INTRODUCTION

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This volume presents a sampling of the magnificence and diversity of the many different Native American cultures that have existed for thousands of years and continue to exist today, despite efforts to repress, suppress, and even extirpate them. Most non–Native Americans are still ignorant of the complex achievements and amazing variety of these cultures, having been presented, for the most part, with homogenized stereotypes and misinterpretations, either idealistic-romantic or defective-demonic, depending on the era (often both are present at the same time). There has, however, always been some interest in things Native American, an interest at times amounting to a hunger. One of the aims of the present volume is to develop and cultivate that interest, build on it, in the hope that through their literatures, Native American cultures can be seen clearer, appreciated not only for their similarities to our own traditions but for their bracing dissimilarities.

Most people are surprised to learn of the number of languages that existed when Europeans first arrived in what is now the United States and Canada—there may have been as many as five hundred. In five centuries many of these languages have disappeared. Some exist only in archival form, but against all odds others have survived, and a number still flourish, even if subject to a variety of pressures. It will come as news to many that in the United States and Canada there are still some two hundred languages being spoken, with

about forty-five spoken by one thousand or more people. (In all the Americas there are still approximately six hundred Native languages spoken by about eighteen million people.)

Just as there has been what has been called a "Native American renaissance" in the arts during the last twenty or thirty years, so there has been a renaissance in the study and translation of Native languages and literatures. Fascinating work is being done by both Native and non-Native scholars and translators. From this I have selected stories, songs, oratory, and prayer that represent the cultures well and are also accessible to an audience probably unfamiliar with these cultures. I intend this book to showcase the state of contemporary Native American translation in its interpretation and presentation of these traditions. Here the reader can hear and see, as far as possible, something of the power of the original. In this volume the reader can begin to observe how translations are arrived at, how texts are put together. I have aimed at achieving a collection that not only is accurate and reliable but also reads well. It should be noted that if there is a certain lack of stylistic uniformity from contributor to contributor, this is due to the translators' particular exigencies and requirements, responses to the materials they are dealing with, and not to oversight on the part of the copy editor.

The format in which each translation is preceded by an introduction that places the work in its culture, gives it a context, explains what needs to be explained, and suggests ways to learn more is one of several features that distinguish this volume from previous anthologies. As a professor of literature, I have found it frustrating to teach Native American oral literatures because the anthologies in which the texts appear often lack sufficient background to help a reader understand them. The selections lack cultural context and are often linguistically unreliable. Disparate stories are run together and earlier versions rewritten without knowledge of the languages from which the stories had been translated. Stories are adapted or retold without the original narrator being credited, or stories are credited merely to a tribe.

The selections in this book come from all parts of North America: north, south, east, and west. Starting from Alaska, the Yukon, and the Subarctic (a convenient, not "scientific," grouping), we have stories, songs, oratory, and prayer from Yupik, Iñupiaq, Aleut, Koyukon, Dena'ina, Tagish/Tlingit, Tlingit, Dunne-za, Rock Cree, and Innu. Thence we move to the North Pacific Coast with Haida, Kwakiutl, Kathlamet Chinook, Clackamas Chinook, and Kalapuya. The Great Basin and Plateau come next with Thompson River Sa-

lish, Colville, Cayuse/Nez Perce, and Wind River Shoshone. We reach the Plains with Skiri Pawnee and Lakota. From the Eastern Woodlands we have Ojibwe, Tuscarora, Cayuga, and Passamaquoddy, while the Southwest is represented by Yaqui, Pima, Zuni, Navajo, Western Apache, Hopi, and Havasupai. The Southeast has a sole representative, Koasati. We end with California: Yana, Atsugewi, Maidu, and Karuk.

When in 1858 Jacob Hamblin and thirteen Mormon missionaries set out for the Hopi town of Oraibi in northern Arizona, they took with them a Welsh interpreter, since they believed the Hopi were descended from the twelfth-century Welsh prince Modoc.[1] Theories of the origins of Indian languages were as diverse as theories of the origins of the Indians themselves.[2]

The first serious attempt to classify North American languages was made in 1836 by Albert Gallatin, "the father of American linguistics," who believed that all the Native American language families were related. Gallatin came up with thirty-eight families, excluding California.[3] (California is a case in itself. At the time of the first European contact, it presented the greatest diversity of Native American cultures and languages in North America: some two hundred languages and dialects belonging to many different language families. To reflect this distinction, California has been given a section all to itself, concluding this volume.) For the last hundred years or so scholars have been divided on the question of just how many language families there are and on the relationship of families and languages, one to another. In 1891, John Wesley Powell classified fifty-eight families north of Mexico, but during the first half of the twentieth century the tendency was toward combining and reducing ("lumping"). Thus in 1929, Edward Sapir came up with just six families, regrouping and consolidating Powell's structures. By 1944, however, Harry Hoijer (a "splitter") returned to Powell's system and arrived at fifty-three families. Scholars are still divided between the "splitters" and the "lumpers," though from time to time someone like William Leap will make a "middle-ranged attempt" and come up with eighteen families.[4] Most controversial of all is Joseph Greenberg's return to Sapir's position that all Indian languages are connected by many threads. He has reduced all Native languages of the New World to just three: Eskimo-Eleut, Na-Dene, and Amerind.[5]

Whatever the number of languages in the United States,[6] the actual languages spoken today are under pressure. Some will die out in

the near future, but a number are still in use and thriving, a tribute to the persistence of Native peoples in the face of physical and cultural genocide, past and present, official and unofficial.[7] In the name of "progress," in the nineteenth century and into the twentieth languages and cultures were ruthlessly assaulted by missionaries and missionary schools and in off-reservation manual-labor boarding schools, of which the most famous was the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, founded in 1879 by Captain Richard H. Pratt, whose motto was "Kill the Indian and save the man." Part of this process involved destroying languages. Just a decade before the founding of Carlisle, the 1868 Commission on Indian Affairs decided that the Indians' "barbarous dialect should be blotted out." One of the results of such an education was that a child returning home to a reservation could no longer communicate with his or her family, and since, as N. Scott Momaday has pointed out, the oral tradition is always but one generation away from extinction, cultural survival itself was in doubt.[8] Moreover, while some who attended these boarding schools continued to speak their own language, many refused to teach the Native language to their children, feeling they would be better off speaking only English. When from 1945 to 1961 the official government policy of Termination entailed moving people off reservations and into cities (today over 50 percent of the approximately two million Native Americans in the United States live in urban areas; there are over eighty thousand in Los Angeles alone[9]), many lost their Native language as a consequence of the need to adapt to the larger society. There are many other reasons for language decline and the dangers facing the oral tradition, not the least of which, as Vine Deloria Jr. has pointed out, is that "instead of gathering around the elders in the evening to hear stories of the tribal past, children today rent a video tape and watch 'Star Wars' or horror films."[10]

And yet despite this, and despite the continued assaults ("the new Indian wars") on Indian sovereignty, life, and culture, the battles over water and fishing rights, the mining of coal, oil, and uranium ("genocide by energy development"), and the threat of using reservations for the dumping of nuclear wastes; despite the undermining of the American Indian Religious Freedom Act (1978) by a Supreme Court decision in 1988 *(Lyng v. Northwest Indian Cemetery Protective Association)* determining that the government's management of its lands comes first, even if this means the destruction of sacred sites and lands in the name of logging or mining (or even the erection of huge telescopes in Arizona on the sacred mountain of

the Apache, Dzil nchaaslah, also known as Mount Graham); despite all this and more, the cultures and languages of the First Peoples persist.

The shifts in U.S. government policy—from Removal and Relocation (1828–1887) to Allotment and Assimilation (1887–1928) to Reorganization and Self-Government (1928–1945) to Termination (1945–1961) and finally to Self-Determination (from 1961 to the present, though with President Reagan "the halcyon days of self-determination ended"[11])—have finally meant some increase in local control over services.[12] Efforts in language maintenance have focused largely on the needs of children, but they could not have succeeded as well as they have without the active participation of Elders in the community. Even with budget cuts in the 1980s and 1990s and other severe financial problems, a wide variety of approaches has been developed, from the Akwesasne Freedom School's instruction in Mohawk from prekindergarten through eighth grade to the Little Wound Day School's aim to teach all students Lakota by the year 2000 (the school receives Bureau of Indian Affairs—BIA—funds but is completely controlled by a school board composed of local people). Then there is the Kickapoo Nation School in Powhattan, Kansas, dedicated to integrating traditional Indian ways with modern education, via, for example, its successful Talking Books project, which uses computer technology to teach Kickapoo to children in kindergarten and first grade. Peach Springs School in northwestern Arizona, with its bilingual curriculum, has become something of a showcase for Indian educators: Hualapai (a Yuman language) is the language of playground and computer programs. In Navajo country there are a number of schools teaching literacy in Navajo, Rock Point Community School being, perhaps, the best. (Mazii Dinełtsoi, also known as Rex Lee Jim, a Navajo poet and Princeton alumnus who publishes solely in Navajo, teaches there.) Several innovative approaches to language renewal have been instituted on the Cattaraugus Seneca Reservation near Buffalo, New York, including bilingual programs in the nearby school district and in-school instruction in Seneca from kindergarten through high school. Finally in this brief overview, teaching materials in the Flathead Salish and Kootenai languages for use in local schools are being developed at the Salish Kootenai College on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Pablo, Montana.

At the adult level there are a number of important ventures. Stanford University has offered Navajo, Cherokee, and Tlingit; the University of California, Berkeley, regularly offers Hopi and Lakota; and

the University of Oklahoma has an innovative program in college-level instruction in Native American languages. The Ute Indian Tribal Audio-Visual, in Utah, has provided Ute-language instruction since 1979. Navajo is central to the curriculum at Navajo Community College in Tsaile, Arizona. Montana's Little Big Horn Community College has the only Crow Studies program in the nation, and many of the 120 courses are taught in Crow, which is the first language of 85 percent of the six thousand members of the tribe. In South Dakota, Oglala Lakota College in Pine Ridge, chartered in 1971, and Sinte Gleska University on Rosebud, also chartered in 1971, are the only four-year institutions to offer a degree in Lakota Studies, stressing the Lakota language. The aim on Rosebud is to make Lakota part of the school curriculum, all assemblies and activities, and as many public activities as possible. In Canada the En'owkin Center of Penticton, British Columbia, has stated its resolve to "restore the Okanagon language to its rightful place as the communicator of the culture, under the guidance of the Elders."

It is difficult to know exactly how many Native-language speakers there are today in North America, but Michael Krauss, Director of the Alaska Native Language Center, and Richard and Nora Dauenhauer of the Sealaska Heritage Foundation have written on the subject.[13] From them one learns that half or more of the approximately two hundred Native languages north of Mexico are "obsolescent" (Krauss says that 80 percent of them are "moribund"[14]). That is, the languages are spoken only by older people, and there are no fluent speakers under fifty. In Alaska, with twenty living Native languages, only Siberian Yupik (spoken by about 1,000 people) and Central Yupik (spoken by about 12,000 out of 18,000 people) are flourishing. Inipiaq, in Canada, Alaska, and Greenland, is spoken by about 64,000 out of 77,000 people (with about 42,000 in Greenland). About seven of the remaining seventeen Alaskan languages are spoken by some 350 people out of 1,900. Most of the speakers are over seventy years of age. Tsimshian is spoken by approximately 3,600 out of 10,000 people, while Tlingit has about 1,000 speakers, mostly over sixty years of age, out of 9,000 (95 percent of the Tlingit live in Alaska). Jane McGary informs me that "if today's trends continue, it is unlikely that any Alaskan Athabaskan languages will be spoken—except in ceremonies—by the middle of the next century." Keith Basso has made a similar point to me about an Athabaskan language of the Southwest that also hangs in the balance. Although the several dialects of Western Apache are still spoken widely and fluently—and in some communities, such as Cibecue, by

almost every child—in communities such as Whiteriver and San Carlos the children speak imperfectly or not at all. If this trend continues, Basso notes, "the outlook is dire."

Despite continuing pressures for assimilation and monolingualism, including what Nora and Richard Dauenhauer term "anti–Native language sentiment" among educators, administrators, and Christian religious groups,[15] efforts have been made to revive and strengthen Native languages and cultures in Alaska. The renewal of Tlingit literature and scholarship began in the late 1960s with the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and regular workshops began in 1971. The literature gathered by Nora Dauenhauer (a native speaker of Tlingit, raised in a traditional family) and her husband, Richard, includes a series of traditional texts that resulted from taking down exactly what the elders said in a way acceptable to the oral-tradition bearers and the Tlingit community. The Dauenhauers also developed instructional materials, such as grammars and glossaries. In this way it is hoped that the language will survive at least in select cultural and ceremonial contexts.

Also in Alaska, at the University of Alaska in Fairbanks, the Alaska Native Language Center was founded in 1972 as a center for research and documentation of the state's Indian, Aleut, and Eskimo languages. ANLC publishes story collections, histories, dictionaries, and grammars for bilingual teaching as well as other classroom materials. In Whitehorse the Yukon Native Language Center does similar valuable work with the eight Native languages of the Yukon.

The strength of the Native languages in the rest of the United States and Canada varies greatly, but it is interesting to note that there are more speakers of the Na-Dene languages today than ever before. There are about two hundred thousand speakers of the Athabaskan languages, with Navajo—the only Indian language north of Mexico with more than one hundred thousand speakers—accounting for about three quarters of that number. Mikasuki in Florida, Alabama in Louisiana, Choctaw in Mississippi, and a number of languages in Arizona and New Mexico, including Jemez, Mescalero, Zuni, Hopi, and O'odham, are in pretty good shape, as are Ojibwe, Slave, Dogrib, Dakota and Lakota, and Cree in Canada—Cree is taught at Brandon University, the University of Manitoba, the University of Alberta, Saskatchewan Indian Cultural College, and other universities as well as on many reserves. Pedagogical audiotapes are available in Cree; it is estimated that there are about sixty thousand speakers.

The Sioux, one of the largest North American groups, speak

Lakota to varying degrees, even within a single community.[16] Thus, between 25 and 50 percent of the adults at the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota speak Lakota, and the lowest percentage of Lakota speakers is at Pine Ridge Village (Red Cloud's community), whereas in smaller communities, such as Manderson (Black Elk's community and home to many relatives of Crazy Horse) and Kyle (the location of Little Wound Day School), as many as 70 percent of the residents speak Lakota.

In spite of determined efforts to strengthen, retain, or revive Native American languages, the problems are manifold, from pressures to give in to the dominant culture and language to the need for funding for educational programs, whether supplied by the BIA or other sources. If the language isn't a living entity, used at work, at home, at play, it will assume the difficult and ambiguous position of an object of study, retaining an aura of the most bitter kind of alienation. If it is seriously endangered, a whole range of cultural identities is rendered problematic, for as the Ojibwe writer Gerald Vizenor has noted, "The tribes were created in language." Ray A. Young Bear, the Mesquakie writer, was told by his grandfather, "These were the words you were fed to give back to the world."[17] When a language dies, its universe—a unique way of understanding, interpreting, and inventing the world—dies with it. A cultural gene pool dries up, and all of us are the weaker and the poorer for the dying of diversity.

Much of the achievement of Western culture has come down to us in written form. We can only guess at the vast amount of Native American stories, songs, and ceremonies that have been lost forever as languages have died and cultures have been destroyed since contact with the Europeans. Ishi (the only survivor of the Yahi culture of northern California and the last of his tribe, which had been wiped out by white ranchers), while presumably, as Bruno Nettl notes, "not an outstanding singer of his tribe," was yet able to sing over fifty songs (which T. T. Waterman and Alfred L. Kroeber recorded between 1911 and 1914), and he was able "to sing them, if the recordings are reliable, in an assured and self-confident manner."[18] Paintings on pottery (on Mimbres ware, for example), rock art such as that of the Chumash in California, and paintings on the walls of Horse Canyon, Barrier Canyon, and elsewhere in Utah all seem to illustrate legends and stories and suggest a rich tradition of oral literature. Much has been irrevocably lost. It is the aim of the present volume to reflect as much as possible the quality and variety of the material that has survived and continues to thrive.

When the Europeans arrived on the North American continent, they were confronted with a rich and even bewildering variety of cultures and languages. But with a few exceptions there was little interest in recording the songs, stories, or ceremonies of Native Americans for some time after first contact.

The first New World language recorded was probably Laurentian (Northern Iroquoian), when Jacques Cartier collected a word list on his first voyage to the Gulf of Saint Lawrence in 1534. The earliest grammar was in Timucuan (Northern Florida), published in 1614. Marc Lescarbot was the first to record songs. Between 1601 and 1607, he collected some Micmac songs in Acadia (Nova Scotia), writing out the words and setting down the music in the tonic system. The oldest text surviving from what is now the United States is in William Strachey's *The Historie of Travaile into Virginia Britannia,* published in 1612. Strachey discusses a vigorous literary tradition among the Powhatan Confederacy and records one of their "scornful songs." (It has always seemed a pity to me that one of the great translators of the early seventeenth century, George Sandys, Treasurer of the Virginia Company at a time of great turmoil—when Opechancanough launched his great uprising against the English—did not set his hand to translating from the native languages. He was more intent on subduing the Powhatans than learning their culture—naturally enough, given the times. He did, however, find time to write a good part of his famous translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.*)

In 1635, Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert, author of an account of a journey from Fort Orange (in present-day Albany) to the Oneidas, recorded the words of a chief's song: "Ho schene jo ho ho schene I atsiehoene atsiehoene," after which the "savages" shouted "Netho, netho, netho."[19] In 1674, Père Marquette provided one "verse" of an Illinois Calumet Song collected on his first voyage (more words and the music were found later in a manuscript preserved by the Jesuits in Paris). But we had to wait until 1765 for the earliest translation (more version than translation) of an Indian song, when Lieutenant Henry Timberlake published his rendition of a Cherokee "war song" in heroic couplets.[20]

Despite the Romantic movement's interest in the "primitive," little else from Native American languages was translated until the early nineteenth century, perhaps because from the middle of the eighteenth century to the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the version of "savagism" (Roy Harvey Pearce's well-known

term[21]) that prevailed viewed the Indians as an obstacle to "civilized" progress westward, an obstacle that the European settlers felt must vanish, one way or another. In 1819, the Moravian missionary John Heckewelder published his *Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* (which James Fenimore Cooper was to use extensively for his novels).[22] Heckewelder, as a missionary, of course had his own reasons for studying the culture of the Delaware, whom he regarded as about to pass from the world's stage "in a few years." He could not see Delaware culture in its own terms; so while, like many others of his time, he was impressed by Indian oratory, he regarded it not as the result of so much training but as a "simple and natural ability." Being "sons of nature," "they speak what their feelings dictate without art and without rule." While he collected examples of discourse and oratory, he saw the Delaware "fondness" for metaphors as something of a weakness: metaphors "are to their discourse what beads are to their persons; a gaudy but tasteless ornament" (though he did note that Shakespeare had a taste for metaphors, too). In the chapter of his book called "Dances, Songs, and Sacrifices," he describes Delaware "poetry," transcribes a war song, and appends a description of how the song is sung: "They sing it, as I give it here, in short lines and sentences, but most generally in detached parts, as time permits and as the occasion or their feelings prompt them."

THE SONG OF THE LENAPE WARRIORS GOING AGAINST THE ENEMY
O poor me!
Whom am going out to fight the enemy,
And know not whether I shall return again,
To enjoy the embraces of my children
And my wife.
O poor creature!
Whose life is not in his own hands,
Who has no power over his body,
But tries to do his duty
For the welfare of his nation.

And so on, for sixteen more lines.[23]

Many observers believed that Indians had the "necessary qualities" to become "civilized" and that their languages, too, had possibilities for development into artistic expression, since they were com-

posed of "the very language for poetry" (as Walter Channing phrased it in 1815). It was, said Channing in a romantic rhapsody, like nature itself, "now elevated and soaring, for his image is the eagle, and now precipitous and hoarse as the cataract whose mists he is descanting."[24] Yet interest in the "oral literature" of the "aborigines" really began with the publication of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's work, especially his *Algic Researches* of 1839, which Longfellow drew on for *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855). Schoolcraft was the first scholar of Native American literature to collect and analyze his materials extensively, and his career inaugurates American ethnology.

His literary career began when he accepted the post of Indian agent at Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, in 1822. A year later he married Jane Johnson, whose father was an Irish fur trader and whose mother was the daughter of the famous Ojibwe leader Wabojeeg. Schoolcraft, however, was not interested in the legends and myths he collected for their own sake. Rather, he saw them as expressions of the Indian mind, "the interior man," as he termed it in *Algic Researches,* and "the secret workings of his mind, and heart, and soul."[25] Access to the Indian soul was necessary, Schoolcraft thought, for he believed that conversion to Christianity (specifically Presbyterianism) would precede civilization, and civilization was necessary because the Indians couldn't compete, being an "idle, pastoral, unphilosophical, non-inductive race of Central Asia." The inability of a Native narrator of tales to relate "a clear, consistent chain of indisputable facts and deductions to fill up the fore ground of his history" was evidence of the noninductive Oriental mind, operating in a world populated by gods and demons.[26] It comes as no surprise to learn that by 1844 Schoolcraft was a defender of the government's policy of Indian removal. He thought of Indians as children (a common attitude of the time), and the literature he was collecting and translating with the help of his Indian family (his knowledge of Ojibwe was not extensive) he regarded as "a chapter in the history of the human heart, in the savage phasis."[27]

As William M. Clements notes in "Schoolcraft as Textmaker," Schoolcraft, in his translations, stressed the practice of leaving the stories "as nearly as possible in their original forms of thought and expression." He did alter and vary, however, weeding out what he termed "vulgarisms" and "grossness," as well as "the repetition of tedious verbal details," "redundancies" that contemporary scholars have shown to be vital to the structural integrity of oral literature (the structure Schoolcraft denied existed).[28] In fact, in common with other pre-twentieth-century collectors, such as Thomas Percy

and the Brothers Grimm in Europe and Americans such as Charles Godfrey Leland,[29] he made a number of changes, including rewordings and rewritings. He also removed songs (which he regarded as brief expressions of feelings, wild rhapsodies) from their narrative matrix, "where it was necessary," and relegated them to an appendix.[30]

Between the War of 1812 and the Civil War, as a result of the rise of romanticism and the call for artistic independence via the use of specifically American subjects, the Indian became prominent in literature, but as the "safely dead Indian,"[31] in books such as *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826) and *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855), the poetic representation of a dying race, a last Noble Savage. Even though this interest did not last and by late mid-century the theme of the superiority of White "civilization" over Indian "savagery" had taken its place, the late 1890s saw the beginning of a sympathetic treatment of contemporary Indian life and an understanding of tribal cultures by Adolph Bandelier and other "anthropologically inclined writers."[32] This was also about the time that witnessed the first transcription of Native ceremonies, resulting in texts that in many cases we have come to regard as classic. Horatio Hale published *The Iroquois Book of Rites* in 1883, and Washington Matthews, a medical doctor, published *The Navajo Mountain Chant* in 1883–84, and *The Night Chant* in 1902. In addition, there is the work of Major John Wesley Powell among the Numa (1868–80), W. J. Hoffman's *The Mide'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa* (1891), the work of the Mennonite missionary H. R. Voth among the Hopi, including *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony* (1902), and James Mooney's *The Ghost Dance Religion* of 1896. Also in 1896, Frank Hamilton Cushing brought out *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths,* to be followed in 1901 by *Zuni Folk Tales* and, in 1920, by *Zuni Breadstuff.* Frances Densmore's work spanned decades and included *Chippewa Music* (1913), *Papago Music* (1929), and *Music of the Indians of British Columbia* (1943).[33]

Much of this work appeared in scholarly journals and in the bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the American Folklore Society, and the Smithsonian Institution. Anthropology was not yet formally organized as a discipline with university curricula, and most ethnologists were on the staff of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Whatever the collector's reasons for collecting (most thought they were preserving materials that would soon be lost in the march of progress; some were intent on wiping out the culture they were recording), the collections demonstrate the complexity and beauty of the songs, stories, myths, and ceremonies.

By 1850, the idea of a superior Caucasian race had been firmly established among North Americans of European descent, based on what Reginald Horsman terms "scientific racialism."[34] By the century's end social Darwinism, or cultural evolutionism, underlay the thinking of a great many White Americans and persisted into the twentieth century. Natalie Curtis was one of the people who believed in the imminent destruction ("the night soon to come") of the "child race."[35] In 1907, in the middle of all this collecting activity, she published *The Indians' Book,* the first collection aimed at a general audience (though this claim might also be made for the more restricted *Creation Myths of Primitive America,* which Jeremiah Curtin published in 1898[36]). The Curtis book contains Indian song, myth, music. In her introduction Curtis expresses the wish that the book can be useful for Americans by providing an impetus for American art; she hoped also that it would help revive pride among the Indians themselves—this at a time when the policy of the Bureau of Indian Affairs was to destroy and suppress Indian languages and cultures. (In 1886, a federal policy forbidding the use of any Indian language had been announced. This was not reversed until 1990, with the Native American Languages Act, which acknowledged the languages to be "an integral part" of Native American cultures and identities and affirmed the right of Native Americans to encourage the use of their languages in instruction and college curricula.)

The Indians' Book attempted to place the songs and other materials in the appropriate cultural context in order to help the reader's understanding. Although she knew none of the Indian languages, Curtis consulted experts as well as the singers and storytellers themselves. She included the music to the songs, difficult to transcribe in Western terms, and made transcriptions of the songs' original languages. Her word-by-word translations at the end of the book can be read against her free translations and have proved useful for later scholars.

If Natalie Curtis was the first to collect texts and make them available to the reading public, Mary Austin was the first to popularize Indian "poetry" and the first to utilize what she regarded as its ethos and principles to suggest ways in which English-language American poetry itself could advance.[37] She was not so much interested in the translations of songs (like Curtis, she knew no Indian language) as in the absorption of the "spirit" of the original to produce new poetry, something specifically and newly "American," based on what she called "the resident genius" of the land. She wished to establish a link between "this natural product and the

recent work" of the modernists, specifically the Imagists, showing that "the first free movement of poetic originality in America finds us just about where the last Medicine Man left off."[38]

This process of renewal, using Indian songs to revitalize American poetry, entailed much rewriting of collected texts by poets innocent of any Indian language. The climax was twofold: a special "aboriginal issue" of the prestigious journal *Poetry* in February 1917 and, in 1918, what Mary Austin (in her introduction to the work) termed "the first authoritative volume of aboriginal American verse": George W. Cronyn's *The Path on the Rainbow*.[39] Cronyn drew inspiration from the special issue of *Poetry*, reprinting a number of the poems as well as translations by Schoolcraft, Matthews, Brinton, Curtis, Swanton, Mooney, Boas, and others. Mary Austin supplied some of her poem versions, and Frances Densmore turned some of her own texts collected in the field into haiku or imagist poems for the "new and enlarged edition" published in 1934.[40]

But the songs in the collection, from various cultures and languages, appear in isolation as American *poems*, cut loose from context and available for assimilation, available as models for the new "American rhythm." And while this work was being done, assimilation was the official government policy. The year 1887 had seen the General Allotment Act, a massive assault on Indian land and sovereignty; and the more virulent forms of assimilationist policies came to a halt only in 1934, the year *The Path on the Rainbow* was reprinted, when the Indian Reorganization Act came into being, guided by John Collier, Franklin Roosevelt's Commissioner of Indian Affairs. Although its promise was never fully realized, the IRA was intended to promote Indian regeneration and self-government by allowing tribes to organize for their own welfare and adopt federally approved constitutions at the same time that it curtailed the power of the office of Indian Affairs.[41]

One of the problems in studying Native American literature (though it has not always been regarded as a problem) has been the creation of a critical vocabulary and a mode of presentation. At first the structural model simply used the forms of the English lyric or narrative poem for presentation, and the critical stance also relied on what lay at hand. We can see this in the first attempt at criticism, Daniel G. Brinton's "Native American Poetry" (1880), and in Nellie Barnes's more extensive *American Indian Verse* (1921).[42] Barnes worked entirely with English versions made by collectors and stated her mystical belief that "the American Indians are the poets of the cosmos." This did not prevent her, however, from denying Indians

any "great" poetry, the reason being "a lack of discipline in individual life" and a poor memory: "Memory is limited even in the most exact keeper of songs and rituals." Her literary analysis is limited to a number of impressionistic and quasi technical categories, such as "spirit," "imagination," "sense of beauty," "repetition," "parallelism," "poetic diction," "onomatopoeia," and the like. Her conclusion is no surprise: Indian poetry is "imaginative, aesthetic, and emotional." It lacks, however, "intellectual quality."[43] It thus corresponds to racialist ideas about Indians themselves. (It is interesting to note that Nellie Barnes's dichotomous conclusion corresponds roughly to prevalent contemporary ideas of male and female qualities.)

If a scholar like Nellie Barnes was interested in bringing Native American literature into critical consideration and a poet like Mary Austin wanted to revitalize American poetry by means of anthropologically "interpreting the Indian," Franz Boas set out to revolutionize American anthropology and anthropological linguistics through the study of the Indian, under the banner of cultural relativity and pluralism. And time was growing shorter for saving as much as possible. As Theodora Kroeber, the wife of Boas's first student, wrote, "The time was late; the dark forces of invasion had almost done their ignorant work of annihilation. To the field then!"[44] And to the field Boas went, from his base at Columbia University, where he taught from 1896 to 1936. Boas, "founder of professional anthropology in the New World,"[45] trained many of the major figures in the discipline, from Edward Sapir, Alfred Kroeber, Ruth Benedict, and Elsie Clews Parsons to Ruth Bunzel, Clark Wissler, Robert Lowie, and Paul Radin.

From the beginning of his career, when he was an assistant curator at the American Museum of Natural History, Boas revolted against raciology and cultural evolutionism. As Ira Jacknis notes, when the museum wanted to exhibit "a series illustrating the advance of mankind from the most primitive forms to the most complex forms of life," Boas protested that "our people are not the only carriers of civilization. . . . The human mind has everywhere been creative."[46] He revolutionized museum exhibits, no longer showing items as curiosities or specimens in natural history but presenting them instead as representations of a cultural context, "the objects becoming," Michael Ames writes, "words and sentences in a three-dimensional story about a people and their lifeways."[47] Something similar might be said of the way in which Boas displayed Native American texts. The Boasian tradition was to publish, after extensive

fieldwork, a grammar, a dictionary, and a collection of texts. The texts have a dual purpose: they provide data for linguistic analysis, and they serve as primary ethnological documentation. As such, translation as an art form was not uppermost in Boas's mind, nor was it so in the minds of his students. In fact, Judith Berman has suggested that the texts themselves were the end product of ethnography and their translation "a necessary evil, an aid to those without fluency" in the language (this is still the position of some linguists): "The translations were never intended to be the primary source they have become."[48] Certainly there was no explicit attention to structure, and texts were represented in plain prose, in block form, with little or no attempt to represent the verbal artistry. Dennis Tedlock has taken the Boasian tradition to task for this, although he notes that "Boas and his students were reacting against collectors and 'retellers' who avoided direct contact with the original languages."[49]

After the 1930s there was a falling off in the collection of Native American texts, and translation made few advances until Dell Hymes and Dennis Tedlock took up where the Boasians left off. Both men are linguistically and anthropologically based, but Hymes investigates structures in *transcribed* texts, especially those of the Northwest cultures, employing rhetorical patterns that reveal themselves as repetitions or recurrent adverbial particles, to produce "measured verse." He demonstrates that texts, written in blocks of prose, tend to be organized in lines and verses by grammatical means, though he stresses that principles of structure differ from language to language and from culture to culture—a Boasian position. As Joel Sherzer has written, "Hidden within the margin-to-margin printed texts are poems, waiting to be seen for the first time."[50] Hymes also utilizes the structure of drama in the presentation of his translations, a practice derived from Melville Jacobs. Hymes's concerns are fundamentally formal. Care is taken not only in the translation and in the structure of the texts but also, as part of an "attractive, efficient and effective format,"[51] with the way sounds are reproduced visually on the page.

Tedlock breaks with the past by focusing on *voice in oral performance,* providing translations that have some of the qualities of a musical score. He works with a tape recorder, and when the time comes for transcription and translation, he utilizes typography and spacing to indicate pauses, voice quality, tempo, cadence, variations in pitch, and the like. In this way he reminds us that the literature he is working with is *oral*—spoken and enacted, not read from a page.

There has been some opposition to the approaches of Hymes and

Tedlock. Anthony Mattina, for example, has argued that both provide merely "typographical remedies" for the problems of translation or "intuited underlying structure" and that the methods are not applicable to all situations: "Not all North American Indian narrative is verse any more than all of English literature is dialogue." He argues for a variety of approaches. He himself prefers to translate into "Red English" ("roughly analogous to Black English").[52] Judging by the evidence of the present volume, however, it seems that the approaches of Hymes and Tedlock have been adopted and adapted by a good number of translators, perhaps because, as Julie Cruikshank reports, breaking lines and utilizing other "experimental" forms recapture some sense of actual performance: "Native women who know the storytellers and have read various versions of the text say that they find it easier to 'hear' the speaker's voice when reading this form."[53]

The collection of texts has been fraught with problems, many of them questions of morality of method. While Indians were being stripped of land and culture, collectors were out "in the field" doing "salvage anthropology." But for whom were they rescuing the material? Wasn't this collecting just another form of Western "possessive individualism"?[54] Wasn't it just self-enrichment in the name of "knowledge" and "science"? As James Clifford has pointed out in 1988 in *The Predicament of Culture,* collecting materials from another culture cannot be natural or innocent. All collectors and collections, he notes, embody "hierarchies of value," since "the simplest cultural accounts are intentional creations." The desire is to collect not only artifacts but the makers of those artifacts.[55]

In her essay "An Old Time Indian Attack," the Laguna Pueblo novelist Leslie Marmon Silko has remarked on "the racist assumption still abounding that the prayers, chants and stories weaseled out by the early ethnographers, which are now collected in ethnographic journals, are public property." This is an extreme statement; not all was theft.[56] Nevertheless, collectors of texts and artifacts have operated under certain assumptions, and perhaps the most prevalent is the assumption of "democratic" rights of access to any material and information. This, however, is in direct contrast to the norms of many, if not all, Native cultures. As Peter Whiteley has noted of the Hopi: communication of knowledge "is not an open free-for-all; much knowledge is privileged and valuable, and the average citizen does not have rights of access. Some forms of knowledge, especially pertaining to ritual, are highly sensitive and should not be discussed

publicly."[57] Moreover, pressures brought to bear by insensitive collectors and edicts such as the Indian Religious Crimes Code, which the Department of the Interior began to enforce in 1921, driving many religions underground, have resulted in less openness than might originally have existed.

Finally, sometimes a field worker discovers that access to knowledge, once achieved, poses real perils, that "there is danger in deeper inquiry into the stories," as Barre Toelken wrote in "Life and Death in the Navajo Coyote Tales." He discovered, for example, that for the Navajo, language does not simply describe reality; it creates and controls it. And Navajo oral literature "embodies many key aspects of their worldview on reality and human health. Their concept of health is largely psychological in nature, thus any psychological intrusion can—and will—have an effect on them and on their sense of stability." Toelken's work on Coyote stories entailed asking selective and analytic questions to find out what was powerful about Coyote, dealing with parts and motifs as interesting ideas. His questions were seen as dissecting and separating rather than bringing things together. Since Navajo ritual does the latter and witches do the former, his academic-analytic questions and categories were interpreted by some Navajo as being like witchcraft behavior. This presented an ethical dilemma: "For me to actually do further work would necessitate a repudiation of Navajo beliefs and values—treasures that I feel ought to be strengthened and nurtured by folklore scholarship, not weakened, denigrated, or even given away to curious onlookers." So he decided not to go any deeper on the analytic level. Even though Toelken has modified his approach and abandoned the questions that were bothering the Navajo (no matter how fascinating they might have been for the scholarly audience), for Toelken's "fieldwork partners," the Yellowman family, there have been repercussions: deaths, injuries, accidents. Toelken is now a patient in the Blessingway—one of the approximately twenty-six rites that make up the chantway cures. It is performed for good mental and physical health, to correct disharmony. The Yellowman family considers it efficacious for him and stabilizing for them. Toelken concludes: "The enormity and complexity of the living whole have eluded the best efforts of long-range fieldwork, and that needs to be admitted and confronted. Not only were basic ideas and concepts missed and misunderstood, but the very fieldwork itself stood a strong chance of being dangerous to the informants as well as to myself and my family."[58]

Collecting and translating Native American texts are, then, re-

plete with ironies and dilemmas. Eric Cheyfitz, claiming that translation broadly conceived was, and still is, "the central act of European colonialization and imperialism in America," argues for dialogue, not monologue, as a way of healing some of the rifts.[59] And Barre Toelken has written that fieldwork, which is "often viewed as a means of coming up with more artifacts or texts for study, needs to be reexamined as a model for human interaction. We already have plenty of 'things' to study; what we lack is a concerted effort to understand fieldwork itself as an interhuman dynamic event with its own meanings and cultural peculiarities."[60] Moreover, Native American leaders are calling for something along the same lines. Thus, Hopi Tribal Chairman Vernon Masayesva notes that "research needs to be based on the reality of our existence as we experience it" and that an "inclusive agenda" would "involve mutual study."[61]

The evidence from the present volume is that the contributors have faced up to this issue and are enacting a dialogue. Many, in correspondence, expressed dissatisfaction with the exigencies of publishing, whereby texts are presented only in translation and not along with the original language, thus reducing the value for the Native American community, which might want to use some texts as part, for instance, of a bilingual-education program or a literacy program. As Larry Evers wrote, "To erase the native language text in a trade edition sends a very negative message to those who speak and read a native American language."[62] Evers and Felipe Molina have voiced the dual aim of most, if not all, the translators in this volume: "We work for two goals: for the continuation of deer songs as a vital part of life in Yaqui communities and for their appreciation in all communities beyond. Most of the time these goals coincide."[63]

Contemporary interest in Native American cultures, boosted by the 1992 Columbus quincentenary "celebrations," has its roots in the 1960s, which saw a new ethnic awareness and the growth of civil and minority rights. This interest is both serious and trivial. Native Americans have always been seen through many and varied lenses. Euro-American perceptions have long been shaped by prejudices, desires, fears, theories—what Louise Barnett calls "the White fantasy world."[64] In a sense "Indian" and "Native American" do not exist; they were created as fictions of the Euro-American consciousness. This "fictional" process has been, and still is, insidious in that it not only affects the non-Native perception of what it means to be

"Indian," but it infiltrates part of the Native American community also.[65]

In the last quarter century or so serious interest has resulted in the growth and establishment of departments of American Indian and Native American Studies programs in colleges and universities in the United States and Native Studies programs in colleges and universities in Canada. Native American literatures are being taught at the high school and college levels and are being included in anthologies. Journals and newspapers devoted to Native Studies have been established, Native American organizations and associations have been formed, and fourteen radio stations in the United States offer Indian-language broadcasts. Important work is being carried out in film and video by such entities as the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium and, in Canada, the Inuit Broadcasting Corporation and Northern Native Broadcasting. In 1972, growing self-confidence resulted in the establishment of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium; twenty-six colleges in the United States and Canada are members. There has also been a renaissance in all the arts, from drama and dance, poetry and fiction to film, video, and the fine arts. The new and old, "Anglo" and "Indian", are intimately linked. The novel, for instance, is often rooted in the oral tradition, as we can see in N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn,* which won the Pulitzer Prize in 1969 and ushered in the new Indian writing. Momaday draws on the living oral tradition, as well as on Washington Matthews's *The Night Chant* of 1902. Similarly, Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (1969) draws on Kiowa storytelling and James Mooney's *Calendar History of the Kiowa* (1898). Likewise, Leslie Marmon Silko's celebrated novel *Ceremony* (1977) utilizes Franz Boas and Elsie Clews Parsons, as well as "the stories—whether they are history, whether they are fact, whether they are gossip."[66]

Unfortunately, the frivolous interest of non-Indians in matters Native American has grown at the same time, with its New Age tinsel and old stereotypes, all variations on what Robert F. Berkhofer Jr. has called the "timeless Indian."[67] The Indian as healer has given rise to wide variations on the theme of the "plastic shaman."[68] We also have new twists on the Indian as sage and environmentalist, from the well-known poster from 1972 that announces POLLUTION: IT'S A CRYING SHAME and features Iron Eyes Cody with a glycerine tear to the growing use of Chief Seattle's Speech as a primary environmental document when in fact, as Rudolf Kaiser has shown, it is largely a modern fabrication.[69] The recent burst of interest on the

part of filmmakers continues to draw on such hoary stereotypes as Good versus Bad Indians and the Noble Savage versus the Demonic Savage, as in *Dances with Wolves* (1991), though there is now an attempt to use Indian actors and Native languages—witness the Lakota spoken in *Dances with Wolves* and the White Mountain Apache (a substitution for Geronimo's Chiricahua Apache) spoken in the 1994 film *Geronimo*. This is a change from the gibberish used in many old Westerns and from John Ford's substitution of Navajo for Cheyenne in *Cheyenne Autumn* (1964), though the pronunciation of Apache in *Geronimo* by non-Apache speakers leaves a great deal to be desired. Nineteenth-century eugenics is alive and well in the film *Thunderheart* (1992), where an FBI agent with one-quarter Sioux blood is visited with atavistic visions on his road to self-discovery.[70] *Blackrobe* (1991) presents a sensationalist view of Native culture and a parodic view of Native spirituality. And so it goes, from fake Indians like "Princess Pale Moon" singing the national anthem for the Washington Redskins to made-for-TV Ishis and Geronimos; from Carlos Castaneda's books to *Hanta Yo* (1979) by Ruth Beebe Hill to *The Education of Little Tree* (1976) by Forrest Carter (also known as Asa Earl Carter); from Lynn Andrews's New Age works of "self-awareness and knowledge" to the Chief Joseph Massage ("a holistic massage"), four-wheel drive Cherokees, and twin-blade Apaches—not to mention the names and mascots of sports teams, the recent forty-ounce "upstrength" malt liquor Crazy Horse ("a Product of America"), and even the annual summer "invasions" (as Carter Camp calls them) of Indian Country (the Lakota Nation seems to be a special target) by people "hungry to have an 'Indian experience.' "

All this—mostly examples of bad taste, thoughtlessness, a "need" for the "primitive,"[71] and the kind of trivialization and exploitation most people take for granted in our culture—might not be so bad if Native Americans were not "still among the most poorly housed, poorly nourished, least educated, unhealthiest and most unemployed" of any people in the United States, with the lowest life expectancy.[72] The "invasions," for example, might not be so bad if they did not adversely affect Indian life. "How," asks Carter Camp, "can Lakota children find the same respect for tribal ways our grandfathers handed down to us if hundreds of these pitiful ones are out waving pipes, pouring water, singing songs learned from cassettes and whipping a drum?"[73] It might all be easy to overlook were it not for the history of this country and the continuing ignorance of that history by many Americans, from those in positions of power,

such as James Watt, Interior Secretary under Ronald Reagan, who informed a TV audience on January 19, 1983, that "If you want an example of the failures of socialism, don't go to Russia, come to America and go to the Indian reservations," and Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, who more recently said, "Languages of the Indian Native American people . . . have never been set down in writing. They cannot be. They have passed into history," to syndicated columnists such as Andy Rooney, "America's favorite humorist and commentator," whose racist remarks in print probably reflect the thinking of too many Americans.[74]

In 1985, Frederick E. Hoxie examined thirteen commonly used college history textbooks. He found "the persistence of inadequate and inaccurate treatment of Indians."[75] Americans know little about the Native roots of their history and are expected to know less, if we can believe E. D. Hirsch Jr., Joseph Kett, and James Trefil of *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy,* a best-selling volume that—along with an earlier companion volume, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know*—created something of a stir when it entered the arena of debate over "cultural heritage" in 1988. This massive collection of "specific information that is taken for granted in our public discourse" contains very little on Native America, and even that is inadequate and misleading, which is not surprising, since the authors believe "Native Americans" (their ubiquitous term used often instead of important specific tribal identifications, as in the statement that Custer was defeated "by a large force of NATIVE AMERICANS") are long gone. Witness the entry "NATIVE AMERICANS: The inhabitants of NORTH AMERICA and SOUTH AMERICA before the arrival of white settlers from Europe." The book devotes approximately 2 pages out of 586 to these Native Americans. There is no mention of anything after about 1890.[76] (Hoxie noted the same thing in the college textbooks he examined: "The greatest gap in classroom presentation of Indian life seems to occur in the twentieth century. For the most part, Indians simply cease to exist after the Battle of Wounded Knee."[77]) If we are to believe *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy,* Indians are mostly creatures of myth (Quetzalcoatl) or mythic popular story or history (Hiawatha, Pocahontas, Sitting Bull).

I do not wish to engage extensively here in the debate over multiculturalism and the canon. The desire to bring the texts in the present volume to a wide audience needs little justification. It can only help broaden our sense of what our real and complex cultural history really is. Native cultures, like all cultures, are valuable in and

for themselves and do not need any apologia. To some, however, "other" cultures seem to represent a threat to "a common American culture," in which differences can exist so long as they are more or less assimilated. Any culture other than the one they have identified as paramount seems a challenge to their sense of order or their sense of themselves and their culture as authentically American. It was actually suggested to me by an intellectual of some note that if "minority" cultures and languages were allowed full expression (through, for example, bilingual education), the United States would end up in warring, balkanized fragments, much like Yugoslavia.

Surely in this cultural sense polyphony is to be preferred to plainsong. In place of the arrogance of Saul Bellow's statement that "when the Zulus have a Tolstoy, *we* will read him,"[78] would it not be a good idea to consider that the Zulus just might have a literature that could be worthy of our attention and that we might have something to learn, to share, something in common and something intriguingly *not* in common? Why not extend or adapt Mikhail Bakhtin's statement that "language . . . lies on the borderline between oneself and the other. The word in language is half someone else's . . . the word does not exist in a neutral or impersonal language . . . but rather exists in other people's mouths, in other peoples' contexts, serving other peoples' intentions: it is from there that one must take the word and make it one's own"?[79]

Native storytellers, orators, and singers have contributed to this collection. The great majority of the other contributors, Native and non-Native, have also worked with the indigenous languages, either in collaboration with these Native artists or via the retranslation of earlier texts. Some (for example, Catharine McClellan, Julie Cruikshank, and Anthony Mattina) have worked with multilingual people who chose to tell their stories in English.

In "Anthologies and Narrators," a 1987 critique of the Erdoes-Ortiz anthology, Dell Hymes argued that "ethnopoetics provides a foundation on which anthologies should as much as possible be based."[80] One could say that the present book is the first with a substantially "ethnopoetic" slant. And it makes certain demands on the reader. If Native American literatures are not as easily digested as some might wish, if they almost successfully resist assimilation, then that is part of the book's ethos. As William Bevis has written, "We won't get Indian culture as cheaply as we got Manhattan."[81] (The Cherokee poet and artist Jimmie Durham put it more radically and

paradoxically: "I do not want to entertain you in any sense of the word. I would hate it if you all came to understand me."[82])

Initially, I thought I would have difficulty finding more than about twenty contributors to this volume. I was surprised (though I shouldn't have been) by the response. To include as much good work as possible, and to fit it all into the prescribed number of pages, I had to reduce the original page allocation for each contributor. The result might give the wrong impression that most Native American literature consists of songs and shortish stories, oratory, and prayer. The longer "epic" productions, such as the great Navajo Chantways, the Osage Wa-Xo-Be, and the Zuni Ha'lako ceremonies could not have been represented here in their totality, even if any new translations had been submitted.

An anthology omits more than it contains, but that is implicit in the word's etymology—it is only "a bunch of flowers." I was largely dependent on responses to the hundreds of letters I sent to people working in various languages and cultures and on responses to notices I placed in journals specializing in anthropology, linguistics, and Native American literatures. Much of the work that came in was from the Southwest and the North, where the Native languages and literatures are the strongest and study of them most intense. In making choices, I tried to cover as much ground as possible. But there are inevitable gaps. For instance, while I worked hard to obtain translations from Cherokee, I was not successful. And there is only one representative from the Southeast. Perhaps, given the rapid advances in this field, by the time the second, expanded edition of this volume goes to press, there will be no lack of Cherokee and southeastern material to choose from. So, while attempting to be as representative as possible, this anthology does not lay claim to comprehensiveness.

The collection has taken its inspiration not so much from previous anthologies, like Margot Astrov's *The Winged Serpent* (1946) or, more recently, John Bierhorst's *The Red Swan* (1976) and Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz's *American Indian Myths and Legends* (1984), useful as these books may be. Instead, I have followed the lead of Karl Kroeber's *Traditional Literatures of the American Indian: Texts and Interpretations* (1981)[83] and follow up my own *Smoothing the Ground* (1983), *On the Translation of Native American Literatures* (1992), and *Recovering the Word,* the latter edited by Arnold Krupat and me in 1987. These books contain many "texts and interpretations" by leading scholars of Central and South American literatures, as well as the literatures of North America. If

there is a very early anthology with which I feel a certain affinity, it is Natalie Curtis's *The Indians' Book* of 1907, since it did not let the translations stand naked by themselves but attempted to provide a context, cultural and linguistic.

I would like to thank all those who have contributed to this volume: original performers, singers, storytellers, orators, and their translators. Some of these translations are reprinted (most with changes) from recent publications, but the majority were made especially for this volume. I want to thank the translators not only for their distinguished work but for responding so generously to my suggestions, queries, and requests. And I want to thank many other people, too numerous to mention, but including my dear wife, Roberta, and my friend and collaborator, Arnold Krupat; also Joseph Bruchac, William Cowan, William Fenton, Ives Goddard, Victor Golla, Frederick Hoxie, Michael Krauss, W. H. New, Joel Sherzer, and William Sturtevant. In addition, thanks to Thaddeus Gatza for help with musical transcription, to the American Indian Community House Gallery, New York City, Joanna Osburn-Bigfeather, Curator, for supplying the cover art, and to Gail Buckland for initiating this project. Finally, I am grateful to Harold Evans, President and Publisher of Random House, and LuAnn Walther, Vice President and Executive Editor of Vintage Books and Knopf/Everyman's Library, for helping Native American literatures reach a wide audience, and to Sally Arteseros for expert editorial help; also at Random House, thanks to Susan DiSesa, managing director of the Modern Library, Ian Jackman, assistant editor, Dennis Ambrose, production editor, Stephen Wolf, and Abigail Winograd.

The art used for the part title page of Alaska, Yukon, and the Subarctic is a fillet from the lower Yukon, made of sealskin and caribou skin. The art for The North Pacific Coast is a Kwakiutl Noohlmahl mask from Vancouver Island, while that for Great Basin and Plateau is a Thompson basket with a design of arrowheads. Art for The Plains is nineteenth-century Sioux. The tipi decoration shows it belonged to a member of the Black Bear subgens. The Eastern Woodlands art is a dancing garter with beaded design, part of an elaborate ceremonial costume worn by members of the Ojibwe Midé or Grand Medicine Society. Art for The Southwest and Southeast is a Laguna water jar, (Sources: Eva Wilson, *North American Indian Designs,* Dover Publications, New York, 1984; Maria Naylor, *Authentic Indian Designs: 2500 Illustrations from Reports of the Bureau of American*

Ethnology, Dover Publications, Inc., New York, 1975.) That for California is a Chumash rock painting from Cuyama. (Source: Campbell Grant, *The Rock Paintings of the Chumash,* University of California Press, 1965.) Part-title frame decorations are ancient Pueblo pottery designs.

NOTES

1. Peter M. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press), 1988, 33.

2. For a history of "the idea of the Indian," see Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978). The Indians' very existence was a challenge to the European world view, and Indians were regarded as Phoenician, Assyrian, Egyptian, Canaanite, Trojan, Roman, Israelite, Chinese Buddhist, Irish, Norse, Basque, and so on in order that they might be fit into this scheme. Even today their Israelite origin is part of Mormon-church doctrine, as laid out in "The Book of Alma, the Son of Alma." For more on this, see Robert Wauchope, *Lost Tribes and Sunken Continents* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963).

3. Merritt Ruhlen, *A Guide to the World's Languages* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987), 805.

4. Charles A. Ferguson and Shirley Brice Heath, eds., *Language in the USA* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 119.

5. For this brief overview I have drawn on Harry Hoijer, ed., *Linguistic Structures of Native America,* Viking Fund Publications in Anthropology no. 6 (1944; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint, 1946, 1963); Ruhlen, *A Guide to the World's Languages;* Lyle Campbell and Marianne Mithun, eds., *The Languages of Native America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); Joseph Howard Greenberg, *Language in the Americas* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987); and Ferguson and Heath, eds., *Language in the USA.*

6. I have concentrated here on the history and cultures of Native Americans in the United States. Clearly there are many overlaps with Canada, including policies of removal, assimilation, and suppression. But there are also differences, especially in legal and social matters. For more on Canada and the First Nations, the following books are useful: Doreen Jensen and Cheryl Brooks, *In Celebration of Our Survival: The First Nations of British Columbia* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1991); John A. Price, *Native Studies:*

American and Canadian Indians (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1978); J. Anthony Long and Menno Bolt, eds., *Governments in Conflict? Provinces and Indian Nations in Conflict in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Bruce Alden Cox, ed., *Native Peoples, Native Lands* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1988); Ian A. L. Getty and Antoine S. Lussier, eds., *As Long As the Sun Shines and Water Flows: A Reader in Canadian Native Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983); and Penny Petrone, *Native Literature in Canada from the Oral Tradition to the Present* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990).

7. For demographies see William M. Denevan, ed., *The Native Population of the Americas in 1492* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1976), and C. Matthew Snipp, *American Indians: The First of This Land* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1989). Estimates of the population of North America at the time of contact vary from a low of just over one million to a high of ten million (the true number is probably somewhere in the middle). For all the Americas the population was probably about fifty-seven million. There was a massive drop in the sixteenth century, termed by Denevan "probably the greatest demographic disaster in the history of the world, and one from which the Indians never recovered" (p. 7).

8. N. Scott Momaday, *House Made of Dawn* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), 90.

9. In 1980, the U.S. Census Bureau reported a 72-percent increase in the Indian population since 1970; an additional 38-percent increase was recorded in 1990. Clearly not only natural increase is at work here. People who never did so before are now choosing to define themselves as Indian, for a variety of reasons. (In Canada there are about half a million Native people.)

10. Vine Deloria Jr., "Commentary: Research, Redskins, and Reality," *American Indian Quarterly* 15 (Fall 1991): 460.

11. The phrase is used by Vine Deloria Jr. and Clifford M. Lytle in *American Indians, American Justice,* ed. Deloria Jr. and Lytle (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 24.

12. As Stephen L. Pevar notes in *The Rights of Indians and Tribes* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1992), there has never been a consistent federal Indian policy. This lack has resulted in great disruption in Indian life, especially since there has been a total lack of Indian involvement and consent. Policy can change at any moment—many non-Indian groups, some well financed, want to abolish Indian and tribal rights. Pevar also observes that "no other ethnic or cultural group is so heavily regulated. Although some federal laws were intended to benefit Indians, as a whole they have placed Indians in a political and economic straitjacket" (p. 2). Virtually every aspect of Indian life is affected by the relationship to the federal government, especially to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. This means that the price of survival is dependency.

13. Michael Krauss, "Number and Viability of Native American Languages by State and Province," *SSILA Newsletter* (January 1992): 2; Richard and Nora Dauenhauer, "Native Language Survival," *Left Bank* 2 (Summer 1992): 115–22. Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck, eds., *Endangered Lan-*

guages (Oxford, England: Berg, 1991), is a valuable source of information on the situation in the Americas. Ofelia Zepeda and Jane H. Hill's essay, "The Condition of Native American Languages in the United States," is particularly relevant for our purposes, as is M. Dale Kinkade's "The Decline of Native Languages in Canada."

14. Michael Krauss, "The World's Languages in Crisis," *Languages* 68 (March 1992): 3.

15. Dauenhauer, "Native Language Survival," 115–22.

16. Julian Rice, letter to author, 1992.

17. Gerald Vizenor, "Dead Voices," *World Literature Today* 66 (Spring 1992): 241; Ray A. Young Bear, *Black Eagle Child: The Faceprint Narratives* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1992), 67.

18. Bruno Nettl, "The Songs of Ishi: Musical Style of the Yahi Indians," *Musical Quarterly* 51 (July 1965): 460–77.

19. *Ho* is a salutation of joy or an expression of approval. *Schene I atsiehoene* is something like "It will produce peace," and *netho* is "so be it." See Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and eds., *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634–1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1988), 44–45. Thanks to William N. Fenton for directing me to this new translation.

20. For a fuller discussion of early recording, see my introduction in Brian Swann, ed., *On the Translation of Native American Literatures* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992); for an overview of the history of translation, see also Arnold Krupat's essay in the same volume, "On the Translation of Native American Song and Story: A Theorized History."

21. Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: a Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967; reprint, with a foreword by Arnold Krupat, 1988).

22. John G. E. Heckewelder, *An Account of the History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations* (1819; reprinted as *History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations Who Once Inhabited Pennsylvania and the Neighboring States,* Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1876, and New York: Arno Press, 1971).

23. Heckewelder quotes are from the 1876 edition, xl, 113, 137, 210.

24. Quoted in William M. Clements, " 'Tokens of Literary Faculty': Native American Literature and Euroamerican Translation in the Early Nineteenth Century," in *On the Translation of Native American Literatures,* ed. Swann, 37.

25. Quoted in William M. Clements, "Schoolcraft as Textmaker," *Journal of American Folklore* 103 (1990): 181.

26. Quoted in Robert E. Bieder, *Science Encounters the Indian, 1820–1880* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986), 175, 180.

27. Quoted in Clements, "Schoolcraft as Textmaker," 186.

28. Ibid.

29. For Leland's practices see Thomas Parkhill's " 'Of Glooscap's Birth, and of His Brother, Malsum, the Wolf': The Story of Charles Godfrey Leland's 'Purely American Creation,' " *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 16, no. 1 (1992): 45–69.

30. Clements, "Schoolcraft as Textmaker," 186.

31. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian,* 90.

32. Ibid., 107.

33. Horatio Hale, *The Iroquois Book of Rites* (1883; reprint, with an introduction by William N. Fenton, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963); Washington Matthews, *The Navajo Mountain Chant,* in The Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1883–84 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution; reprinted as *The Mountain Chant: Navajo Ceremony,* 1887), and *The Night Chant: A Navajo Ceremony,* American Museum of Natural History Memoirs, Anthropology Series no. 5 (New York, 1902); John Wesley Powell, *Anthropology of the Numa: John Wesley Powell's Manuscript on the Numic Peoples of North America,* ed. Don D. Fowler and Catherine S. Fowler (1860–80; reprint, Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971); W. J. Hoffman, *The Mide'wiwin or 'Grand Medicine Society' of the Ojibwa,* in The Seventh Annual Report of the American Bureau of Ethnology for the Years 1885–86 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution), 145–300; Henry R. Voth, *The Oraibi Powamu Ceremony,* Field Columbian Museum Publication no. 61, Anthropological Series, vol. 3, no. 2 (Chicago, 1901); James Mooney, *The Ghost Dance Religion, and Sioux Outbreak of 1890,* pt. 2, The Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology for the Years 1892–93 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1896; reprint, Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991); Frank Hamilton Cushing, *Outlines of Zuni Creation Myths,* in The Thirteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1891–92 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1896), 321–447, *Zuni Folk Tales* (New York: Putnam, 1901), and *Zuni Breadstuff,* Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes and Monographs no. 8 (New York, 1920); and Frances Densmore, *Chippewa Music,* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin nos. 45 and 53 (Washington, D.C., 1910–13), *Papago Music,* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 90 (Washington, D.C., 1929; reprint, New York: DaCapo Press, 1972), and *Music of the Indians of British Columbia,* Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Anthropological Paper no. 27 (Washington, D.C., 1973). For a critique of Frank Hamilton Cushing, see Dennis Tedlock, "On the Translation of Style in Oral Narrative," in Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983), 30–61.

34. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981), 139.

35. Natalie Curtis, *The Indians' Book: An Offering by the American Indians of Indian Lore, Musical and Narrative, to Form a Record of Songs and Legends of Their Race* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1907; reprint of 1923 edition, New York: Dover Books, 1968), xxi, xxii.

36. Jeremiah Curtin, *Creation Myths of Primitive America, in Relation to the Religious History and Mental Development of Mankind* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1898; reprint, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1969).

37. Mary Hunter Austin, *The American Rhythm* (1923; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930).

38. Austin, introduction to George W. Cronyn, ed., *The Path on the Rainbow: An Anthology of Songs and Chants from the Indians of North America* (1918; rev. ed., New York: Liveright, 1934), xxxii. Michael Castro's *Interpreting the Indian: Twentieth Century Poets and the Native American* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983) traces the relationship between Native American literature and twentieth-century poets and poetics.

39. Austin, introduction to Cronyn, *The Path on the Rainbow,* xvi.

40. Here is one of Densmore's poems:

THE DEER AND THE FLOWER

The deer
looks at a flower.

Unfortunately, although Austin stated in her introduction that "it is the very nature of primitive verse that it should require interpretation," no notes appear in *Path.* There is no way of finding out, for example, that Densmore's little poem (and others like it that she wrote for the collection) was, in fact, a tiny extrapolation from a large ceremony: two lines (or, nontextually, one phrase) from a complex Yaqui Deer Dance that Densmore had recorded at Guadalupe, near Phoenix, in 1922 and that had appeared in her *Yuman and Yaqui Music* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 110 [Washington, D.C., 1932]).

41. For an account of American Indian history in legal and cultural terms, see Deloria Jr. and Lytle, eds., *American Indians, American Justice,* as well as Pevar, *The Rights of Indians and Tribes.* For a concise discussion of the General Allotment Act, see Wilcombe E. Washburn's *The Indian in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 238–50. Washburn points out, for example, that when the act passed in 1887, Indian land consisted of 138 million acres. By 1934, when the process of allotment ceased, about 60 percent of the land had passed out of Indian hands, had been declared surplus, and had been sold. Of the lands allotted to individual Indians to farm and held in trust by the government for twenty-five years, 27 million acres, or two thirds of the land, were lost between 1887 and 1934. For an excellent, wide-ranging account of policy, see pt. 4, "Imagery and White Policy: The Indian as Justification and Rationale," of Berkhofer's *The White Man's Indian.* For a discussion of the IRA as "another cooptation of Indians" ("Indians do not see the tribe as organized under the IRA as their own democratic, legitimate government, but as an

alien force"), see Michael G. Lacy, "The United States and the American Indian: Political Relations," in *American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Vine Deloria Jr. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 83–104.

42. Daniel Garrison Brinton, "Native American Poetry," in *Essays of an Americanist* (Philadelphia: David McKay Publishers, 1890), 284; Nellie Barnes, *American Indian Verse: Characteristics of Style,* University of Kansas, Bulletin of Humanistic Studies no. 4 (Lawrence, 1921), 1–63.

43. Barnes, *American Indian Verse,* 9, 21, 56.

44. Quoted by Karl Kroeber in "Reasoning Together," in *Smoothing the Ground: Essays on Native American Oral Literature,* ed. Brian Swann (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 350. For more on Boas, see chap. 21, "Modernism, Irony, Anthropology: The Work of Franz Boas," in Arnold Krupat, *Ethnocriticism: Ethnography, History, Literature* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Although Boas is often praised for his linguistic accuracy, Judith Berman has demonstrated that in regard to at least one of his Kwakiutl texts, "His misinterpretations are so extreme that in the English version the story seems incoherent" ("Oolachan-Woman's Robe: Fish, Blankets, Masks, and Meaning in Boas's Kwakw'ala Texts," in *On the Translation of Native American Literatures,* ed. Swann, 125).

45. George W. Stocking, ed., *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 107.

46. Ira Jacknis, "Franz Boas and Exhibits," in *Objects and Others,* ed. Stocking, 102–110.

47. Michael Ames, *Museums, the Public, and Anthropology* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1986), 40.

48. Berman, "Oolachan-Woman's Robe," 157.

49. Tedlock, *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation,* 32.

50. Joel Sherzer in *Native American Discourse: Poetics and Rhetoric,* ed. Sherzer and Anthony C. Woodbury (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 19.

51. Dell Hymes, "Gitskux and His Older Brother," in *Smoothing the Ground,* ed. Swann, 139.

52. Anthony Mattina, "North American Indian Mythography: Editing Texts for the Printed Page," in *Recovering the Word: Essays on Native American Literature,* ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 129, 137, 139.

53. Julie Cruikshank with Angela Sidney, Kitty Smith, and Annie Ned, *Life Lived Like a Story: Life Stories of Three Athapaskan Elders* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 18.

54. C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism* (Oxford, England: Oxford University Press, 1962).

55. James Clifford, *The Predicament of Culture* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1988), 10, 218.

56. Leslie Marmon Silko, "An Old Time Indian Attack Conducted in Two Parts," *Shantih* 4 (1979): 3–5. H. David Brumble III discusses the problem of the use of Indian material and Indian "informants" in "Indian Sacred Materials: Kroeber, Kroeber, Waters, and Momaday," in *Smoothing the Ground,* ed. Swann, 283–300. Brumble engages with Karl Kroeber in debate over similar topics in the same volume ("Reasoning Together," 347–64).

57. Whiteley, *Deliberate Acts,* xv.

58. Barre Toelken, "Life and Death in the Navajo Coyote Tales," in *Recovering the Word,* ed. Swann and Krupat, 388–401.

59. Eric Cheyfitz, *The Poetics of Imperialism: Translations and Colonialization from 'The Tempest' to 'Tarzan'* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 104. In this context Tejaswini Niranjana, in *Siting Translation: History, Post-Structuralism, and the Colonial Context* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), has developed the idea that translation is not just "interlingual process" but "an entire problematic" that raises questions of "representation, power, and historicity" (p. 9).

60. Barre Toelken, "From Entertainment to Realization in Navajo Fieldwork," in *Fieldwork Epiphanies,* ed. Bruce Jackson and Edward Ives (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, in press).

61. Quoted in Whiteley, "The End of Anthropology (at Hopi)?" (manuscript, 1991).

62. Lawrence J. Evers, letter to the author, 1992. It should be noted that in a number of cases (including Evers's), the reader can obtain dual-text volumes without much difficulty.

63. Lawrence J. Evers and Felipe S. Molina, *Yaqui Deer Songs/Maso Bwikam: A Native American Poetry* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), 8.

64. Louise K. Barnett, *The Ignoble Savage: American Literary Racism 1790–1890* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1975), 17.

65. On this point see James A. Clifton, ed., *The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1990). For a critique of Clifton's book, see Vine Deloria Jr., "Comfortable Fictions and the Struggle for Turf," *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (Summer 1992): 397–410.

66. N. Scott Momaday, *The Way to Rainy Mountain* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1969); James Mooney, *Calendar History of the Kiowa,* in The Seventeenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1895–96 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1898), 141–44. Leslie Marmon Silko, *Ceremony* (New York: Viking Press, 1977). The quote by Silko is from her article, "Language and Literature from a Pueblo Indian Perspective," in *English Literature: Opening Up the Canon,* ed. Leslie A. Fiedler and A. Houston Baker Jr. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 60.

67. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian,* 67.

68. See, among others, Alice B. Kehoe, "Primal Gaia: Primitivists and Plastic Medicine Men," in *The Invented Indian,* ed. Clifton, 194–210. It should be noted that not all the exploiting of Native American culture is done by Whites. The late Sun Bear of the "Bear Tribe Medicine Society" comes to mind, as well as Running Water ("Mohave Spiritual Leader") and Sundance Aquero ("Métis Spiritual Guide") of the White Buffalo Robe Series and Ed McGaa, or Eagle Man, an Oglala of the "Rainbow Tribe." Hyemeyohsts Storm, a Cheyenne of *Seven Arrows* fame, probably belongs here, too. It is interesting that those who claim they wish only to share their culture with outsiders phrase their activities as a challenge to the exclusivity of "the Elders" or "traditionalists" who refuse to move with the times.

69. Rudolf Kaiser, "Chief Seattle's Speech(es): American Origins and European Reception," in *Recovering the Word,* ed. Swann and Krupat, 497–536.

70. "Blood quantum" is at the heart of the bureaucratic definition of Indian, and one-quarter blood quantum is used as the minimum requirement for entitlement. Thus, a discredited nineteenth-century belief that blood is literally the carrier of not only genetic but also cultural traits (habits of dress as much as habits of thought) is at the core of the federal definition of Indian. But the situation is even more complicated. There are at least forty federal definitions; in addition, tribal governments employ their own tribal rolls and different fractions. There is also a strong movement today toward self-definition, often linked to the issue of sovereignty. For more on this topic, see Snipp, *American Indians,* 28–35.

71. Marianne Torgovnick, in *Going Primitive: Savage Intellects, Modern Lives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), says this:

> A voyeuristic interest in the primitive surrounds us in what we see and hear, what we learn and read, from the cradle to the grave: it is part of the atmosphere, part of the culture we live and breathe. . . . Western desires for the primitive have not waned as primitive societies have modified or been forced to modify traditional ways of life. . . . The West seems to need the primitive as a precondition and a supplement to its sense of self: it always creates heightened versions of the primitive as nightmare or pleasant dream. The question of whether that need must or will always take fearful or exploitative forms remains pressing (p. 246).

For what Torgovnick means by *primitive* as concept, or "generalized notion," see 18–23.

72. Allogan Slagle in a review of Snipp, *American Indians,* in *American Indian Quarterly* 16 (Winter 1992): 76.

73. Carter Camp, "Sincere Doubts: 'Tourism' Diminishes Lakota Ceremonies," *Lakota Times,* August 12, 1992, A8.

74. Alan Simpson's remarks, reported by the *Lakota Times* of August 12, 1992, A2, were made on August 7, when Simpson was opposing an amendment to the 1965 Voting Rights Act to expand language assistance to Indian voters not proficient in English. Andy Rooney's remarks were reported in Nick Coleman, "CBS's Rooney Is Following in Custer's Footsteps," New York *Daily News,*

April 19, 1992 (Rooney's article appeared nationally on March 25). Rooney said that the impact of Indian cultures is slight, and Indians "hang onto remnants of their religion and superstitions that may have been useful for savages . . . but which are meaningless in 1992." They should get off the reservations, since "the time for the way the Indians lived is done." And he said much else, including that "there are no great American Indian novels, no poetry . . . no memorable music . . . no American Indian art, except for some good craft work."

75. Frederick E. Hoxie, "The Indian Versus the Textbooks: Is There a Way Out?" *Perspectives* (American Historical Association) 23 (April 1985): 18–22.

76. E. D. Hirsch Jr., Joseph Kett, and James Trefil, eds., *The Dictionary of Cultural Literacy* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1988), xi, 363, 397. See also Hirsch Jr., Kett, and Trefil, eds., *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Needs to Know,* with appendix, "What Literate Americans Know" (1987); rev. and enlarged ed., New York: Vintage Books, 1988).

77. Hoxie, "The Indian Versus the Textbooks," 22.

78. Quoted in Paul Berman, *Debating P.C.* (New York: Dell, 1992).

79. Quoted in Louis Henry Gates Jr., "Editor's Introduction: Writing, 'Race' and the Difference It Makes," *Critical Inquiry* 12 (1985): 1.

80. Dell Hymes, "Anthologies and Narrators," in *Recovering the Word,* ed. Swann and Krupat, 41.

81. William Bevis, "American Indian Verse Translations," in Abraham Chapman, ed., *Literature of the American Indians: Views and Interpretations* (New York: New American Library, 1975), 308.

82. Jimmie Durham, "Those Dead Guys for a Hundred Years," in *I Tell You Now: Autobiographical Essays by Native American Writers,* ed. Brian Swann and Arnold Krupat (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1987), 163.

83. Margot Astrov, ed., *The Winged Serpent: An Anthology of American Indian Prose and Poetry* (New York: John Day, 1946); John Bierhorst, ed., *The Red Swan: Myths and Tales of the American Indians* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976); Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz, eds., *American Indian Myths and Legends* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984); Karl Kroeber, *Traditional Literatures of the American Indian: Texts and Interpretations* (Lincoln, University of Nebraska Press, 1981).