boys. Located in a popular summer resort region, this camp was one

5 It is interesting that Salomon cites Eastman as one of his resources for *The Book of Indian Crafts and Indian Lore*. 
of the many youth woodsy camps established throughout the United States and Canada as part of the wilderness and woodcraft movement taking place in the first decades of the twentieth century. But the Eastman's camp was promoted as "The Summer Camp with a Difference" — the difference being that a "real Indian" would share his personal knowledge of Indian ways with campers. Like Indian Boyhood and Indian Scout Talks, these summer camps extended Eastman's belief that Indian training was valuable for young people (Wilson 151-152).

Although Eastman certainly reflects (indeed takes great advantage of) the common late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century conceptions of childhood and particularly boyhood in his writing and other activities, it would be incorrect, I believe, to argue that he was himself a believer in recapitulation as a biological doctrine. The difference is that Hall (to cite the most influential proponent of recapitulation) argues that children must cathartically "revel in savagery" in order to be stable adults, while Eastman asserts that children must engage in physical outdoor play in order to develop certain faculties—strength, agility, vision, hearing etc. — and obtain important knowledge which will make them healthy and wise adults. While Hall and others suggest that children play like Indians, Eastman encourages them to play like Indian children.

* * *

In all his efforts to demonstrate to children (and their parents) that Native cultures possessed a good way of life, and one worthy of emulation, Eastman was quite successful. His success paved the way for another author and autobiographer, Luther Standing Bear. In fact, the two are often compared by literary critics and historians (Brumble, 163; Ruoff in Allen 1983,157-8; Schöler). The frequent pairing of the two is not surprising. Aside from the fact that they were two of only a handful of Native writers in the first three decades of the century, there are marked similarities between them. Both were members of the Sioux nation, and both lived through periods of great transition for their people. Though born and raised in
traditional Sioux bands, both left their lives on the reservation to be educated at boarding schools; in time, both returned to the reservation and saw and experienced the effects that the encroaching White culture had on the Sioux. As well, both recorded their lives and experiences in two autobiographies: one expressly for young readers, another for a more general audience.

By his own account, Standing Bear was born in 1868 among the Oglala Sioux. Though he was raised as a young boy in the traditional Sioux way, that way underwent enormous changes as he grew. Standing Bear, whose Lakota name was Ota K'te (Plenty Kill), was raised among his people throughout his early years, and though their lives were changing as the buffalo decreased and the White cavalry and settlers increased, he experienced a largely traditional childhood. He lived in a tipi, ate buffalo meat and wasna (Indian hash), played the games that had been played by his parents and grandparents, and trained to hunt the buffalo as an adult (My People 22, 30-48). However, in 1879 he entered Carlisle Indian School as a member of its first class. It was here that he selected the name Luther from a list presented to him, and was from then on recognized as Luther Standing Bear. During his tenure at Carlisle he received a basic reading and writing education, as well as training in the trade of tinsmithing (which he recognized as useless to him even before he left the school); he was also granted prestigious employment at Wanamaker's, the Philadelphia department store, as part of Richard Henry Pratt's 'outing' program.

After leaving Carlisle, Standing Bear became employed as an assistant teacher in the government school on Rosebud Reservation, married and started a family. He moved to Pine Ridge the year after the Ghost Dance massacre, working as a teacher, storekeeper, rancher, agency clerk, and assistant minister. In 1902, he joined Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, traveled to Europe, and performed for the King of England, Edward VII. In 1905 he was named a chief of the Oglala. He fought for and eventually obtained United States citizenship and

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6 Richard Ellis suggests that this information is not completely correct: that tribal allotment and census records list his birthdate as 1863, and that he was a Brule, not an Oglala, as his father was a member of the Brule Wears Salt band (My People the Sioux xiv-xv).
money for his allotment held in trust, and moved to Sioux City, Iowa. In time, he relocated to Southern California, appeared in movies and lectured. It was here that he wrote his four books, *My People the Sioux* (1928), *My Indian Boyhood* (1931), *Land of the Spotted Eagle* (1933) and *Stories of the Sioux* (1934).

From the arrival of the railroad across Indian Territory to Wounded Knee, traditional Sioux training to Carlisle School, Oglala chieftainship to United States citizenship, Buffalo Bill to the earliest Hollywood Westerns, Standing Bear had lived through it all, and in *My People the Sioux*, he tells his story. Given the national and international popularity of Charles Eastman’s earlier autobiography for children, it is perhaps not surprising that three years after his first autobiography, Standing Bear chose to write another expressly for children. In many ways, Standing Bear takes a cue from his predecessor’s children’s book, but *My Indian Boyhood* is not simply *Indian Boyhood* with new characters, nor is it a mere edited version of his earlier autobiography for adults.

Like Eastman, in writing his autobiography for children Standing Bear chose to limit the account of his life to his childhood. For Eastman, this period extended to age fifteen, when he was preparing to achieve honors in war, and when, coincidentally, his father came to take him to the racially-mixed settlement of Flandreau, South Dakota, and to school. Standing Bear ends his account with his first and last buffalo hunt, prior to his departure for Carlisle. This choice of subject matter is revealing, not only for what it shows us about Eastman’s and Standing Bear’s individual definitions of childhood and adulthood, but also what it suggests about what a book about Indians for children constitutes for these two autobiographers.

Standing Bear excludes much of his interesting later life which he had included in the earlier volume—one would think that his schooldays and experiences with Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show would interest children—and instead centers his story on experience which is obviously "Indian": his years of bows and arrows, tipis, and buckskins. By proving that he was indeed "a real 'wild' little Indian" (30), by recounting his days as one, Standing Bear can present Indian life as it really was to children who read many incorrect accounts of "wild Indians."
Although he does remark "... outdoor training is very valuable and ... every boy should have the advantage of living a clean outdoor life" (31), and he does include many details about Lakota children's activities, unlike Eastman, Standing Bear does not dwell on the value of Indian childhood for all children. Instead, much of My Indian Boyhood is spent directly confronting many of the incorrect ideas which non-Natives have about Indians. His first paragraph informs the reader that even the term "Indian" is incorrect way to label his people. "Before the white man came, we called ourselves the Lakotas," he states, and observes, "through the mistake of these first white settlers, we have been called Indians ever since" (1). He then lists the names of warriors renowned among the Sioux: Two Strikes, Swift Bear, Quick Bear, Good Boys, Black Crow, Iron Shell, and Crazy Horse. Knowing that few will recognize the names which he has given, he reminds his readers that what they know of Indians, like the very name Indian, is based on outsiders' ideas of them, not on authoritative accounts: "Now, in the naming of these great men you will notice that I have not mentioned the names you usually see mentioned in books written by white men. The white men who have written histories of the Indian could not, of course, know of inner tribal matters nor of the attitudes of the people in general" (5). The remainder of his book attempts to show these "inner tribal matters" and "attitudes of the people" based on his own knowledge and experience of growing up among the Sioux.

One of the most interesting assertions Standing Bear makes throughout My Indian Boyhood is that the Lakota occupied their land long before the Europeans knew it existed. His opening contradiction of the name "Indians," for example, informs his reader that his people had another name long before the Europeans arrived to name them. He argues that the stories which the Sioux tell also demonstrate a history which goes back "many, many years," insisting "The Sioux have lived a long time in this region. No one knows how long. But there are many legends about my tribe and also about the Bad Lands and the Black Hills, showing that we have lived there many, many years" (6); he would record these legends later in Stories of the Sioux (1934). Further, in his discussion of the skills and arts practiced by men and women,
Standing Bear makes a distinction between Indigenous arts and imported elements. He notes those skills (tanning) and instruments (whistles and flutes) which were long part of Native culture before the Europeans arrived, and those that the Europeans brought to the Lakota, such as guns and beads. He also writes of the time before the horse, when the Sioux hunted buffalo on foot with short bows (21). His discussion here resembles one that another Native writer, D’Arcy McNickle (Salish-Kootenai), would make eighteen years later in his historical study of Indigenous cultures: *They Came Here First* (1949).

It is easy to read Standing Bear, like Eastman, as writing his autobiography for children in a sentimental, nostalgic reverie for old and long lost days (Brumble 163-4). His closing remarks are often understood as a lamentation for the vanishing redskin: "That ended my first and last buffalo hunt. It lives only in my memory, for the days of the buffalo are over" (190). However, there seems to be very little lamenting for old ways in Standing Bear’s autobiography. Rather than depicting Indian ways as disappearing, throughout his autobiography he discusses change among the Sioux. While Indians no longer learn how to butcher buffalo, he explains “they are learning other things these days,” things which are relevant to their lives now (47).

Change is a prominent theme throughout the book: he praises his father as "a man of great vision," who "foresaw the great change that the Indian had to make" and encouraged his son to lead the way in this by attending Carlisle school (4). And though Lakota traditionally earned their names through bravery on the warpath, a practice which was no longer possible by the time Standing Bear was old enough to fight, he could earn his name in a new way: by leaving his people and confronting White culture at Carlisle School. The name he earned was Luther, and he credits this new form of bravery for making him a chief in his later years (157). Thus, while the way of earning one’s name had changed, the fact that the Sioux still recognize honor and courage in their chiefs (and the fact that they have chiefs) had not. And so perhaps his closing line is not so much a lament as an awareness that the buffalo hunt has also changed.
The days of the buffalo may be over, but one should not assume that the days of the Sioux are too. Thus, though he talks of the past, he does not suggest Indian life lies in the past.

The interesting thing about Standing Bear’s discussion throughout *My Indian Boyhood* is not simply the fact that he counters incorrect statements and assumptions. As we have seen, Charles Eastman adopts a similar approach. What is significant is the tone which he takes as he does so. For example, he argues against the typical war-whooping Indian:

... the Indian is not the noisy creature that most white people think him. He is quiet and dignified about his work. He realizes the value of keeping quiet and that is one of the first lessons of the hunter. If every one began to yell and scream, the tame pony as well as the wild one would share this mood and there would be much confusion. Besides, there are no swear words in the Sioux language and no Sioux boy ever indulged in swearing and cursing. I have never seen, in all my experience at big round-ups, the white men able to do their work without terrible cursing at their animals. The white man has never learned the use of his tongue. (34)

The point made here compares to Eastman’s discussion of the discipline, “calm and slow to action,” necessary in hunting and on the war-path (*Indian Boyhood* 159), but Standing Bear includes a criticism of the Whites which does not appear in the earlier Sioux’s narrative. While Eastman certainly corrected misinformation, and praised Sioux culture, he was quite careful not to criticize overtly White culture. Standing Bear does not have such scruples. In fact, he regularly contrasts the Sioux way of doing things with the White way, and the White way is always found wanting. For example, Standing Bear compares two methods of breaking horses: "White men in breaking horses are often rough and cruel, but in all the methods we used in breaking ponies, none of them were hard on the animal" (28). In his discussion of the connection which the Lakota have with nature, a subject Eastman also broached, Standing Bear again compares Lakota and White:

Nature has given more of her secret knowledge to us than to the white man. Maybe this is so because we lived so close to her and appreciated her so much. Then another reason is because the Indian’s senses of sight, hearing, and smell are keener than the senses of the white man. Life for the Indian is one of harmony with Nature and the things which surround him. The Indian tried to fit in with Nature and to understand, not to conquer and to rule. We were rewarded by learning much that the white man will never know. Life was a glorious thing, for great
contentment comes with the feeling of friendship and kinship with the living things about you. The white man seems to look upon all animal life as enemies, while we looked upon them as friends and benefactors. They were one with the Great Mystery and so were we. We could feel the peace and power of the Great Mystery in the soft grass under our feet and in the blue sky above us. All this made deep feeling within us, and the old wise men thought much about it, and this is how we got our religion. (12-13)

Standing Bear's children's book marks a very important point in his career as a writer for a number of reasons. First, it is the book in which his frustration over the Indian situation in the United States is unhesitatingly expressed. In the preface to his first autobiography, *My People the Sioux*, Standing Bear asserted:

The preparation of this book has not been with any idea of self-glory. It is just a message to the white race; to bring my people before their eyes in a true and authentic manner. The American Indian has been written about by hundreds of authors of white blood or possibly by an Indian of mixed blood who has spent the greater part of his life away from a reservation. These are not in a position to write accurately about the struggles and disappointments of the Indian. White men who have tried to write stories about the Indian have either foisted on the public some blood-curdling, impossible 'thriller'; or, if they have been in sympathy with the Indian, have written from knowledge which was not accurate and reliable. No one is able to understand the Indian race like an Indian. Therefore, I trust that in reading the contents of this book the public will come to a better understanding of us. I hope they will become better informed as to our principles, our knowledge, and our ability. It is my desire that all people know the truth about the first Americans and their relations with the United States Government. (n.p.)

This first volume detailed Standing Bear's early life and experiences at Carlisle School in Pennsylvania, and his adoption of White's clothes, education, and pastimes. Throughout his discussion he is mildly critical of the hypocrisies he witnessed in what Whites said and what they did, and is certainly frustrated at the stupidity of certain Indian agents and particular points of Indian policy. He also clearly appreciates many opportunities given to him: his education at Carlisle, where he was a favored pupil, his experience at Wanamaker's, his travel abroad with Buffalo Bill, and his United States citizenship (though he had to fight in

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7This is an interesting assertion in light of Richard Ellis' introduction to *My People the Sioux*. Ellis cites the conclusions of George Hyde, who believed that Standing Bear was a mixed-blood Brulé.
order to obtain it, a situation which he recounts with some resentment). Land of the Spotted 
Eagle, his second adult volume, is largely ethnographic. Here Standing Bear attempts to 
explain the depth, complexity, and validity of Sioux life and ways; he is also extremely 
critical of assimilationist Indian policy. He ends Land of the Spotted Eagle with the bold 
declaration:

Regarding the 'civilization' that has been thrust upon me since the 
days of reservation, it has not added one whit to my sense of justice; to 
my reverence for the rights of life; to my love for truth, honesty, and 
generosity; nor to my faith in Wakan Tanka—God of the Lakotas. ...So 
if today I had a young mind to direct, to start on the journey of life, and 
I was faced with the duty of choosing between the natural way of my 
forefathers and that of white man's present way of civilization, I 
would for its welfare, unhesitatingly set that child's feet in the path 
of my forefathers. I would raise him to be an Indian!” (259)

According to Richard Ellis, My People the Sioux, which was published the same year 
as the Meriam Report, "deepened public sympathy for the Indian people"; Land of the Spotted 
Eagle appeared in 1933, after John Collier had become Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and 
there was a widespread recognition of the need for change (Land xi). Ellis suggests that this 
change from sympathy to criticism and reform may have encouraged, indeed allowed, Standing 
Bear to be first reserved, and later outspokenly critical of Euroamerican culture and supportive 
of Native ways. While this historical perspective is reasonable, it is interesting to note that 
it is his children's book where one first hears Standing Bear's growing voice of protest over so-
called "civilized ways" of the Whites.

My Indian Boyhood deals with none of the opportunities White culture offered to 
Standing Bear which he had readily presented in My People the Sioux. Instead, as we have 
seen, Standing Bear focuses solely on Lakota culture, and the errors of White ways. It is 
perhaps significant that his children's book was published in the same year as Standing Bear's 
American Mercury article "The Tragedy of the Sioux," which demonstrated unequivocally 
Standing Bear's frustration and anger at the treatment his people had received at the hands of 
the Whites. Here he insisted: "But the clouds are not yet gone from over the heads of my
people—they are not free. And as long as they are in bondage I shall never cease to be a hostile-a savage, if you please” (278). This same hostility comes through in My Indian Boyhood.

Given the obvious critiques of White culture expressed here, particularly when one compares them to Charles Eastman’s far less confrontational account, it is remarkable that reviewers of the book did not make note of it. Instead, they generally, and rather vaguely, commented on the quality of the information provided about the Lakota. The reviewer for the Cleveland Open Shelf praised the picture which the author painted of his people: “Against the background of his own boyhood, Chief Standing Bear ... gives a complete picture of the daily life of Indian boys and girls of the Sioux tribe, their wholesome life, their training, hunting, fishing and knowledge of animal and plant lore” (132). Frederick Webb Hodge, an ethnologist with the Museum of the American Indian, offered a condescending, corrective and dismissive review in The Saturday Review of Literature:

The book is replete with information, treating as it does of hunting (including the author’s experience on a buffalo hunt when a child), fishing, food and its preparation, bows and arrows, ponies and riding, the habits of animals, eagle catching and the attendant ceremonies, the symbolism of feathers (which illustrators especially would do well to read), shields and other ornamented objects, the vegetal kingdom and the many uses made of its products, pipes and smoking, utensils, tanning, painting, designing, clothing, beadwork, games and amusements, the making of chiefs, generosity, honesty, bravery, naming, medicine-men, musical instruments, and songs.

Nor has Standing Bear permitted his education to eradicate entirely his staunch belief in certain customs which we may reasonably regard as the survival of bits of folklore...Then again he seems to have conjured up his boyhood fancy [prairie chickens]... It is a blessed thing that Carlisle School did not rob our author of all of his good old Indian imagination. (282)

Hodge also sees fit to correct Standing Bear on the meaning of “Sioux,” and on his explanation that the Lakota use of an old bone for painting (282). The Wisconsin Library Bulletin reduced Standing Bear’s self-vindication to a banal summary: “The noble character of the little Indian boy will be an inspiration to all children who read it” (258). In fact, the only review which suggested that Standing Bear’s account was anything more than a bland, and possibly inaccurate, account of Indian life was that in the New York Herald Tribune Books, by Constance
Lindsay Skinner (herself a popular children's writer who frequently took the Indian as a subject). In the middle of a review which heaped excessive praise on the Indian, she added "Standing Bear is outspoken about ranch and rodeo horse breaking, plus hectic language" (12).

The reviewers are not the only ones to dismiss Standing Bear's autobiography, and his children's books in general. In his foreword to the University of Nebraska Press edition of Land of the Spotted Eagle, Richard Ellis praises the author, saying "That Luther Standing Bear wrote four books, two of which are still of interest and value today, is a distinctive achievement" (xiii). Ellis refers here to the two adult volumes which he discusses in his preface, not the children's books of which he makes no other mention than his dismissal of them (in fact, he does not even provide their titles). And in general, Standing Bear's children's books have receive only brief mention, if any by other critics who consider his role in Native American Literature (In Allen's Studies in American Indian Literature, these two books received only passing mention; Wiget's Dictionary of Native American Literature does not even include Standing Bear).

This brings us to the second reason that My Indian Boyhood is an important book in Standing Bear's literary career. Interestingly, it may be that his children's books are actually the only ones which Standing Bear wrote on his own (that is, without a collaborator or co-author). In writing his adult volumes he was aided by two collaborators: Western historian E. A. Brininstool worked with him on My People the Sioux, and Melvin Gilmore, curator of ethnology at the University of Michigan, assisted him with Land of the Spotted Eagle. Standing Bear clearly acknowledges their aid: the title page of My People the Sioux bears the statement "edited by E. A. Brininstool," and Gilmore is credited in the Preface to Land of the Spotted Eagle (xvi). However, there is no indication that he worked with anyone else on either My Indian Boyhood and Stories of the Sioux. While further research here is warranted, its worth considering that the words in his children's books may be much more his own than those in his adult volumes. In dismissing the children's books, or refusing to recognize them as important, we dismiss what Standing Bear himself may have written.
While Eastman and Standing Bear limit their Indian boyhoods to that period of their lives when each lived as "obvious" Indians, wearing buckskin and long hair, Francis La Flesche's autobiographical narrative The Middle Five is an account of Omaha boys' experiences at a reservation mission school during the late nineteenth century, where the boys' hair was cut short, and their clothing was a school uniform and "shining black shoes" (76). Presbyterian missionaries had come to the Omaha in 1846, and opened their mission boarding school in Bellevue, Nebraska, the agency headquarters of the Oto and Omaha tribes, in 1848. In 1854, when the Omaha ceded these lands, the school was reconstructed at Thurston County, the site of the new agency. It continued to operate in Thurston until 1869, when federal funding was re-allocated from the churches and their mission schools to the new system of day schools which were to be located among several villages, rather than centralized at agency headquarters (Baerreis ix-x). Born in 1857, La Flesche attended mission school during the mid-1860s, when he would have been between the ages of four and twelve, though when he began and when he finished is not clear (Baerreis xiii).

With The Middle Five, La Flesche made a conscious decision about how to portray his childhood. "As the object of this book is to reveal the true nature and character of the Indian boy," he explains,

I have chosen to write the story of my school-fellows rather than that of my other boy friends who knew only the aboriginal life. I have made this choice not because the influences of the school alter the qualities of the boys, but that they might appear under conditions and in an attire familiar to the reader. The paint, feathers, robes, and other articles that make up the dress of the Indian, are marks of savagery to the European, and he who wears them, however appropriate or significant they might be to himself, finds it difficult to lay claim to a share in common human nature. So while the school uniform did not change those who wore it, in this instance, it may help these little Indians to be judged, as are other boys, by what they say and do. (xv)
Further, La Flesche chose to use the English names given by the missionary school rather than the Omaha names,

for the reason that Indian words are not only difficult to pronounce, but are apt to sound all alike to one not familiar with the language, and the boys who figure in these pages might lose their identity and fail to stand out clearly in the mind of the reader were he obliged to continually struggle with their Omaha names. (xviii)

La Flesche's strategy is remarkable, for he chose to remove or downplay what was so "Indian" about Indians: the bow and arrows, feathers and savagery. The Middle Five is a self-vindication, but one very different from Eastman's or Standing Bear's. Rather than presenting the truth about Indian life by telling about his life as a "wild little Indian" (in the words of Standing Bear), he tells the truth about Omaha life by telling about seemingly very un-Indian experiences, which are in reality very Indian. He also gets right to the root of the nature of stereotypes when he recognizes that paint, feathers, and buckskin are unfamiliar to the White reader, and what is unfamiliar becomes what is exoticised. In taking away what was "strange to the white man" (xix), La Flesche believed he could reveal those aspects of Native people which are "universal" among humankind "to the children of the race that has become possessed of the land of [his] fathers" (xvi). But in this universality, he also reveals how the boys held on to their Omaha ways. He reminds his reader that "a school uniform did not change those who wore it" (xv), and that an Indian is something other than feathers, bows and arrows.

In their school uniforms the Omaha boys are portrayed as any boys anywhere. Like many non-Native boys, the Omaha form friendships and gangs (La Flesche's gang was The Middle Five), tease, tussle and fight when it becomes necessary to defend their honor. Their days are spent in classes which they long to get out of, and their recesses are spent playing games familiar to many: swimming, sledding in winter, using sling shots, and Qo-hae'ba-shon-shon or "Tortuous Path," which La Flesche later discovered was played by White children, who called it "Follow my leader" (144). Some of the most memorable scenes of The Middle Five are the "Fraudulent Holidays," which occurred when the boys could devise ingenious ways of
getting out of their classes. From loosening the joint of the stove-pipe so that the pipe would fall when the class marched in after recess, sending smoke and soot everywhere, to surreptitiously weakening an already weak spot in the fence of a local pig farmer so that the afternoon could be spent rounding up pigs rather than adding up equations, The Middle Five are, like Tom Sawyer, determined to avoid the boredom of school, and creative in their ways of achieving their goal.

But in many ways, these boys are not like boys anywhere. As Omaha learning to function in Euroamerican society according to rules established by non-Natives, it is clear the children experience tremendous changes: learning to understand, speak, read and write English, solving mathematical equations, attending chapel and participating in a religious life wholly different than that of their family and relations, to list just a few. However, this story is also a testament to cultural persistence. La Flesche comments that the founding of the Mission school "marked an epoch in the tribe" (5), and his words here remind us that change does not mean end.

One of La Flesche's ongoing points in The Middle Five is that even as they cut their hair and wore shoes instead of moccasins, the boys continue to practice Omaha ways. One of the most revealing instances of this persistence of tradition is depicted in the activities of The Big Seven, the gang of the eldest boys at the school. One night, The Middle Five is asked to join in on a secret of The Big Seven. When they gather together, the leader of The Big Seven speaks in the Omaha language "fearlessly breaking one of the rules of the school": "Wa-tha-dae shu-geha!" (112) La Flesche relates, "Immediately there was silence, and each one held his breath expectantly, for we recognized the ritual words of 'the Leader' in the game, 'Obeying the Command,' words which had been sacred to generations of boys who had preceded us" (113). When one boy, when called, answers "'Present!'" as if he were called upon in school, the other boys laugh, while the others answer "'Ah-ho!'"—"the response ... of a grown up and serious warrior" (114). Obeying the Command is a traditional Omaha game in which young boys prove their courage and skill; the boys continue to play it, using their tribal language, even
though the way that the game is played must be changed to fit their circumstances. For these boys, the "Word of Command" is to escape the school at night, run to the nearby Omaha village and demand pemmican from an aunt.

But it is not just in playing this Omaha game that the boys continue to practice traditional tribal ways. After the boys return with the pemmican, there is a very important ritual which is observed by all the participants:

Aleck [the leader of The Big Seven] looked up; we all became silent; then he took a tiny bit of the pemmican, and held it toward the sky for a moment as a thank offering to Wakonda, then placed it with great solemnity on the floor in the center of the circle. This done, we fell to eating, telling stories as we feasted, and had one of the most enjoyable nights of our lives. (118)

Everything about the game—the fact that it is one Omaha boys played long before there were reservation boarding schools, the language in which it is conducted, the food that they obtain, and the blessing that they make over their success "in the hunt," derives from Omaha traditions.

Omaha ways continued among the boys through another surreptitious nighttime practice: storytelling. Edwin, one of the Middle Five, "knows a great many" stories (29). The reader is introduced to him through the first story that he tells the boys, inspired, it seems, by his experience on his first day at the school:

"When we finished eating ... we turned around and the old man began to talk, then you all sang. ... Then we went down on our knees, just as though we were hiding in the grass; what did we do that for? The old man talked a long time; was he telling a story? I know a great many of them; I know one about a dog. He was a man, but he was turned into a dog. I'll tell it to you." (29)

Edwin tells the story of a young man, handsome and adored by his family, who one day separated himself from his family and fasted for "four days and nights in solitude" (29). After the four days, he told his family "I am going away to be gone a long time, perhaps never to return. I go to meet the White-swan, the magician who sent my brothers to the abode of shadows, and I, in conflict, with magic opposing his magic, I will destroy him or die as my brothers have died." (30). The young man travelled for a long time, and one day came upon a
woman sitting atop a hill. When he asked her why she sat there, she told him that she was on her way to marry **Hin-hpe-ah-gre**, the young man himself. "The youth was seized with fear lest the young woman might be the White-swan transformed to beguile him; but being struck by her maidenly bearing, and becoming enamored of her beauty, he turned aside from suspicion and permitted himself to be persuaded that the fair creature before him was in reality one of his own kind" (30). Weary from his travel, and giving in to her beauty, the man lay down and rested with his head in the woman's lap. Suddenly, using magic words, the woman pulled the ears of the young man and transformed him from a man to a "cringing, mangy, lop-eared dog" (31). "He turned to see his companion, and lo! he beheld, not the beautiful maiden in whose lap he had fallen asleep, but one who looked down upon him with contempt, and whom he knew to be the White-swan" (31). Though he tried to use his own magic to counter the White-swan's power, he could not utter the words. "...[H]e only yelped and gave a dismal howl like that of a dog"" (31).

In this, the first of Edwin's stories, La Flesche reveals how storytelling was adapted by the boys to the environment of the mission school. Among the Omaha, it is common for grandparents or elders to tell stories. In the absence of these leaders, the young boy Edwin, because he knows many stories, and because he tells them well, becomes the storyteller of The Middle Five. While the traditional time for telling many Omaha stories is the evening, when the day's work is done and people can gather together, there is a somewhat different time and reason for storytelling at the mission school. La Flesche reveals: "The time for the telling of stories was at night after Gray-beard had gone downstairs to his own rooms, having warned us against loud talking" (14). And instead of telling them in Omaha language, Edwin now tells them in English, loudly (58). But no matter how the practice of telling them has changed, the stories and their significance to the boys still continue.

The story of the young man's encounter with the White-swan, told by a boy just entering the school, has many implications for the boy, his fellows, and for the reader. The story seems to be metaphor for Edwin's (and the other boys') experiences at the mission school, and his
fears of how it will affect him. In the white of the White-swan and the contempt of the White-swan for the boy, one can see the White of the Euroamericans and their general regard for Native peoples. The fact that the boy's brothers have been taken reflects on the fact that so many Omaha children were taken by the mission school in order to give them education and religion, and that reveals that Edwin, like the youth, has come out of bravery not submission. The powerful magic of the White-swan takes away the speech of the youth, who can only yelp, and let out a "dismal howl"—a comment, perhaps, on the fact that Edwin, like the other boys (and Native children in reservation and off-reservation boarding schools across the country) were forbidden to speak their Native languages in the mission schools. This scene is also poignant for its suggestion that the very act of speaking is taken away from the Omaha. Once an admired man, the youth becomes a dog who can only yelp. But, importantly, the boy believes that he can beat the White-swan with his own magic.

Edwin uses his story to reflect on his own, and the boys' own lives, but they are also connecting their life at the mission school with the life, history and oral traditions of their Omaha community. As Edwin tells these stories, and as they boys hear them, they are engaged in passing them on, making them relevant to their lives. As a way of further understanding the particular telling of this narrative in the context of the mission school, it is helpful to compare it to another version which appears as the story of Fine Feather, told by Joseph La Flesche to Roger Welsch and recorded in *Omaha Tribal Myths and Trickster Tales*. Interestingly, the outcome of the Joseph La Flesche's version of the story is the triumph of the young man over the evil being who has turned him into a dog. If one stops where Edwin has, it seems a bleak story. But if one takes into account the unsaid conclusion of the narrative — the boy's triumph—which the Omaha boys may well have known, it is a comforting story. In a sense, La Flesche is commenting on the history of the Omaha, and in a larger sense, on Native cultures. If we stop the story at the present, in 1900, it indeed seems bleak. But when one considers the whole story, not just "what is said right now," it is the exact opposite.
In *The Middle Five*, La Flesche confronts the false images and stereotypes of Indians by avoiding the romance of the wild Indian altogether, and creating instead a modest and moving account of Omaha mission-school life. His self-vindication tells the truth about Indian life by telling about that which seems hardly Indian at all—school days—and he achieves a balance between universality of experience, and the persistence of distinct cultural ways, which Charles Eastman and Standing Bear, with their later accounts of personal experiences, did not.
"My grandfather represented for me a link to the past that is important for me to hold in my memory because it is not only memory but knowledge that substantiates my present existence. He and the grandmothers and grandfathers before him thought about us as they lived, confirmed in their belief of a continuing life, and they brought our present beings into existence by the beliefs they held."

— Simon Ortiz, *The Language We Know*
Julie Cruikshank has observed, "In a society in which individual experience was particularly valued, elders were expected to pass their knowledge on to younger people, both orally and by demonstration," and that elders were held in "special regard" as "teachers, historians, and sources of authority" (10). Though she refers here to the Athapaskan and Tlingit communities in which she has lived, her insight reflects on many of the writers I have considered in this thesis: Charles Alexander Eastman, Zitkala-Sa, Luther Standing Bear and Francis La Flesche. These authors took on their responsibility to teach, pass on the history, and provide authoritative accounts for the young people who follow in their footsteps. And they did so by writing books for children.

These authors were also responding to the changing situation of Native peoples by writing their stories down (whether those stories are traditional cultural narratives, or narratives based on personal experience), and writing them for children beyond their own communities and tribes. They extend their responsibility for teaching, recounting history, and telling the "real" story of Native lives to non-Native children. They are, to adapt Joseph Bruchac's terminology, "translator's sons and daughters," those who can "understand the language of both sides" and can "help them understand each other" (Riley 244-245). They tell old stories in new ways, and to new audiences.

* * *

For this study, I have focused on "early" children's books by Native North Americans, a period that I define as between 1900 and 1940, although in the works I have studied here, the
dates range from 1901 (Zitkala-Sa's *Old Indian Legends*) to 1939 (E-Yeh-Shure's *I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl*). However, these children’s books were just the first contributions in what is now a very significant genre for Native writers. Some of the most prominent Native North American authors of the second half of the twentieth century have also chosen to write children’s books in addition to their other, more adult oriented volumes, including Jeanette Armstrong (Okanagan), Joseph Bruchac (Abenaki), Maria Campbell (Metis), Basil Johnston (Anishinabe/Ojibway/Chippewa), Thomas King (Cherokee), D’Arcy McNickle (Salish-Kootenai), Virginia Driving Hawk Sneve (Lakota), Mary Tallmountain (Koyukon), and Luci Tapahonso (Dine/Navajo). Others have written primarily children’s books, such as George Clutesi (Nootka), Ignatia Broker (Anishinabe/Ojibway/Chippewa), and Bernelda Wheeler (Cree/Salteaux).

While the field of contemporary Native children’s literature is a rich one which deserves further examination, I do not mean to imply that what has been said here about the early children’s books is all that can and should be said. Instead, I hope this thesis maps a field which others can now examine more closely, from both a children’s literature and a Native North American literature perspective. As a way of encouraging future research, I would like to make a few suggestions about possible “next steps” for those interested in the field. For the earlier texts, much more bibliographic research needs to be done to find books which I have overlooked, and to explore areas which I have only touched upon, particularly children’s periodicals (most of which have no complete index of authors and will require much digging). Also, the editorial history of these texts needs to be explored in greater detail. While it is almost certain that Charles Eastman and Arthur Parker did write explicitly for children, it is less certain that Zitkala-Sa and Luther Standing Bear did so — and there has been far less consideration of these two authors’ children’s texts than they deserve. It would also be interesting to consider the work of Elaine Goodale Eastman (as mentioned, an author in her own right, who also wrote number of children’s books on her own), and her influence on her husband’s writing. Though scholars who have studied Charles Eastman generally
acknowledge her input into his work, none has attempted to examine her work for its own contributions to literary history, or to compare her writing to her husband's in an attempt to understand just how she might have contributed to, or altered, his ideas. Obviously, manuscript evidence would help here, but as yet, none has been found or examined.\footnote{See Wilson and Miller for further discussions of the relationship between Eastman and Goodale.} As well, information about E-Yeh-Shure, and manuscript evidence of \textit{I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl}, if available, might tell us something more about this intriguing book, and help to place it in contexts other than children's literature.

Overall, much more can be done with the early collections of traditional stories, because of their importance to Native cultures, and because this is a genre in which contemporary Native authors continue to write (not surprisingly). It would be interesting to examine the links between these older volumes and contemporary collections for children. These more recent books have received as little consideration as the earlier texts (Jon Stott's \textit{Native Americans in Children's Literature} is a notable exception), and both can tell us much about the continuance of Native traditions if we take them seriously.

While I've touched on the use of traditional narratives in the early personal narratives (autobiographies), one might conduct a study focusing on the way that Native authors and autobiographers incorporate these narratives, and the oral tradition in general, into their written works. In their conglomerate form, these early children's autobiographies resemble the Native Yukon women's autobiographies recorded by Cruikshank. She explains:

Their accounts ... included not only personal reminiscences of the kind we normally associate with autobiography, but detailed narratives elaborating mythological themes. Also embedded in their chronicles were songs, sometimes moving listeners to tears and other times to laughter. Their life stories were framed by genealogies and by long lists of personal names and place names that appear to have both metaphoric and mnemonic value. In addition to biographical material, we recorded more than one hundred stories about the origins and transformations of the world and the beings who inhabit it. \footnote{See Wilson and Miller for further discussions of the relationship between Eastman and Goodale.}
Though Cruikshank is discussing Native women's life histories (a point which she makes clear in her introduction), her observations help us to understand what LaFlesche, Eastman, and Standing Bear may have been doing with their own texts. Scholars have addressed the way that contemporary Native authors incorporate oral traditions into their written texts, but an historical perspective here—recognizing that authors like Eastman and La Flesche were using traditional tales as ways of explaining their own experience, just as Momaday and Silko use them to reflect on their characters' lives—would help to deepen our understanding of a particularly Indigenous form of "intertextuality" which predates the "Native American Renaissance."

Finally, while researching these children's books, I came to realize that children's literature was not only an important place for Native authors to publish their writing but also a significant medium for visual artists as well. The illustrators of I Am a Pueblo Indian Girl are only four of many Indigenous artists who have contributed their art to children's books of this period (even when non-Native authors wrote them).
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