

American Indian Language Arts Traditions and Contributions

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Biographical Sketch

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AMERICAN INDIAN LANGUAGE ARTS TRADITIONS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

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INTRODUCTION

In the beginning the earth was covered with water, and all living things were below in the underworld. Then people could talk, the animals could talk, the trees could talk, and the rocks could talk...

Beginning of the Jicarilla Apache story called 'The Jicarilla Genesis'
as reported by James Mooney in the 1890s¹

The Creator and Changer first made the world in the East. Then he slowly came westward, creating as he came. With him he brought many languages, and he gave a different one to each group of people he made...

Opening of the Snohomish story called 'Pushing up the Sky'
as told by Chief William Shelton to Ella Clark in 1953²

At one time, a long time ago, when silence was, and not a word, there was nothing but Air-That's-Black-in-All-Shadow-the-Dark-Night. It was quiet, and nothing moved. He Who First Did Everything brought Old Man Coyote in the Wind. They say it was Old Man Coyote who first thought in Air-That's-Black-in-All-Shadow-the-Dark-Night. Thought. The one to use it first was Old Man Coyote.

The wind's spirit is where Old Man Coyote is from. Old Man Coyote thought. There was too much of nothing. Silence was, and not a word. There was nothing he could do in the silence of Air-That's-Black-in-All-Shadow-the-Dark-Night.

He howled loud...

The start of 'The Creation Story of the Crow People'
as written by Henry Real Bird in 1990³

And so the world begins with the WORD. This is a familiar tradition handed down in many cultures around the world, and it expresses something that may be seen to be true for us human beings, whoever our people may be. We are not real, we are not fully conscious, we are not created as a human people or as individuals, without the word. Without language, all is subterranean, darkness or the wind for us.

The power to name and describe the world, it is said by many elders, is what makes the world real for us, and us real in it. And so this essay begins with words

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about the WORD and how it came to be, and concerns itself with the language arts as practiced by many American Indian cultures and individuals.

In an essay, it is impossible to do more than survey some of the written works that survive from before 1492 and briefly introduce a small number of the historically notable American Indian authors and oral performers. Fortunately, a number of helpful resources have become available in the past few years that can enable teachers and students to learn more about American Indian contributions in the language arts.

Persons interested in the literary traditions might well begin by consulting a useful, up-to-date series of books written or edited by Dr. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff. These are **Literatures of the American Indian** (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1991); **Redefining American Literary History** (co-edited with Jerry W. Ward; New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990); and **American Indian Literatures** (New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990). These introduce many of the important Indian authors writing in English. To varying degrees, these books also offer an orientation to the meaning and contexts of American Indian oral traditions and written literatures.

Also good, although slightly dated, is the bibliographic work by Anna Lee Stensland, **Literature by and about The American Indian** (Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English, 1973; the 2nd edition of 1979 updates the earlier work). This volume includes a fair amount of material about non-Indian authors who wrote about Indian cultural subjects and themes, but it distinguishes who is who quite well and does offer useful annotations about each work as to content and quality.

A very important bibliographic resource that introduces writings 'by and about' Indian women is Rayna Green's (Cherokee) **Native American Women: A Contextual Bibliography** (Bloomington: University of Indiana Press, 1983). Unfortunately out of print, the reader will find that Green's book mixes literary works with histories,

sociological treatises, psychological and anthropological studies, and other subjects in the social sciences. Green's brief annotations do much to help readers readily identify the books and authors worth consulting. Two other important works on American Indian women's literature and traditions are Paula Gunn Allen's (Lakota/Laguna Pueblo) **The Sacred Hoop** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986) and her **Spider Woman's Granddaughters** (Boston: Beacon Press, 1989).

A similarly valuable reference introduction to many of the Native writers of Canada is Penny Petrone's **Native Literature in Canada: From the Oral Tradition to the Present** (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990). Petrone includes an essay on the oral tradition that is a very helpful introduction for people unfamiliar with the context of American Indian stories and storytelling. Her book is organized by chronological periods into five chapters on the better-known Canadian Indian and Inuit authors writing in English between 1820 and 1989. It concludes with a twelve-page bibliography.

Those readers who have an interest in the American Indian authors of Latin America are urged to consult the **Hispanic-American Baseline Essays**. The sources in Spanish can better be treated by authors conversant in that language than by an author who must rely on English translations (where they are available).

There are two major recent resources for those interested in the American Indian contribution to films. The first is the two-volume set edited by Elizabeth Weatherford and entitled **Native Americans on Film and Video** (New York: Museum of the American Indian, vol. 1, 1981; vol. 2, 1988). The second resource is Michael Hilger's **The American Indian in Film** (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1986). Both authors provide brief contextual essays and annotated listings of films and videos. Weatherford's books predominantly contain educationally-relevant materials 'by and about' American Indians while Hilger's volume focuses mainly on mainstream movie productions 'about' that most amazing cultural group (here read 'stereotype', for the

most part), the 'Hollywood tribe'. Hilger does provide a good introduction to American Indian film actors and their roles, however.

Information on the development of American Indian journalism can be found in a distinguished book by James and Sharon Murphy, **Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981). LaVonne Ruoff and Jerry Ward include more up-to-date listings of some American Indian periodicals and prominent tribal newspapers in their **Redefining American Literary History**, mentioned earlier. A short current listing also appears in Julia Furtaw's (ed.) **Native Americans Information Directory** (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1992)

The best source of current information on American Indian broadcasting in the United States, as well as an excellent resource for educational videos on a wide range of Indian cultures and issues, is the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium (P.O. Box 83111, Lincoln, NE 68501-3111; telephone (402) 472-3522, fax (402) 472-1785). This affiliate of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting maintains a circulating collection of broadcast-quality and VHS educational videos and issues a catalog; NAPBC also cooperates with many American Indian radio stations and is one of the sources for the listing of Indian broadcast stations presented in Appendix D.

The Oral Tradition

In *speaking* of American Indian traditions in the language arts, one begins at the heart of those traditions. Throughout history in Indian Country, a person with the gift of speaking with beauty, power and clarity has usually been a respected person, often a famous person and frequently an influential person.

Among the majority of American Indian societies, leadership has traditionally functioned by persuasion rather than by power or authority. Indian people generally

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expect a high level of speaking ability in their leaders. As one reflection of this expectation, the title of the Aztec leader was huey-tlatoani or 'Great Speaker.' The huey-tlatoani was not a 'king' in the European sense of the term, but rather was a member of a noble family elected to the post by a council of the clans, which chose him for his ability to represent and enunciate the culture of his people.

The importance of the spoken word as an element of social intercourse among Indians persists today. The spoken word flourishes and is relished in Indian cultures. Verbal display of both wit and wisdom is delighted in by Indian people of every culture. It is a good generalization to say that the ability to speak well and appropriately is still the most valued of the many language arts skills practiced by native peoples in the Western Hemisphere.

The contrary stereotype of the 'taciturn Indian' most likely results from a failure of many non-Indians to recognize certain consequences of Indian cultural values. These values hold that words are powerful and sacred, thus encouraging careful reflection before one speaks one's mind, especially in front of outsiders. As a result, many traditional Indian speakers might appear to others to be slow to rise to the occasion and deliberate in both choice of words and style of utterance.

With the foregoing in mind, it must be said that oral language was and is not the 'be all and end all' of Indian language arts. Taken all together, American Indian cultures make use of the full range of traditional and contemporary forms of communication, as this essay will show.

The expression 'oral tradition' has a compound meaning for most American Indians. Most commonly, the oral tradition refers to the great body of history, stories and cultural knowledge of all types that grew and was passed from mouth to ear over the course of many centuries. For the great majority of American Indian cultures, all or

nearly all of the collective knowledge of the People was traditionally stored in memory. It was transmitted from one generation to the next or from one culture to the next by means of careful repetition and memorization.

Especially with the stories that hold the history and cosmological beliefs of a culture, much supervised practice is needed before a younger person's memory and storytelling ability is relied on by others for preserving and transmitting such important information. Today, even as parts of the oral tradition are committed to writing (often for the first time), the standard of accuracy and authenticity for the information is not the printed edition but the surviving oral tradition. It is common to hear the elders of a tribe complain that printed versions of parts of the oral tradition do not agree with 'how it is told'. Another of their complaints is that authors and editors frequently do not validate their written versions with either the acknowledged master storytellers or the rightful owners of certain stories.

Another part of the meaning for the expression 'oral tradition' is the standard of oral performance that is associated with a given piece of the traditions. The stories are far more than mere words; they also encompass an expected rhythm and intonation of speech along with traditional characterizations, facial expressions, gestures and body postures which the storyteller fuses into a whole performance.

It is hard to suggest all this on the printed page, but anyone who has spent time in the presence of a master Indian storyteller has experienced the key difference between the living oral tradition and printed versions of the stories. The teacher or student who reads transcriptions of American Indian oral traditions without some background experience with an Indian storyteller will miss out on the richness of context and feeling for the stories that only the spoken word can provide.

American Indian Languages

American Indian languages, perhaps more than any other cultural characteristic, give evidence of the enormous diversity among Indian cultures. Estimates of the number of distinct languages spoken in the Americas prior to Contact range as high as 2,200; the Smithsonian Institution recognizes over 1,850.⁴ Some 350 are known for North America north of Mexico. Mexico and Central America were home to another 350. The remaining 1,150 or so were spoken in South America and the Caribbean islands.⁵

In the context of linguistics, a 'language' is a common vocabulary and grammar shared by a people who are of the same community, nation, geographic area or cultural tradition. A language 'family' is a group of closely related languages thought likely to have diverged from an original, ancestral language. A 'phylum' is a larger group of related language 'families' that have deep similarities to each other but no such similarities to languages in any other 'phylum'.

In 1966, the First Conference on American Indian Languages reached a consensus among linguists for a scheme to classify the relationships thought to exist among Indian languages. They agreed on twelve language phyla covering most of North America, Central America and South America. Some earlier researchers and their modern successors argue for a larger number of both phyla and families than is recognized by the 1966 consensus. More recently, a small number of scholars led by Joseph Greenberg have argued that certain kinds of linguistic evidence suggest that there may only be three phyla of languages among the native peoples of the Americas.⁶

Most linguists still hold to the 1966 consensus, however. Furthermore, many still agree with the 1987 statement by the Smithsonian Institution that "[n]o American Indian language is derived from an historically known Old World language."⁷ The commonly

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recognized American Indian and Inuit language phyla, language families and many of their constituent languages are listed in Appendix F.

Today, about 200 American Indian languages are still spoken north of Mexico; the Smithsonian Institution reports about 275 surviving in South America. Many, perhaps most, of the languages native to Mexico and Central America have survived.⁸

The survival of American Indian languages is an issue of extreme importance to most American Indian communities in the United States. Languages of some of the smaller tribes are spoken fluently only by a few elders; it is not yet certain that recent language instruction efforts in public and tribal schools serving these communities will restore use of languages long suppressed by U.S. policies. Language maintenance is also an important concern in many Canadian Indian communities, especially those in or near the regions of Canada most heavily settled by immigrants over the past 400 years.

In many other parts of the Western Hemisphere, survival of the native languages seems reasonably assured for the larger Indian cultural groups. In some countries, such as Bolivia where Quechua is spoken, the majority of the population have an American Indian language as their primary tongue. The Guaraní language is one of the two official languages of Paraguay and is, in fact, the dominant language spoken in that country.⁹

In the United States and much of Canada, government policies during most of the 19th and 20th centuries explicitly attempted to eradicate the use of native languages among American Indians. The history of these policies is introduced in the Social Sciences essay and will not be repeated in detail here. It is enough to note that many of the missionaries and educators of earlier generations in the U.S. and Canada were explicitly charged with the task of eradicating the use of the native languages of young Indian students put in their care. Many resorted to brutal means to replace the use of

native languages with English or French among the children. This educational practice was so effective that many members of the past three or four generations of American Indians grew up discouraging their own children from any interest in their tribal language. Many were unable to speak it themselves as a consequence of their experiences in the boarding and mission schools.¹⁰

“...Many boys ran away from the school because the treatment was so bad but most of them were caught and brought back by the police. We were told never to talk Indian and if we were caught, we got a strapping with a leather belt.

I remember one evening when we were all lined up in a room and one of the boys said something in Indian to another boy. The man in charge of us pounced on the boy, caught him by the shirt, and threw him across the room. Later we found out that his collar-bone was broken....”

Lone Wolf (Blackfeet), as related to his son in 1972.¹¹

“...They told us that Indian ways were bad. They said we must get civilized. I remember that word too. It means “be like the white man.” I am willing to be like the white man, but I did not believe Indian ways were wrong. But they kept teaching us for seven years. And the books told how bad the Indians had been to the white men—burning their towns and killing their women and children. But I had seen white men do that to Indians. We all wore white man’s clothes and ate white man’s food and went to white man’s churches and spoke white man’s talk. And so after a while we also began to say Indians were bad. We laughed at our own people and their blankets and cooking pots and sacred societies and dances. I tried to learn the lessons—and after seven years I came home...

It was a warm summer evening when I got off the train at Taos station. The first Indian I met, I asked him to run out to the pueblo and tell my family I was home. The Indian couldn’t speak English, and I had forgotten all my Pueblo language. But after a while he learned what I meant and started running to tell my father...”

Sun Elk (Taos Pueblo) telling of his experience at Carlisle Indian School between 1883 and 1890.¹²

In 1886 and 1887, U.S. Commissioner of Indian Affairs J.D.C. Atkins (head of the Bureau of Indian Affairs), issued directives and regulations requiring all mission schools, contract schools and government boarding schools on the reservations to use only English in their instructional program.¹³ This policy was adhered to by Atkins’

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successors until the reforms of the Franklin Roosevelt era, when a feeble and short-lived effort was made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to develop and use bilingual materials in its schools.¹⁴

In the 1970s, U.S. federal Indian education policy began to restore an increasing measure of control over the education of their own children to Indian communities. The Indian Education Assistance and Self Determination Act of 1975 enabled tribal schools and public school Indian education projects to spend federal support dollars on the creation and instruction of native language materials. Another step was taken with the passage of the Native Language Act of 1992, which, if fully funded and implemented, will extend opportunities for passing on tribal languages, training teachers, producing books, videos and computer software in American Indian languages, and promoting native language broadcasting.

In Canada, a fairly similar pattern of policies and practices relating to Native languages developed in the 19th and early 20th centuries. The Indian Act of 1876 even provided that any Indian who earned a college degree would cease to be legally considered an Indian!¹⁵ In 1972, the National Indian Brotherhood proposed to return control over Indian education to the local Native communities. After heavy political pressure was brought to bear on the government in Ottawa by the band councils on the reserves, this proposal was enacted as Canadian federal law. Since then, increasing dialogue and political interaction between band governments and the federal and provincial governments have gradually improved access to education for members of Canada's First Nations while at the same time enabling many Native communities to resume the use of their own languages in instructing their children.¹⁶

Myths, Legends and Oral History

The thousands of years of American Indian experience on this Turtle Island, this Mother Earth, is the heartbeat that pulses through the arteries and veins of our stories. American Indian stories are our understanding of the universe, the Creator, all the beings with whom we share life, and the events that happened and happen in the course of our collective experience of life. The San Juan Tewa scholar Alfonso Ortiz and his collaborator Richard Erdoes once quoted a relevant and pithy observation by Bronislaw Malinowski, who said, “Myth in its living, primitive form is not merely a story told but a reality lived.”¹⁷

Among most American Indians, the traditional stories are not usually categorized and distinguished one from another by terms like ‘myth’, ‘legend’ or ‘oral history’. They are simply stories, the telling of which links our living culture to that of our ancestors. The stories themselves can be and are thought of as living beings themselves, full of mystery, wisdom and power, capable of evolving along with the People, and deserving respect for their own sake as dynamic beings. They are alive, they are our lives, and we are uniquely human because of their uniqueness.

Joseph Campbell, Bronislaw Malinowski, Noam Chomsky, Dell Hymes and a host of other scholars have explored the meanings and methods of traditional folk stories told in cultures around the world. Carl Jung drew from these stories and their relatives, the dreams, to develop his psychoanalytic theory of archetypes in the human collective unconscious. Indian and non-Indian compilers and editors have gathered and published many anthologies and volumes of tribally-specific stories. Such theoretical perspectives and compilations can offer teachers materials with which to introduce students to the world as it is known and understood by American Indians.

However, the printed versions of the stories and the scholarly interpretations will only be an introduction, nothing more. Every new generation comes to know the living stories well and deeply only by repeatedly hearing them told and by repeatedly walking the land from which the stories came, looking, thinking, remembering. The storytelling descendants of the original storytellers must be met on their home ground and seen in the context of their continuing relation to the land. Only thus does one come face to face with the living power of the stories. Otherwise, the stories are but descriptions of the world and not the arteries and veins leading into the beating heart of the world.

It is best to hear the stories from a person raised with them, especially one who owns the stories and cares for them as a precious inheritance. Most American Indians would probably agree with the Lakota holy man Leonard Crow Dog, who said

...I get my knowledge of the old tales of my people out of a drum, or the sound of a flute, out of my visions and out of our sacred herb *pejuta*, but above all out of the ancient words from way back, the words of the grandfathers, the language that was there at the beginning of time, the language given to We-Ota-Wichasha, Blood Clot Boy. If that language, these words, should ever die, then our legends will die too.¹⁸

The stories often defy neat categorization as myths, as legends, or as oral histories. They often blend aspects of these categories, one of the reasons that American Indians seldom mean to imply a typology when we use the English words 'myth' or 'legend' in casual conversation. The common practice by authors and publishers of grouping the stories under such labels, for the sake of convenience in organizing anthologies, should not mislead readers into expecting or making too fine a set of distinctions among the stories.

Further, it doesn't help to understand the stories in the way that Indians do to reason thusly – "well, this story deals with gods and heroes and with how the world came to be the way it is, so it's a myth, which also means it's fictional." To call the

stories about individuals 'legends' or to dismiss their value as historical materials simply because they were first preserved in memory rather than as symbols on paper or stone is to miss out on much of humanity's sense and recall of what we have been and the reality of what we still are. Finally, readers are urged to keep in mind that the creation of new traditional stories goes on among many American Indian communities today. These new stories, as much as the old, tie our world and that of our children's children to the world of our ancestors. Such ties help maintain our distinctive American Indian identity.

These cautions are one way of expressing the respect that American Indians hold for the fundamental truth of the oral history embodied in the traditional stories. That truth, at its core, is the belief that the stories express the way things really are in the world, whether or not they coincide with anything our modern concepts, theories and logical systems may assert about reality.

There are literally thousands of stories in the oral tradition, too many to survey here. Perhaps the best way to conclude this section is by mentioning just a few of the major characters in American Indian stories. The fact that many other characters go unmentioned here should entice rather than discourage. Think of the possible vistas that such a rich source of characters can open to students!

Among the Inuit of the Arctic, stories are told of a powerful woman who lives in the sea, variously called Sedna, Nulijuk or Takanakpsaluk. She is both a provider of game animals and mistress of the land of the dead. On the southern Great Plains and elsewhere, Spider Grandmother is a beloved protagonist in several stories of how the world came to be as it is. She often is joined by her adopted sons, the Hero Twins, particularly in stories told in the Southwest.

Among the Nahuatl-speaking tribes of Mexico, stories from the Toltec times record the remarkable life of Quetzalcoátl, a demi-god ruler of the Toltec capital of Tula. His fate was to be tricked into losing his kingdom. Various stories then tell that he either ascended into the heavens to become Venus, crossed the waters to the land of the Maya and founded a hybrid civilization there, or sailed off to the mysterious land of Tamoanchan in the east, promising to return one day. (The year predicted for Quetzalcoátl's return, 1519, saw the arrival of Hernán Cortés in his place, with momentous consequences for the Aztec, who considered themselves heirs to the Toltec traditions.)

The mischievous rabbit Juan Tul is a fixture of some modern Maya stories while the twin brothers Hunahpu and Xbalanque are the heroes of the older, classic Quiché Mayan book **Popol Vuh**. This is an epic story, in part telling how the two boys defeated the Lords of the Underworld realm of Xibalba in an effort to restore the life of their uncle Seven Hunahpu, who was dismembered after losing a ritual game of pok-ta-pok to the Dark Lords.

Probably the most wide-spread personage in American Indian stories is Coyote (he of many aliases). Not an easy person to sum up, Coyote is often referred to as a 'trickster' character, along with Raven (Pacific Northwest and elsewhere), Manabozho (frequently encountered in stories of the western Great Lakes region among the Menominee and Ojibwe), Fox (notably in the Amazon Basin), Rabbit and Glooskabi (well-known among the eastern Algonkin peoples), and Iktomé (the spider-man of numerous Lakota stories). There are others often labeled as tricksters, but the label really doesn't go far enough to describe these remarkable beings.

Coyote, like most 'tricksters', is part hero, part fool, part prankster, part warrior, part medicine man, part sex maniac, a being definitely more and frequently less than the sum of his parts. Many tribes' traditions about him (and his counterparts) tell how

he was given a task by the Creator to help transform and prepare this world for occupancy by humans. Most traditions acknowledge him as a great teacher. He demonstrates many positively useful traits and skills as well as providing lots of negative examples – showing children especially how not to be.

Good recent written collections of traditional stories about Coyote and some of the other ‘tricksters’ are Barry Holstun Lopez’s **Giving Birth to Thunder, Sleeping With His Daughter** and Jarold Ramsey’s **Coyote Was Going There: Indian Literature of the Oregon Country**. Coyote stories fill out sections of several general anthologies, including Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz’s **American Indian Myths and Legends** as well as **The Red Swan** and other anthologies put together by John Bierhorst. Haida artist and author Bill Reid along with Robert Bringhurst offer a collection of stories about Raven in their volume **The Raven Steals the Light**.¹⁹

As mentioned above, modern American Indian storytellers and authors continue the tradition of creating authentic stories about many of the characters known to our ancestors. Using Coyote once again as an example, readers can sample some of these new stories in Mohawk writer Peter Blue Cloud’s **Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales** and in a delightful anthology entitled **Coyote’s Journal** which he edited along with Gogsigi Carroll Arnett, James Koller and Steve Nemirow.²⁰

Teachers should generally use some of the earlier anthologies containing ‘trickster tales’ with caution, such as those compiled by Stith Thompson and Ella Clark. Some of the stories in their books have been significantly edited from their traditional oral form; the editors do not always provide notice of this fact to their readers. A classroom teacher wanting to use these materials might tell students, “This is how these stories were written down by this scholar; the people who own the stories may tell them differently from this version.”²¹ One authentic earlier collection which may be used

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without such worries is **Coyote Stories**, first published in 1934 by the Colville writer Mourning Dove (Christine Quintasket).²²

Classroom use of American Indian stories is a sensitive subject among many Indians for two other reasons of which teachers should be aware.

Firstly, a great many traditional stories are the property of particular families or individuals. Some anthropologists, ethnologists and other students of American Indian cultures have recorded and published many of these stories without informing the owners of their intentions or obtaining the right to relate the stories. This is regarded by Indians in the same way that any author or publisher would a violation of copyrights to a book. To avoid using stolen stories, teachers can check the listings of sources, permissions or acknowledgments in the front of most anthologies, or look for the identification of the storyteller in a prefatory note to each story. If only a tribe is listed as identifying the source of a story, the most respectful course to follow is to contact the publisher or the tribe for information as to whether the story was properly obtained.

However, few anthologies have explicitly identified their sources and their rights to make use of the traditional stories they contain. More publishers of these collections should make efforts to assure teachers and other readers that the published versions of American Indian stories are authenticated and used with the permission of the rightful owners. In the classroom, it is best to use only those printed sources which clearly meet this standard of respect, or whose authors are themselves the particular American Indian storytellers who possess the rights to relate the traditions.

Secondly, some stories should be told only under certain conditions or at particular times. It requires some familiarity with the culture of the tribe which is the source of a story to understand these proprieties. Generally, however, the proper storytelling season in much of North America is considered to be winter, from first to last frost. In explanation, the power of stories is thought to be so great that all the beings of the world

within earshot will stop what they are doing to listen. After all, they are frequently prominent characters in the stories, and who doesn't want to listen to a story which includes them? This could interfere with the spring, summer and fall activities necessary to prepare to survive the rigors of winter – not only for the human listeners, but for all our other relatives as well. For this reason and others, some stories are also properly told only at night.

Chants and Songs

Song is a powerful medium of oral communication in most American Indian cultures. As important as the lyrics of songs may be, the words sung are not always the most significant part of the interactions carried on through the song. Gary Fields discusses this aspect of American Indian song in the Music Essay.

In every American Indian expression, what is significant is a feeling for and insight into the essential spiritual configuration of the relationships involved in the communication. This intuitive, holistic awareness of the relationships being conveyed and invoked is often more meaningful than the cognitive understanding of the words or other medium chosen for the expression. Once this is grasped, it is not surprising that American Indian chants and songs are among the most commonly used forms of prayer among traditional people. The words or vocables (sounds or phonetic elements that are not actually words) of American Indian songs and ritual chants are not so much a verbal communication between the singer and a human audience as they are part of a shared, conscious invocation of a connection between the human society and the world of the plants, animals and spirit powers with whom the people have established relationships.

Speeches and Oratory

It was noted earlier that the ability to speak persuasively, cogently and with one's heart fully open to one's listeners is a virtual requirement of American Indian leadership.

Indian public speakers for generations have been masters of the forms and techniques of rhetoric and oratory. This is a consequence of the importance of public discussion about the issues on which collective decisions are taken within tribal forums.

The high standard of oratorical virtuosity among American Indian leaders has long been recognized by many non-Indians. As one example of this recognition, in 1832 a Boston attorney and writer named Benjamin Thatcher published a two volume set of the 'lives and times' of the most noted eastern Indian public figures known to European-Americans in North America since the days of the Jamestown colony. Running to 644 pages, his work was entitled **Indian Biography or An Historical Account of Those Individuals Who Have Been Distinguished Among the North American Natives as Orators, Warriors, Statesmen, and Other Remarkable Characters**. (Don't you love those early 19th century titles?) Notice that the first role which rated distinction according to Thatcher's understanding of the region's tribal cultures was that of orator. His biography is filled with numerous recorded and reconstructed examples of Indian fluency, tactics and style in public speeches given at the many councils held among the tribes and with colonial, state and national commissions over two centuries of contact.

Many volumes of such recorded speeches have been compiled down to our own day. It may be that one of these addresses, the somewhat embellished account of a treaty council speech made by the Duwamish chief Sealth ('Chief Seattle'), has become the most familiar Indian utterance to readers around the world because it has been reprinted so often. Teachers and students of rhetoric and the arts of oratory who wish to analyze or merely admire the craftsmanship of many of the most noted Indian orators can find in these anthologies much material worth their time. They will even get a good grounding in the basic values of American Indian cultures and a fair bit of historical understanding as well.

However, for the purpose of illustrating here the mastery of public speech by American Indian orators, a partial example of an exchange between two respected leaders of the early 19th century will suffice. As the War of 1812 loomed, the Shawnee leader Tecumseh traveled extensively among the eastern tribes attempting to build pan-Indian commitment for a united effort to stop the expansion of the United States into Indian Country once and for all. On one of these trips in 1811, he met with a council of the Choctaw and stated his case, only to be answered by Pushmataha, one of their leading chiefs. The exchange, given only in part below, is a classic example of rhetorical device and strategy. Notice the appeals to authority, tradition, pride, loyalty, fear and brotherhood; these two leaders fully understood how to present an argument, how to identify themselves with their listeners, and how to anticipate and respond to alternative points of view. The quotations below come from the accounts of the council compiled by W.C. Vanderwerth in his volume **Indian Oratory: Famous Speeches by Noted Indian Chieftains** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1971).

...Soon your mighty forest trees, under the shade of whose wide spreading branches you have played in infancy, sported in boyhood, and now rest your wearied limbs after the fatigue of the chase, will be cut down to fence in the land which the white intruders dare to call their own. Soon their broad roads will pass over the graves of your fathers, and the place of their rest will be blotted out forever. The annihilation of our race is at hand unless we unite in one common cause against the common foe. Think not, brave Choctaws and Chickasaws, that you can remain passive and indifferent to the common danger, and thus escape the common fate...I am now at the head of many warriors backed by the strong arm of English soldiers. Choctaws and Chickasaws, you have too long borne with grievous usurpation inflicted by the arrogant Americans. Be no longer their dupes. If there be one here tonight who believes that his rights will not sooner or later be taken from him by the avaricious American pale faces, his ignorance ought to excite pity, for he knows little of our common foe....Then listen to the voice of duty, of honor, of nature and of your endangered country. Let us form one body, one heart, and defend to the last warrior our country, our homes, our liberty, and the graves of our fathers....

Tecumseh speaking before a joint Council of the
Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, 1811.

...The distinguished Shawnee sums up his eloquent appeal to us with this direct question:

“Will you sit idly by, supinely awaiting complete and abject submission, or will you die fighting beside your brethren, the Shawnees, rather than submit to such ignominy?”

These are plain words and it is well they have been spoken, for they bring the issue squarely before us. Mistake not, this language means war...If we take up arms against the Americans we must of necessity meet in deadly combat our daily neighbors and associates in this part of the country near our homes....in marked contrast with the experiences of the Shawnees, it will be seen that the whites and Indians in this section are living on friendly and mutually beneficial terms. Forget not, O Choctaws and Chickasaws, that we are bound in peace to the Great White Father at Washington by a sacred treaty and the Great Spirit will punish those who break their word. The Great White Father has never violated that treaty and the Choctaws have never been driven to the necessity of taking up the tomahawk against him or his children. Therefore the question before us tonight is not the avenging of any wrongs perpetrated against us by the whites, for the Choctaws and Chickasaws have no such cause, either real or imaginary, but rather it is a question of carrying on that record of fidelity and justice for which our forefathers ever proudly stood, and doing that which is best calculated to promote the welfare of our own people....

Pushmataha, replying to Tecumseh's speech before the joint Council of the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations, 1811

In 1976, noted Lakota author Vine Deloria, Jr. collaborated with Arthur Junaluska to produce a tape recorded, three-hour oral performance of speeches given by 29 famous Indian leaders as recorded in the Congressional archives. Teachers may find these tapes (available through the Multnomah County Library) valuable to share with students for the style as well as the content of historical American Indian oratory.²³

American Indian Actors and Stage Performers

Michael Hilger's reference volume **The American Indian in Film** (Metuchen: The Scarecrow Press, 1986) contains an index of the names of actors who have played 'Indian' roles in American movies between 1903 and 1984 inclusive. It is an instructive

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index in two ways, since it both identifies Indian actors who have played Indians and non-Indian actors who have played Indians.

On the one hand, it is interesting to see some of the Hollywood 'names' who have painted up and donned buckskins (almost always literally buckskins, too, as though they were an Indian uniform). What may suggest more about the (lack of) cultural accuracy and sensitivity of Hollywood's depiction of American Indian life is this numerical comparison: of the 740 'Indian' actors indexed between 1903 and 1984, 601 were non-Indians made up to look like Indians! The 139 Indian actors who got to play Indian roles amounted to only 18.8% of the 'Indian' faces seen on the big screen in neighborhood theaters for eight decades. Actually, the ratio was probably worse, since Hilger's index of stars and supporting actors doesn't run to the 'extras' who filled up the village scenes in so many pictures; odds are, most all of them were non-Indians in the majority of the films.

What is more, it has been frequently pointed out by film critics, knowledgeable film viewers and many Indians that the scripts and direction of Hollywood's 'Indian' pictures have seldom displayed much understanding of tribal cultures and their differences. Further, very few of the movies have dealt with contemporary American Indian life, usually freezing the Indian image in a 19th century frontier Contact and Conquest past as imagined by directors and writers. American Indians in the movies are more often than not merely a plot device and a challenge to be overcome by others than they are multidimensional characters and communities in their own right. Finally, screenwriters and directors have tended to depict American Indian communities, individuals and their causes from an unsympathetic, often ignorant, sometimes even hostile point of view. Fortunately, there have been exceptions to this pattern, even from a fairly early date.

Teachers wishing to examine these issues in more detail are advised to consult Hilger's book, which has an introductory essay, capsule film reviews and a host of

details, lacking only the actual tribal affiliations of the Indian actors; the extensive and excellent two-volume reference to educational and culturally-connected videos and films edited by Elizabeth Weatherford entitled **Native Americans on Film and Video** (New York: Museum of the American Indian/Heye Foundation, 1981 and 1988); and the chapter titled “Fixed in Frame” in Raymond William Stedman’s **Shadows of the Indian** (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1982).

Who were some of the Indian performers who frequently played (mostly supporting) roles in Hollywood’s films? [The films with better roles for the actors or their more significant movies are indicated, followed by information on the director and the year each film was made in parentheses.]

Chief John Big Tree worked in 16 films between 1922 and 1950; notable were *The Iron Horse* (John Ford, 1924), *Drums Along the Mohawk* (John Ford, 1939), and *She Wore a Yellow Ribbon* (John Ford, 1949).

Monte Blue usually played supporting roles in the eight films he worked in between 1919 and 1954; he played heavies in most, but got the role of Geronimo in his last film, *Apache* (Robert Aldrich, 1954).

George Clutesi made 5 films between 1973 and 1982; *I Heard the Owl Call My Name* (Daryl Duke, 1973) and *Nightwing* (Arthur Hiller, 1979) are his best known.

Iron Eyes Cody (Cherokee) acted in 17 films from 1932 to 1977; *Broken Arrow* (Delmer Daves, 1950) was probably the best of these. Cody is familiar to many people from an effective (because of his tears) pro-environmental television commercial he made in the 1970s.

Chief Dan George (Salish) had roles in nine films made between 1969 and 1982; most of his best roles made use of his considerable, if understated, comedic talent.

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Examples are co-starring roles in *Little Big Man* (Arthur Penn, 1970), *Harry and Tonto* (Paul Mazursky, 1974), and *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (Clint Eastwood, 1976).

Graham Greene has several recent films to his credit, including contemporary roles in *Pow-Wow Highway* (Jonathan Wacks, 1988) and *Clearcut*. (1991). He also played the Lakota medicine man Kicking Bird in the popular picture *Dances with Wolves* (Kevin Kostner, 1990)

Pat Hogan worked in eleven movies made between 1953 and 1963; important supporting roles were in *Pony Express* (Jerry Hopper, 1953) and *Davy Crockett – King of the Wild Frontier* (Norman Foster, 1955).

Will Sampson (Creek) debuted in *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (Milos Forman, 1975) in the supporting role of Chief Broom. Later roles included the part of Ten Bears in *The Outlaw Josey Wales* (Clint Eastwood, 1976).

Jay Silverheels, (Mohawk) had roles in 24 movies made from 1947 to 1973; his best known role was on television as Tonto on the *Lone Ranger* program of the 1950s.

Jim Thorpe, the great Sauk and Fox/Potawatomi athlete, also worked in six films between 1931 and 1950; two of these were serials. The best of Thorpe's pictures involved a co-starring role in *Wagonmaster* (John Ford, 1950).

John War Eagle was a busy actor between 1950 and 1972, appearing in 17 films; among the best of these were *Broken Arrow* (Delmer Daves, 1950), *Tomahawk* (George Sherman, 1951), *Pony Soldier* (Joseph Newman, 1952), *They Rode West* (Phil Karlson, 1954), and *When the Legends Die* (Stuart Millar, 1972).

Chief Yowlachie worked as a supporting actor in 23 films during a career that spanned the years between 1926 and 1953; the best of these was his first, *War Paint* (W.S. Van Dyke, 1926). Several of his pictures from the mid-1940s were comedies, none of them remarkable.

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Has Hollywood made any 'Indian' films which American Indians can watch and see themselves rather than a caricature? A consensus answer would likely be, "very few." Many among the small number of respectful films were not done within the 'Hollywood' system of studios and mainstream directors. Early films which many American Indians can take seriously include Edward S. Curtis' 1914 feature, *In the Land of the Headhunters*. Filmed with substantial participation by a Kwakiutl village on Vancouver Island, the plot involves the kidnapping of a bride by an evil shaman; her new husband has to prepare for physical and spiritual combat to regain her from the shaman. The film is dominated by many scenes of village ceremonies and social customs; when the University of Washington restored and released the film in the 1970s, the inappropriate and lurid original title was changed to *In the Land of the War Canoes*.

Another early film made on-site with the advice and cooperation of Native people was Robert Flaherty's popular 1922 classic, *Nanook of the North*. Filmed in a Yukon Inuit village, this early documentary follows the daily tasks of an Inuit family as they go about getting their living in the High Arctic.

One of the recent films most appreciated by American Indian audiences, despite a few rough edges, is the adaptation of Gary Seale's novel *Powwow Highway*. This is a contemporary piece which is striking for its mostly matter-of-fact depiction of life on and off the reservation for young Indian adults. It gets a little outrageous in spots with a touch of post-Vietnam, militant 'angry young man' thrown into the character of one of the two protagonists. Don't take it too seriously...maybe that's the point.

Other good modern films featuring Indian actors in contemporary situations include *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* with Will Sampson and *Harold of Orange* starring comedian Charlie Hill. However well-liked, these movies aren't considered to be 'Indian' films by most American Indians.

Comedians

There are few gifts more appreciated among American Indians than the gift of laughter. Among ourselves, imitations and caricature, joking and double entendre flow through most social situations. Still, the number of American Indians to achieve a reputation as comics outside of Indian Country has been fairly small. Perhaps this has been due to limited exposure or the unfamiliarity of many non-Indians with some aspects of Indian comedic style and content. It would be hard for anyone who has spent much time among Indians to believe that it is for lack of talent.

Will Rogers (Cherokee) was the premier American Indian comic of the 20th century. His career began in rodeo shows, progressed to vaudeville (he was a featured performer in the *Ziegfield Follies* for several years), newspaper columns and numerous books, radio and eventually films. Based on his exposure and the number of people who read his writings, listened to his radio shows and attended his movies, Rogers was thought to be the most popular performer in America at the time of his death in an airplane accident in 1935. Rogers based his comedy on good physical (slapstick and facial) skills, a sharp wit and a talent for telling satire which he softened behind a kindly, “all I know is what I read in the papers”, everyday folks/cowboy philosopher persona.

Gary Mule Deer has been a well-liked comedy club performer since the 1970s. He often likes to work bow-and-arrow tricks into his act, which also includes songs he writes and sings to his own guitar accompaniment. He is occasionally seen on televised shows from the clubs. Charlie Hill has been another popular comedian on the club circuit since the 1970s. As mentioned above, Hill was also the star of the 1984 film *Harold of Orange*, which was written by Gerald Vizenor (Ojibwe, see below).

Non-Verbal Communication

Much of the content of Indian communication flows in channels of non-verbal behavior. Some of these channels are body language and gestures, communal experiences, and dance. Dance is discussed in the Physical Education/Health essay.

American Indian storytellers, like good storytellers the world over, convey a great deal of information and deep meaning about their stories through facial expressions, postures and body movements. Hand gestures also add a great deal to the storytelling, even among the many tribes that never used the Great Plains sign language. These components of body language enable a storyteller to expand upon the verbal channel of communication by adding mimicry or caricature, or to offer conflicting/contrasting messages to what is being said. These techniques can serve as non-verbal metaphors and similes or, alternately, as reminders to the audience that not everything is simple, consistent and harmonious.

Hand gestures can be elevated to the level of conveying verbal information. Many of the different cultures that met on the Great Plains of North America found their oral languages too diverse for ready oral translation. To communicate around this problem, they developed a fairly uniform system of hand gestures ('signs') which enabled them to communicate in a sophisticated manner, even when several tribes with mutually incomprehensible languages met in council or on trading grounds.

Communal experiences, which sometimes happen in groups during certain ceremonies or when gathered together at sacred places, essentially are shared states of awareness. Non-verbal sharing of awareness can be a form of communication. If a culture teaches familiarity and comfort with seeking the silence which comes when one

stops describing the world verbally inside the mind, it is possible for two or more minds to experience the same events with the same awareness.

This type of communal or shared experience, sometimes called 'mystical', leaves no room for doubt about meanings; each member sharing the awareness is also certain that other members had the same experience. When this state of awareness occurs, the purpose of communication is served without the mediation of language or its use in cognitively processing the flow of information into the mind. This is powerful. Communal experience is a state sought successfully in many traditional ceremonies when the members present trust themselves and each other enough to let go of the filters and shields that words provide in order to face reality directly.

The Written Traditions

Sometimes people will assert that American Indians did not know how to write prior to being taught this art by European immigrants. Such assertions still appear from time to time in textbooks and some general interest books about Indians, despite a consensus among specialist scholars that the Zapotec, Maya and probably the Olmec peoples possessed true writing systems.²⁴ Other American Indian cultures both in Mesoamerica and outside this region would later learn or create symbolic systems with some or many of the characteristics of a written form of their languages.

Non-expert authors often used to mean by 'true writing' only those forms of visual symbolic communication which use a limited set of alphabetic symbols to represent the discrete vowel and consonant sounds found in spoken words. Most modern specialists recognize the 'writing equals alphabetic system' definition to be one of those historical notions some peoples have concocted to think of themselves as superior to others. Today, linguists use the expression 'true writing' to refer to any consistently structured (with rules of grammar) system of visual symbols that can be organized to record any

possible series of expressions from the oral language. The first American Indian ‘true writing’ system outside of Mesoamerica to fully meet this definition was invented in the 1820s by a single individual, the multi-talented Cherokee man known as Sequoyah. His system of symbols represents the 85 consonant and consonant-vowel syllables used in Cherokee speech, and so is referred to as a ‘syllabary’ rather than as an alphabetic writing system.

Much traditional Indian ‘writing’ in North America outside of Mesoamerica does not completely meet the above definition of ‘true writing’. It might be called ‘proto-writing’ to distinguish it from ‘true writing’. Most North American Indian proto-writing systems employed a sizable number of symbols that stood for many words and phrases but did not cover the full range of the oral languages they represented.

Much of North American Indian writing is in the form of **semasiograms** and **logograms**. These sometimes have been lumped together and called ‘pictographs’ by scholars who didn’t distinguish between the two types of symbols. Examples of semasiograms and logograms are many of the symbols carved onto rocks, beaded in wampum belts, or painted on hides.

Semasiograms (also sometimes referred to as ‘ideograms’) are picture-like symbols that are thought to ‘directly’ represent an idea, not a spoken word. (It is hard to imagine how this is supposed to work, given the human tendency to describe inside the mind those things that are seen as well as ‘ideas’ with unspoken - ‘subvocalized’ - words.) Actually, only a few American Indian ‘pictographic’ symbols are pure semasiographic symbols, contrary to older, long-held scholarly opinions. Most North American Indian ‘pictographs’ are actually a type of logogram that heavily emphasizes the semantic or ‘meaning’ component while offering only a few, if any, clues as to the phonetic component of the word(s) symbolized.

Logograms are an abstract type of symbol used to stand for or abbreviate a spoken word or phrase. One familiar example in English is the use of the ampersand symbol '&' to represent the word 'and'. Most of the world's non-alphabetic true writing systems (among them the misnamed Egyptian 'hieroglyphics', Sumerian cuneiform, Chinese characters, and the writing systems of the Zapotec-, Maya- and Nahuatl-speaking peoples of Mesoamerica) employ logograms. Logographic symbols can and usually do convey both a semantic component (the 'meaning' of the symbol) and a phonetic component (a coded representation of the sound of the word(s) for which the symbol stands.²⁵

Those cultures which developed and used writing generally had important practical uses to which they first applied this skill. In many places around the world, writing first records economic, political or religious matters. Only later, if at all, was writing put to use to create 'literature', where the beauty of the written word or its use to explore or record large thematic issues was the primary purpose.

The earliest literatures of most literary cultures deal with biography and history. Poetry often appears next or is coeval with these; it is frequently used as the literary form in which history is recorded. Poetry is thought to be an outgrowth of the oral tradition in the many cultures where storytellers employed rhyme to assist their memory and oral delivery of long pieces. As literature developed further, fictional stories, drama and eventually essays were added to the forms of literature. American Indian literary cultures generally conformed to this world-wide pattern, with the latter three forms appearing fairly recently, after Contact for the most part.

Traditional Writing Systems and Literary Media

Writing in various forms was an important achievement of the civilizations that arose in the cultural core area now called Mesoamerica, roughly including what are now southern Mexico, Guatemala, Honduras, and Belize. The Maya, Aztec, Zapotec and

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Mixtec cultures were literary cultures²⁶. So were the Teotihuacano and Toltec peoples. The Olmec, the first people of the region known to have developed a civic culture, also appear to have been literate to some extent, although exactly how far they developed writing is still a topic of active research and debate among scholars of this enigmatic culture.

Among some of these Mesoamerican cultures, literacy prevailed to a greater extent among the general population than was true of the contemporaneous cultures of the Eastern Hemisphere.²⁷ Educational institutions and instruction at home helped establish and sustain a tradition of literacy during the centuries when these cultures were vigorous.

Schools existed in most urban cultures of pre-Contact Mexico for the education of the priesthoods and members of families of the nobility. Military academies trained other gifted and able members of the clans that were the fundamental units of the social structures of the Nahuatl-speaking city-states.²⁸ Dr. Michael Coe affirms that schooling was universal for both sexes in Aztec society, the last of the prominent Mexican cultures to arise before the Spanish conquest.²⁹

The logographic writing systems of the literate cultures of Mesoamerica used the rebus principle in making symbols to allow a phonetic representation of the spoken word. The Maya especially combined such phonetic components with semantic elements in their logographic system.³⁰ In this style of writing, a single (though often complex) Mayan symbol represents an entire word or concept, much the same as '&' stands for 'and' in written English. Such symbols were organized into linear statements which were written in ink or paint on paper as well as being painted and carved into the stone of monuments and buildings.

Archaeologists and anthropologists refer to the surviving pre-Contact books of Mesoamerica as **codices** (plural of codex). However, most of the American Indian

works called by this technical term are actually screenfolds in their physical design and are not edge-bound as is the case with the codex format used in European illuminated manuscripts.

Many of these codices are biographies of leaders or historical accounts of particular cultures. Frequently, they also contain extensive information on ceremonies, rituals, and calendrics, as these topics were inseparable from the civic functions of the leaders who guided the ritualized public life of these cultures.

The codices in their original form are commonly written and read in boustrophedon style, that is, back and forth in a zigzag pattern which is customarily guided by means of vertical lines. An example is the Mixtec **Codex Nuttall**.³¹ Also customary is a right-to-left reading order.

We know that much of the written work of pre-Aztec and contemporaneous Mexican cultures was sadly destroyed in the Aztec era. In the latter half of the 15th century, the influential advisor Tlacaelel persuaded three successive Aztec leaders to pursue a policy of historical revisionism. One result was the deliberate destruction of untold numbers of codices which did not mention or glorify the Aztec people in ways consistent with Tlacaelel's view of the Aztec as heirs to the wisdom and power of the Toltec kingdom.

Further damage was done to the written legacy of Mesoamerica during the Spanish conquest in the 16th century. A succession of Spanish priests destroyed both books and carved inscriptions as 'works of the devil.' Prominent among them was the Franciscan padre (later Bishop of Yucatán) Diego de Landa, who burned a major Mayan library in 1562. In fairness, it must be noted that some of the priests, among them Bernardino de Sahagún (co-author of the bilingual **Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España**), Francisco Ximénes (the translator of the **Popol Vuh**), and even Landa himself (as author of the **Relación de las cosas de Yucatán**), left posterity with

dictionary works or translations of Indian texts. These have helped researchers recover the meaning of some of the remaining books and the carvings on many of the Mexican and Central American Indian buildings and monuments.

Despite all these losses, some poetry of great beauty and power also remains as a part of the written legacy of the Nahuatl-speaking peoples. We have some surviving examples from the Toltec, Aztec, Zapotec and the Mixtec cultures, notable among them the post-Conquest compilation of Nahuatl poems known as the **Cantares Mexicanos**. There are also a few remaining literary treasures among the vast array of the Mayan artistic legacy. The best known of these are the cosmological-historical **Popol Vuh** and the community history books of the **Chilam Balam** and the **Annals of the Cakchiqueles**, all written in the style of epic poetry. In Philadelphia during the late 19th century, the anthropologist Daniel G. Brinton published several volumes of translations and text studies which revealed something of the power and depth of the Nahuatl and Mayan poets to English readers.³²

In South America, the Mochica of northwestern Peru had developed a logographic writing system centuries before their conquest by the Inca.³³

The Inca themselves developed a unique form of non-written record keeping in the form of the famous quipu strings. These apparently served literary as well as accounting and administrative purposes.³⁴ Unfortunately, most of the quipu libraries were destroyed by the Spaniards after the conquest of Peru. Only a few hundred examples survived and the training of quipu librarians and readers ceased shortly after the conquest.

The Inca Empire provided state schools; unlike the more egalitarian institutions of the Aztec, the Inca schools were only for the male children of its nobility.³⁵ These

schools taught the reading of the quipu system, particularly to the sons of the lesser nobility who were to serve as scribes, accountants, librarians and historians.

No one today can fully decipher the complex system of cord structures, color codes and knotting that the Inca and the neighboring Chibcha used in recording information on their quipus.³⁶ The quipu coding system might be thought of as analogous to some of the numerical coding systems used in many modern computer programming languages; see the discussion in the Mathematics essay. We can only hope to decode the surviving quipus someday and read what literary information might still remain from these important civilizations. (The ethnohistorian Thomas Barthel has argued that the Inca may also have developed a true writing system about which little is presently known, although most anthropologists dispute his conclusions.³⁷)

Among these already-literate Indian cultures in Mexico, Central America, and Peru, the early Spanish missionaries helped to train a number of bilingual native authors. These post-Conquest American Indian writers produced some extremely valuable histories and literature. Among the first to attain distinction was Guamán Poma de Ayala, whose late 16th century illustrated history of Inca life was written in both his native Quechua and Spanish. Soon after, the bilingual Inca historian Garcilaso de la Vega published in Spanish a major history of the conquest of his people. They and other early native authors are discussed below and in the Chronology.

While the Mesoamerican and Andean cultural areas were the major centers of American Indian literary traditions, writing was practiced elsewhere in the Americas as well in the manner identified earlier as 'proto-writing'. A variety of pictographic writing systems were developed in different parts of North America. Some of them served limited literary functions.

These pictographic writing systems enabled their developers to record details of personal, family and tribal history on several media. Among the media employed were the painted wintercount hides and lodge covers prepared by many tribes on the Great Plains, the walrus ivories inscribed by the Inuit, the incised birchbark scrolls used in the Northeastern woodlands, and the carved cedar totem poles of the Northwest Coast.³⁸

Some of these cultures wrote down details of their ceremonials and beliefs about the nature of the cosmos. Among them were the Midéwiwin medicine society of the Ojibwe.³⁹ Pictographic symbols and their equivalent petroglyph ('rock writing') forms were also commonly used to communicate personal messages, as at the well-known 'Newspaper Rock' pictographic site in Utah.⁴⁰

The wampum belts of the Northeastern woodlands tribes were another form of symbolic record which combined coding and pictographic elements. The symbols, patterns and colors coded into wampum belts recorded associative cues to assist specialist historians' recollection of historical and political events. These belts additionally could serve as a form of money.⁴¹

As suggested above, literary media, the materials upon which American Indians wrote their texts, were traditionally of several kinds. In North America and Mesoamerica, skins of animals were commonly in use. Deerskin was the most common and widespread hide medium, while some of the Plains tribes kept their wintercount historical records on finely-scraped buffalo hides.

Shell beads of differing colors were woven on spun plant fibers or sinew threads into symbolic records in the wampum belts of the Northeast, as mentioned earlier.

In Mesoamerica, paper makers used the pounded fibers of the agave plant or the bark of fig trees in creating their papers. A great many of the lost books of the cultures there were written on such media. The Leni-Lenape ('Delaware') recorded the verses of

their **Walam Olum** using incised symbols on birchbark scrolls or small, thin boards, a medium also used by other Algonkin tribes throughout the Northeast and Great Lakes Woodlands. As already noted, the Inca used knotted and color-coded cords as their 'written' medium and kept libraries of these complex quipu documents.

Pictographic symbols known as petroglyphs were pecked, scratched and carved on stone throughout the Western Hemisphere and there are numerous sites where some surviving examples can be seen.⁴² As already mentioned, symbols were also executed in the woodcarving traditions of the Northwestern Pacific coast, while the Inuit commonly carved their pictographic writing onto ivory taken from Arctic sea mammals, particularly the walrus and narwhal.⁴³

The Contact Era and the Transformation of American Indian Writing

Native American contacts with Europeans became increasingly common in many parts of North America during the 16th through 18th centuries. The newcomers' concerns for the religious and cultural conversion of American Indians to European norms usually led them to attempt conversion at least in part through educational efforts. From the beginning of European immigration, imported rivalries between Catholic settlements (mostly French in the north and Spanish in the Southeast and later in the Southwest) and the Protestant colonies (mostly English and Dutch) tied sectarian religious conversion together with instruction in the various languages and social norms of the Europeans.⁴⁴

As the European powers gradually worked out their colonial rivalries in what would become Canada and the United States, English became the prevalent foreign language mastered by later generations of American Indians, particularly those who pursued literary expression. French became the second tongue of the Métis or mixed-bloods in many parts of eastern Canada. In much of the Southwest, Spanish was the first European language introduced. In both of these regions, English eventually became a

third language, one in which most American Indian writers in recent generations have become proficient. The **Hispanic-American Baseline Essays** provide a better-informed account of some of the post-Contact American Indian authors who wrote in Spanish than is possible to offer here, although a few are profiled in this essay. Little resource information is available in English about Indian and Metís authors writing in French. This section will accordingly focus mainly on those Indian writers of the past five hundred years whose work was written in English.

To illustrate the process and rate at which American Indians began to acquire skills in written English, consider the two following examples of the colonial education system.

In 1645, Harvard College admitted its first Indian students, a pair of young Massachusetts boys sent on orders of the General Court, less than a decade after it was founded. They and other Indian youths sent to the small grammar schools in the New England towns had difficulties with adjusting to English life, and many died of diseases. Some of the New England ‘praying towns’ of converted Indians had grammar schools staffed by missionaries and a few of the earliest educated Indian converts. The more successful students of these rudimentary schools were then sent on to board with college masters who tried to prepare them to enter Harvard. This system, despite its faults, introduced some American Indian people to literacy and eventually promoted the acquisition of European-based writing skills by a considerable number of Indian individuals in the Northeast. The earliest known Indian success in mastering European literacy in New England was by Caleb Cheeshateaumuck, who earned a baccalaureate degree at Harvard College in 1665. He was the first Indian survivor (literally) of the effort begun in 1645.⁴⁵

The College of William and Mary in the colony of Virginia similarly made efforts, sporadic though they were, from 1711 to 1721 and again in the 1740s, 1750s and

1770s to educate Indian students. Many of the students were enslaved, captured or hostage youths from Virginia tribes or those on the frontier of the Ohio Valley. In 1723, an 'Indian School' known as Brafferton Hall was built as school and dormitory for a small number of Indian students. It was often empty, as many students died or ran away. Often the college could obtain no students through purchase or capture and none or few were volunteered from the tribal villages.⁴⁶ The effort to educate them in the 'four Rs' (reading, 'riting, 'rithmetic and religion) met with little success of the kind hoped for by the College's benefactors. William Byrd II once reported that "instead of civilizeing and converting the rest, [students who left the school to return home] immediately Relapt into Infidelity and Barbarism themselves."⁴⁷ As one modern scholar has said, "the Indians' cultural tenacity and sublime self-confidence...spelled the ultimate failure of the Indian School."⁴⁸

For all the efforts of the colonial missionaries, the colleges, and their Indian students, there are scant literary remains of any kind from Indian authors writing in English during the colonial phase of the Contact era in North America. The Contact Era extended beyond the colonial period into the 19th century and varied according to the timing of the arrival of Europeans or European-Americans into a particular tribal territory; for present purposes it can be considered to have drawn to a general close during the mid-to-late 19th century.

As the Contact era gave way to modern times, Indian authors numbered a handful of travelogue writers, historians, journalists, and a few prominent leaders who dictated autobiographies along with a few recorded speeches. The Indian novelist first appeared in 1854 with the publication of the **Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta** by the Cherokee journalist John Rollin Ridge.⁴⁹ As the 20th century dawned, an era of self-written autobiographies as well as historical and reform-minded essays arrived along

with an expanding American Indian journalistic effort. A growing exposure of Indians to European-American education throughout the 20th century eventually resulted in a significant increase in native literary production.

Modern American Indian Writing

The flowering of contemporary American Indian literary traditions began in conjunction with the resurgence of community cultural life in the second half of the 20th century. There were several major stimuli for this renewal. The reforms of the New Deal era began to return some autonomy to tribal communities, helping to reverse the process of tribal disintegration that had been occurring on the reservations. The Federal government also expanded Indian educational opportunities under the Johnson-O'Malley Act. The Second World War and its aftermath both exposed young Indian leaders to the world beyond the reservation and gave returning Indian veterans access to higher education under the G.I. Bill of Rights.

The social transformations that developed in America during the Civil Rights era also contributed to the process of tribal revitalization in many ways. Among the most significant of these transformations was a growing appreciation in both majority and minority cultures in the United States that the non-European communities possessed positive social traditions worthy of respect by both their own members and by the dominant European-American society. The consequent self-confidence of American Indians in the past two generations and the increased attention paid by other Americans to Indian culture in recent decades have given encouragement, recognition, and much-needed support to Indian artists of all kinds. In turn, many of these artists have worked to interpret and represent their tribal cultures and personal visions, sharing into a wider circle of humanity than ever before.

Indian authors received wider exposure beginning in the 1960s as publishers responded to the growing interest of the reading public in Indian cultures. Opportunities

to publish and earn a living as professional literary women and men are now more available. American Indians have become increasingly appreciated and widely read by the general American public and other literary audiences around the world as poets, playwrights, novelists and essayists. Distinguished American Indian writers, among them N. Scott Momaday, Paula Gunn Allen, Vine Deloria, Jr., Alfonso Ortiz, Gerald Vizenor and James Welch, have also earned places as professors in state universities and tribal colleges as well.

Modern American Indian literature is distinctive for its focus on the kinds of themes and subjects that are suggested by the Recurring Themes discussed in the Introduction to these Essays. Such thematic concerns as the nature of the relationships of the diverse American Indian cultures to the equally diverse American land and the distinctive nature of the holistic worldviews formed over millennia by those cultures are a major part of what gives American Indian literature its unique character and a just claim to attention by the world's readers.

Several valuable bibliographic resources exist which can help teachers in diverse disciplines to identify relevant American Indian authors and the thematic concerns of their works. These bibliographies include, but are not limited to the following:

Literature by and about the American Indian, edited by Anna Lee Stensland and issued in a second edition by the National Council of Teachers of English in 1979.⁵⁰

Particularly appreciated for its wealth of information on Canadian Indian and Inuit authors is **Native Literature in Canada** by Penny Petrone (1990).⁵¹

Very helpful are three recent works written or edited by Dr. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff of the University of Chicago; **Redefining American Literary History** (1990, edited with Jerry W. Ward) **American Indian Literatures** (1990) and **Literatures of the American Indian** (1991).⁵²

The following subsections introduce some of the important American Indian books and authors in several major intellectual disciplines and genres of literature. The presentation groups important known pre-Contact works together with Contact-era and modern books within each discipline or genre in order to address the needs of teachers interested in each area's written contributions by American Indian authors.

Histories

As shown earlier, particular American Indian cultures developed native systems of logographic symbolic writing. Some of these cultures put their systems to use in recording portions of their history, including much material that is now often called mythic. When Indian authors learned to write in the European languages as one consequence of the Contact Era imposition and exchange of cultures, they continued to write history or learned to do so for the first time. This tradition continues, perhaps stronger than ever before, in our own time. This section provides an introduction to some of the documents and a few of the American Indian historians.

In the Pacific Northwest coastal villages, carvings on certain types of totem poles often recorded stories and particular historical incidents. Professor Gordon Brotherston cites Chief Skowl's Pole at the Haida village of Kasaan as an example of a use of the Northwest Coastal totem pole as a document.⁵³ This particular pole sits behind the 19th century house of Chief Skowl. It records in its carved symbols Skowl's humiliation of a Russian Orthodox missionary who attempted unsuccessfully to convert the people of the chief's village in the middle of the century.

As one example of Siouan historical pictography, Dr. Gordon Brotherston includes a native account of the Lakota-Cheyenne-Arapaho defeat of Colonel Custer's command at the famous 1876 Battle of the Little Big Horn.⁵⁴ His particular example was drawn by

Red Horse, who was a participant. Numerous Indian participants in this battle also wrote such traditional pictographic accounts or dictated their stories to various European-American authors in the decades following the U.S. Army's 1876-77 campaign, resulting in a large Native literature on this subject.⁵⁵

Some prominent scholars have accepted the authenticity of the **Walam Olum**, a bark-scroll document attributed to the Leni-Lenape (also called the Wabanaki or Delaware, a prominent tribal division of the Algonkin language family).

The **Walam Olum** in its original form is reported to have been incised on birch bark in 'pictographic' symbols of a type in common usage in the Northeastern Woodlands. These symbols are actually complex semasiographic and logographic references to individuals, events and ideas. They are arranged in lines of four symbols, each line being equivalent in content to a four-line stanza in English poetry. The likely authors of the **Walam Olum** would have been Midéwiwin medicine society scribes.

The **Walam Olum** is thought to have been transcribed in post-Contact times out of the earlier Leni-Lenape oral tradition, possibly as a literary response to the book-based teachings of European missionaries.⁵⁶ Also called the 'Red Score' (a reference to the coloring of the incised symbols with ochre), it is a two part text on Leni-Lenape cosmology and tribal history ending around 1600 A.D. The first part, dealing with tribal traditions on cosmology and the sacred origin of things, is set in two-line stanzas while the second part, covering the succession of tribal sachems and major events occurring during the tenure in office of each, is set in 'chapters' of four or five stanzas.⁵⁷

What we know of its contents principally comes from a copy of the scrolls (and a transcription of the oral traditions accompanying the document) made in the Ohio Valley during the 1820s by a scholar named Constantine Rafinesque, a somewhat controversial natural historian and botanist who was teaching at Transylvania College in

Lexington, Kentucky.⁵⁸ Raffinesque's published account of the **Walam Olum** claimed that he had acquired an additional fragment recording the coming of the Europeans to the Leni-Lenape's eastern territory in New Jersey and Pennsylvania and extending their history down to about 1800 A.D.

It was confirmed by 19th century scholars that Raffinesque's version substantially matches the oral tradition as recalled at the time by several Leni-Lenape tribal elders. Fragments of bark scrolls claimed to be the source for the text were known to scholars in the 19th century but have since disappeared. If they can be found and their provenance established, they may prove to contain the earliest surviving Native American written record of the arrival of Europeans in North America.

Gordon Brotherston has published an example of the use of wampum shell belts containing both codes and logographic writing in the recording of a treaty between the Leni-Lenape and colonists of Pennsylvania in 1682.⁵⁹ The coded portion of the depicted belt in Brotherston's text records boundary definitions, while the logographic symbols record a covenant of Indian and European friendship in representations of the two peoples holding each other's hands. Such belts are still referred to as historical documents by the Iroquois Confederacy in internal governmental matters and in its diplomatic dealings with the United States and Canada.⁶⁰ Tribal historians have been able to recover many of these documents from museum collections and their standing as diplomatic records has been recognized and upheld in numerous court proceedings in U.S. courts.

The civilizations of highland Mexico wrote histories of their peoples and states for hundreds of years before the arrival of Europeans. The greatest number of surviving works, by far, comes from the era shortly before and after the Spanish subjugation of

Mexico. Most are written in the Toltec-developed logographic system for recording the Nahuatl language, the predominant language in the region for at least 1500 years. This was the language of the Mexica or Aztec people and many of their neighbors. Nahuatl was earlier spoken by the Toltec culture and, it is believed, the mysterious people of Teotihuacan before them.

Unfortunately, much of the literary wealth of the pre-Aztec cultures was lost in the early 15th century when Tlacaelel burned the earlier books in an effort to revise the history of the Aztec people. Most of what remains to us today must be understood as a reflection of his vision of the history of the region.

The **Codex Azcatitlan** recounts the semi-mythical migration history of the Mexica peoples. The story of the arrival of the Aztec in the Valley of Mexico and the founding of their capital of Tenochtitlan is recounted in the **Codex Mendoza**. One part of this codex reproduces the so-called Tribute Roll of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin, showing the types and amounts of goods due to him from various towns in or subject to the Aztec empire. This document provides important information on the extent and workings of the Aztec polity and economy.

Other surviving codices of the Aztec civilization which tell parts of their history are the **Codex Mexicanus**, **Codex Ramírez**, **Codex Telleriano-Remensis**, and **Codex Xólotl**.

In addition to the pre-Contact works mentioned above, there are a number of important Aztec documents which survive from the generation following the Conquest of Mexico.

Originally written in Toltec symbols, there is one surviving example of the **The Annals of Tlatelolco**, a chronicle of the Aztec city of Tlatelolco. It records in Roman-scripted Nahuatl the history of the people of Tenochtitlan's twin city from the twelfth century. The Annals are written in the form of lyric poetry, similar to the classics of

Greek literature. Dr. Brotherston presents a translated excerpt of the account of the 1521 siege of Tenochtitlan and Tlatelolco; see his book **Image of the New World** on pages 34 and 35.

The **Annals of the Valley of Mexico** is a surviving copy of an historical work covering the period 1516 to 1525. Like the pre-Contact Aztec documents, it is written in the Toltec rebus-based logographic system adopted by the Aztec. It records the last years of Moctezuma Xocoyotzin's reign, the coming of Cortés, the two Spanish attacks on Tenochtitlan and the capture and eventual execution of the last huey-tlatoani, Cuauhtemoc. From this source we learn that the second, water-borne siege of the disease-weakened Aztec capital cost Cortés 100 Spanish casualties and 400 allied Tlaxcalan dead.

The **Codex Quetzalcóatl** is a screenfold book which tells the portion of the story of the Mexicas' migration involving their arrival in the Valley of Mexico and their war to establish themselves at Chapultepec. It combines a map with a calendrical narrative of the Aztec migration between 1168 A.D. and 1355 A.D. It was written on agave fiber paper in the Toltec logographic style (with one exception which shows that it is a post-Contact document).

The important document known as the **Florentine Codex** is a varied collection of pre-Contact and Conquest-era information compiled by the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún and numerous Aztec informants. Included is the Mexica account of the wonders of Tula, the Toltec capital, during its heyday five hundred years earlier. This codex covers a broad range of historical and cultural topics and is a valuable resource on the personalities and events of the invasion and colonization of Mexico. [Although not a part of the Florentine Codex itself, Sahagún at the same time also collected and translated the poetic **Twenty Sacred Hymns** of the Aztec priesthood.]

The **Manuscrito del Aperramiento** is a post-Conquest legal document written in both the Toltec system and Romanized Nahuatl in 1529. Submitted to the Spanish viceroyal court, the brief accuses Cortés and one of his encomenderos, Andres de Tapia, of murder and brutality against prominent native leaders of the communities of Coyoacan and Cholula.

The **Annals of Texcoco** are a distinctive three-page screenfold designed to be read in a rotary pattern along the four arms of the text's swastika-shaped layout. (Texcoco was a powerful city-state in the Valley of Mexico which was allied with the Aztec.) This codex is a historical record of three 52-year Calendar Rounds beginning in 1402 and continuing to 1558, with some additional entries made on the last page which record a few events of the subsequent Calendar Round. Its history concerns the cities around the Lake of the Moon (Lake Texcoco) in the Valley of Mexico. Among the events noted are the first explorations of Spaniards off the Mexican coast and the later conquest of the Valley of Mexico. Also recorded are the beginnings of Spanish colonial construction in Tenochtitlan (the captured Aztec capital which became Mexico City) during the 1530s.

Created in 1550, the painted tapestry known as the **Lienzo of Tlaxcala** records the Tlaxcalan alliance with the Spaniard Cortés in the conquest of the Aztec state. The Tlaxcala initially resisted Spanish intrusion into their territory, but allied themselves with the conquistadors after they learned that the capital of Tlaxcala's oppressors was the main Spanish objective. The writing on the tapestry is in the Toltec system originally used by most of the literate Nahuatl-speaking peoples in Mexico.

To the southeast of the Valley of Mexico, in what is now the Mexican state of Oaxaca, the Mixtec civilization succeeded to the territory and capital of the Zapotec

people sometime after 900 A.D. Unlike many contemporaries of the Mexica, they long maintained their independence from Tenochtitlan during the period of Aztec conquests.

In 1949, the Mexican scholar Alfonso Caso established the fact that the eight surviving codices mentioned below are a group of Mixtec dynastic histories. They contain the stories of several pre-Conquest rulers of the region. Their content includes genealogical information as well as records of conquests, politics, and religious ceremonials during a 900-year period beginning in 692 A.D.⁶¹

The **Codex Colombino** is a history of the Mixtec coastal kingdom of Tototepec. Tototepec's Zapotec roots were much older than the 'empire' of the Mexica and this part of the Mixtec domain was never fully conquered by the Aztec. Like the other Mixtec codices, the **Colombino** was written in logographs and phonetic rebuses on folded deerskin sheets surfaced with fine white stucco.

The **Codex Nuttall** is another history of the Mixtec ruling dynasties. It particularly focuses on the personal history of the notable king 8 Deer of the Second Dynasty, who ruled from a city named Tilantongo. The reverse side of the codex covers the whole of his life from 1011 until 1063. Included in the **Nuttall** is the story of his elevation to the kingship by one of the last Toltec rulers. 8 Deer's wars and the dynastic marriages by which he expanded his Mixtec city-state are also detailed. The obverse (front) side contains calendric information and depictions of Mixtec rituals, notably those surrounding the adopted Toltec religion of Quetzalcoátl. Some scholars believe that a copy of the **Codex Nuttall** was one of two Mesoamerican books sent by Hernán Cortés as gifts to the Spanish Holy Roman Emperor Charles V in 1519.⁶²

The **Codex Bodley** presents the history of a part of the lineage of 8 Deer. The **Selden** codices offer calendrical histories of Mixtec dynasties, including further information on 8 Deer's descendants. The second **Selden** codex particularly focuses on the biography of the Mixtec noblewoman named Lady 6 Ape.⁶³ The calendar system

followed in these documents is one inherited from the Toltec culture. Such codices commonly were hung as murals on the walls of houses of the nobility and served as genealogical documents as well as adornment.⁶⁴

The **Codex Vienna** is another important and well-studied document containing a wealth of information on Mixtec calendrics and rituals adopted from Toltec practices. The reverse side of the **Vienna** codex tells the story of Quetzalcoatl's historic-mythic life and apotheosis as Venus. It recounts his creation and instruction of the Mixtec people. The obverse side describes in detail the material requirements and procedures for the Ritual of the New Fire, a ceremony important throughout Toltec-influenced Mesoamerica. This ritual marked the end of each 52-year cycle of the sacred Calendar Round and the beginning of a new cycle of time. The **Vienna** codex is the other of the pair of American Indian documents believed to have been sent to Charles V by Cortés.⁶⁵

Also part of this Mixtec series of documents, according to Dr. Caso, are the two **Codices Becker** and the **Codex Sánchez Solís**.

The Mayan cities of the Yucatán peninsula and the highlands of Chiapas in Mexico and Guatemala were home to a highly literate people. They began inscribing and painting the stories of their kingdoms on buildings and on monolithic monuments called stelae in the era around 100 B.C.⁶⁶ They later wrote books on fig bark paper, collecting these into great libraries. Significant breakthroughs in translating Mayan script have recently been made, and we are now beginning to see translations of early Mayan inscriptions that were obscure before.⁶⁷ Pending additional developments in this area, we presently have fragments of pre-Contact Mayan texts and several post-Contact translations in Spanish that provide us some literary insight into one of the world's most remarkable cultures.

Among the most important of surviving Mayan texts is the **Popol Vuh**. It records the creation story and cosmology of the Quiché Maya, a major division of this culture whose people live in highland Guatemala. The original, pre-Contact logographic texts were among those Mayan books destroyed by Spanish missionaries. The book survived in literary form due to the efforts of three noble Mayan families (the Lord Quichés, the Greathouses, and the Cauecs) who wrote it out in the alphabetical script they had learned from the missionaries.

Around 1702, Father Francisco Ximenes saw these manuscripts and recorded the story in both Quiché and Spanish, writing it down in parallel columns in the two languages. So far as we know, only his copy has survived the passage of time. However, the story also survives in the oral tradition of the Maya; the best currently available version in English, that translated in the 1980s by Dennis Tedlock, is strengthened by his training by the Mayan shamans known as 'daykeepers'. These men are master historians, storytellers and diviners of sacred things.⁶⁸

The **Chilam Balam** collectively refers to fourteen books or fragments of books written as chronicles of particular towns in the Mayan region. These now exist only as Romanized texts, believed to have been copies from earlier hieroglyphic sources. Most of the originals are thought to have been lost in the burning of Mayan books from the library at Maní by Father Diego de Landa on July 12, 1562. The books of the **Chilam Balam** are named for a noted individual Mayan Jaguar Priest and scholar, but were written by separate authors, so far as is known. Individual titles generally include the name of the particular Mayan community chronicled within. Besides their historical information, some of the fragments touch on folklore, medicine, and astronomical subjects.

One of them may stand as a representative of the others. The **Chilam Balam of Chumayel** pertains to the civic history of the Yucatán city of Chumayel. Among its

records is a protest against Spanish mistreatment of the defenseless civilian population in 1559. The passage cited by Brotherston echoes the outrage of the Maya historians at the abuses of the poor and the collaboration of some Mayan priests and officials with the conquistadors.⁶⁹

Similar chronicles from another Mayan region are preserved in the **Annals of the Cakchiqueles**. This book is another of the community histories of the Mayan people, that of the Cakchiquel Maya of modern Guatemala. It recorded in the Mayan language the slaving practices of the Spanish. The Cakchiquel scribes also noted the interference in 1532 of the conquistador Pedro de Alvarado with the usual Mayan practice of electing and confirming their kings. Alvarado (referred to in the narrative by his Nahuatl name of Tonatiuh or 'Sun') appointed a subservient Maya lord named Don Jorge to lead the community following the death of the enslaved, legitimate Cakchiquel king 9 Maize. Alvarado forced the Cakchiqueles to obey this lord out of fear of his Spanish troops.

The Maya scribes created some other historically revealing documents in the period following the conquest of their lands in the 16th century.

The **Chronicle of Chac-Xulub-Chen** was written in 1562 by Nakuk Pech, a Maya noble living on the northern coast of the Yucatán peninsula. In his **Chronicle**, Pech records how he and his family had collaborated with the Spanish conquistador Francisco Montejo and the Franciscan missionaries who followed him to the Yucatán in 1552. The **Chronicle** provides us with some information on the abuses of the encomienda system and about the taxes of in-kind goods levied on the Maya. It also describes the activities of the friars and the work of the Spanish legal authorities sent to check the abuses of the encomenderos. This text apparently had the additional purpose of reminding the Spanish of the land and legal claims of Nakuk Pech's family,

which he expected the Spanish to uphold in recognition of his family's services to the conquerors.

Written in 1612 to further another Maya family's claims to Spanish favor, the **Paxbolon Papers** include a Mactun Maya account of the killing of the courageous last Aztec huey-tlatoani, Cuauhtemoc. The captured Aztec leader was taken along for display during the march of Cortés' army into the Maya homelands in 1524. Cortés executed Cuauhtemoc before the Maya to demonstrate how powerful he was, shrewdly attempting to intimidate the Mayan lords and win a diplomatic victory over them without a fight.

The **Huarocharí Narrative** is a collection of thirty transcribed oral and written texts in the Quechua language of the Peruvian Inca. Surviving Inca priests and historians helped Father Francisco de Avila of the Franciscans to assemble it between 1598 and 1607. One of the texts, written in 1533, records the decision of the convoked priests of Yauyos to disperse back to their communities; a divination had made it apparent that their local deity was about to be superseded by the imminent arrival of the Spanish conquistadors. Soon after, the Spaniards captured and tortured one of the priests in an attempt to force the others to surrender the silver and regalia belonging to the god; this the priests recorded too. Another of the texts collected in the **Narrative** describes the creation of the Inca world by the sun god Coniraya Viracocha, from whom the Incan rulers claimed descent.

The **New Chronicle and Good Government** is a very important history of the early decades of contact between the Inca and the Spanish. The Inca historian Guamán Poma (his Quechua name means 'Hawk Puma') transcribed it from Inca quipu records and contemporaneous eyewitness accounts collected between 1585 and 1613. Poma wrote in a mixture of Spanish and Quechua and provided over one hundred

illustrations. Dr. Gordon Brotherston reproduces several passages of this work in his book on American Indian texts; one refers to the Spanish execution of the last independent Inca emperor, Tupac Amaru II ('Shining Snake'), in Cuzco in 1572.⁷⁰ Other passages cited in Brotherston's book explain the structure and function of the Inca state system and include Poma's reports of some of the post-Conquest afflictions suffered by the Inca people as a consequence of the breakdown of their traditional social structure.

Among the European immigrants to North America were educated men who, like their Spanish counterparts, made some effort to learn the languages of the native people. John Eliot, Roger Williams and Daniel Gookin were prominent among them. They and others like them made occasional records of American Indian leaders' speeches, negotiations and petitions in the course of interactions between the indigenous peoples and the newcomers. Colonial and state leaders, historical societies, as well as newspapers and periodicals, had a great interest in major communications from the Indian leaders of the era, and so a portion of what Indians had to say made its way into state archives and the popular press. Some colonials wrote histories and autobiographies which recorded speeches of prominent American Indian orators with varying degrees of accuracy. From time to time efforts were made to collect, digest and publish these records. Similarly, Contact era American Indians committed much of what their leaders said to the oral tradition, recording some of it in written form on birchbark or in wampum belts, later adding versions written in English.

Two of the notable collections of these historical materials from the colonial and early national periods of U.S. history are Benjamin Thatcher's 1832 two-volume set with the elaborate title **Indian Biography or An Historical Account of Those Individuals Who Have Been Distinguished Among the North American Natives as Orators, Warriors, Statesmen and Other Remarkable Characters** and Samuel Drake's

contemporary **Indian Biography Containing the Lives of More than Two Hundred Chiefs**. These volumes principally focused on the historic leaders of the major Indian nations in the eastern United States; the cultures and principal orators of the Great Plains, the Southwest and the Western regions were poorly known, if at all, to authors in the eastern city of Boston where both Thatcher and Drake worked.

Although not the work of Indian authors directly, these books and others which followed their lead provide sources for the study of 17th and 18th century Indian thought and lifeways which would otherwise be out of reach for us today. Such materials should be read and used with caution, as it can be difficult to tell if the sources used by Thatcher, Drake and others recorded Indian speeches and actions accurately and without bias; the authors themselves, although sympathetic, occasionally make statements that reveal weaknesses in their grasp of Indians' perspectives.

Modern Indian Historians

In the 20th century, American Indian historians increasingly appeared in print in English. Speaking from within the cultures they described, they did a great deal to present a native perspective on events in the Western Hemisphere to non-Indians. Some of the significant American Indian historians from the modern era are introduced below.

Ohiyesa (Lakota) was otherwise known as Dr. Charles Eastman. One of the first American Indian M.D.s, he was also an author along with his wife Elaine during the first two decades of the 20th century. Their literary interests ranged from romantic fiction and the oral traditions of the Lakota to history, biography and autobiography. Their books generally emphasized interpretation of native lifeways and the meanings of Indian life to non-Indian readers. Ohiyesa's historical work includes the books **The**

Indian To-day: The Past and Future of the First Americans (1914) and **Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains** (1918).

D'Arcy McNickle (Kutenai/Cree) was the most prominent Indian historian of the mid-twentieth century as well as a noted novelist. As an employee of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, he contributed a volume to the federally-published 'The Peoples of America Series' in the 1940s. In 1944, McNickle was a co-founder of the National Congress of American Indians, the first all-Indian representative group in the U.S. to have a national scope.

McNickle's reputation as a historian rests principally on four volumes. These are **They Came Here First** (1949), **Indians and Other Americans**, (co-authored in 1959 with Harold Fey), **The Indian Tribes of the United States** (1962), and a thematic study, **Native American Tribalism** (1973). He also wrote numerous articles and contributed a chapter to the 1975 National Geographic volume entitled **The World of the American Indian**, an interpretive look at Indian life in North America. Following his death in 1977, the Newbery Library in Chicago renamed its Center for the History of the American Indian, of which McNickle was the first director, in his memory.

Vine Deloria, Jr. (Standing Rock Lakota) is thought of by many Indians to be the foremost American Indian historian of the second half of the 20th century, although his contributions extend far beyond this discipline. A lawyer, professor and prominent Indian activist and social critic, Deloria's writings and speeches have also dealt with philosophy, federal Indian policy, education, the place of science in traditional and modern Indian life, and literary criticism, to name a few of the areas to which he has given attention. Most of his books interweave historical research with investigations into one or more of these topics, making for informative and often insightful reading.

The majority of Deloria's books trace the relationship of American Indian cultures to those of the immigrants to the Americas, joining history to studies of government policy, comparing cultural norms and offering witty, sometimes speculative social commentary. He first drew national attention using this approach in **Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto** (1969) and **We Talk, You Listen** (1970). Deloria's principal approach in both of these controversial volumes was to contrast the social structures of American Indian and immigrant societies, supplementing this with commentary on what lessons the newcomers might yet need to learn from the original Americans. He next edited and contributed to two volumes of historical essays, **Of Utmost Good Faith** (1971) and **Red Man in the New World Drama** (written with Jennings Wise, also 1971). These continued his critical examination of American Indian history and relationships with the colonial and national governments newly established by Europeans in the Americas.

Deloria followed with **God is Red** (1973), a remarkable concatenation of history, contemporary Indian affairs and philosophy which takes for its theme the nature of religion and its cultural evolution. The central thesis of this book is that religious experience and its doctrinal interpretation fundamentally originate at particular sacred places on Earth. He interprets the history of Christianity to argue that as a people migrates away or a religion spreads from the places which inspired a faith, the coherence of the religion dissipates and the spiritual influence of new locales begins to modify, perhaps even replace the former beliefs. Deloria suggests that the spiritual influences of America may be transforming beliefs brought from other places, leading to an eventual convergence on religious thought that will increasingly resemble the traditions of American Indians.

Along with Kirke Kickingbird and Fred Ragsdale, Deloria returned to contemporary Indian issues and their historic context in 1974 with the release of **Behind the Trail of**

Broken Treaties. This was a volume dealing with Indian social and political activism which led up to the march on Washington, D.C. and the seizure of the headquarters of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1972, followed by the 71-day armed standoff at Wounded Knee between American Indian Movement activists and the forces of federal and reservation governments on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1973.

In 1977 Deloria published **Indians of the Pacific Northwest**, a study of the history of the tribes in the region. He had been teaching at Western Washington College in Bellingham just after the initial fishing rights decisions of Judge George Boldt radically reformed the relationship between tribal fishermen and commercial and sportfishing interests in Washington State. This volume sets out the cultural background and decades-long struggle of the fishing tribes to hold onto their economic rights after the arrival of European-American immigrants to the Northwest.

The Metaphysics of Modern Existence appeared in 1979. Regarded by many as Deloria's most demanding and intricate work, this book pursues some of the philosophical and historical questions raised by the themes of **God is Red**. Deloria extends the earlier work by examining and contrasting traditional and modern worldviews. He argues that historic and scientific confirmations of some of the ancient myths may require us to re-examine the importance of the older worldviews in guiding contemporary life.

Deloria's major historical works in the 1980s focused on the context of and problems in the relationship between tribal societies, their governments, and the U.S. federal system of which they are now a part. The 1983 volume **American Indians, American Justice**, written with Clifford Lytle, examined the cultural background and relationships in the federal legal system. **The Nations Within**, again written with Lytle and released in 1984, examines the status of American Indian nations within the federal political system and looks at the evolution of policy and reform efforts over the past two

centuries. Also in 1984, Deloria wrote **The Aggressions of Civilization: Federal Indian Policy Since the 1880s** along with Sandra Cadwalader. This volume traced out the efforts of federal Indian policy to break up and refashion American Indian societies and governments since the effective ending of Indian freedom in the U.S. in the late 19th century. Finally, in 1985, Vine Deloria edited and contributed to a volume titled **American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century**, a series of essays touching on such wide ranging topics as Indian voting, tribal government, water rights, religious freedom, economic development on the reservations, and international efforts to protect the rights of indigenous minorities in the U.S. and elsewhere.

Rupert Costo (Cahuilla) and Jeanette Henry Costo (Cherokee) were among the founders of the American Indian Historical Society in the early 1960s. In 1964, Jeanette became editor of the organization's new quarterly journal, *The Indian Historian*. Rupert later edited the association's national Indian newspaper, *Wassaja*, named in memory of Dr. Carlos Montezuma and his magazine early in the century.

The pair wrote and edited a militant set of five volumes surveying American Indian history and cultural achievements. Put out by Indian Historical Press, Inc., the publishing arm of the AIHS, between 1968 and 1977, the **American Indian Reader** series offered information and analysis on topics in American Indian literature, education, anthropology, history, and current affairs with an emphasis on the history of treaty relations between American Indian nations and the United States. Now out of print, the series remains a useful source of information as well as a reflection of the outrage many American Indians felt during the 1970s, an era of renewed opposition to cultural domination by non-Indians.

Joe Sando (Jemez Pueblo) contributed a noteworthy volume on the history and government of **The Pueblo Indians** (1976) which included a text of the then-current constitution of the All Indian Pueblo Council. The Council is an inter-governmental body composed of representatives from the 19 Pueblo communities and has been in existence since the successful rebellion against Spanish colonial domination in the 1680s. Sando later contributed a chapter on Jemez Pueblo history and culture to the 1979 Smithsonian publication **Handbook of North American Indians, Volume 9: Southwest**. His most recent historical work is **Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian Culture**, released in 1991.

Biography

Mayan-, Zapotec- and Nahuatl-speaking authors began composing biographic histories of their noble families soon after the development of written forms of their languages 2,000 years and more ago. For example, by around 100 B.C. the Maya had developed the practice of inscribing short narratives about the accessions, public ceremonies and victories of their kings onto monumental stone slabs called stelae by archaeologists.⁷¹ They expanded this practice to murals and friezes painted on the walls of many public buildings. The Maya also carved and painted the life stories of kings and important local lords onto sarcophagi and the walls of burial chambers in many of their pyramids and temples. In addition to such monumental records, some of the Mesoamerican cultures also developed written biographies. One surviving example of these biographies has been mentioned already, that of the Mixtec ruler 8 Deer which is known today as the **Codex Nuttall**.

As indicated in the section on pre- and post-Conquest texts in history, this Mesoamerican tradition of recording aspects of the lives of kings and nobles persisted until effective Spanish domination resulted in a breakdown of the native cultures. As

European-American conquest of the Americas proceeded, there was a long period where Indian-written biography dwindled or even ceased in the areas where it had once been practiced.

D'Arcy McNickle, the Kutenai/Cree historian, wrote a biography of Oliver LaFarge. LaFarge was a white man who married into an Indian family and was an author of several books on Indian art and culture. Entitled **Indian Man** (1971), McNickle's biography examines how LaFarge immersed himself in Indian life during the first half of the 20th century.

In the 1970s, Jemez Pueblo historian Joe Sando wrote a biography of notable Pueblo individuals entitled **Pueblo Indian Biographies**, unfortunately now out of print.⁷²

Vine Deloria, Jr., the Lakota lawyer and scholar, edited and published a 1985 volume of biographical and literary criticism entitled **A Sender of Words: Essays in Memory of John G. Neihardt**. Neihardt, known as 'the poet laureate of Nebraska', was co-author with Nicholas Black Elk of the popular book **Black Elk Speaks**. According to Neihardt, he transcribed the oral history of Nicholas Black Elk, a Lakota holy man, in the early 1930s. As the scholarship in Deloria's book and others makes clear, however, Neihardt merged his own voice and images (along with those of his daughter, who acted as stenographer in most of his interviews) with those of Black Elk.⁷³ This conflation makes the book somewhat problematic as a fully 'authentic' source on the culture of the Lakota in the period following the 1876 battle with Custer, at which Black Elk was present as a young boy. The essayists in Deloria's volume examine the strengths and weaknesses of the account given by Neihardt of the life of this influential medicine man.

Autobiography

In the 19th century, a few American Indians began to write or dictate books intended principally for non-Indian readers. Most of these works mixed the form of autobiography with that of tribal ethnohistory in an effort to help European-American readers better understand the human character of Indian individuals and cultures. The authors apparently hoped that such revelations and explanations as they could offer might ameliorate some of the stereotypes and hostility toward Indians which were causing so many difficulties for the tribes. In an important sense, these books were peace ambassadors from Indian Country to the rest of the world.

The first American Indian autobiography of this period was **Son of the Forest: The Experience of William Apes, a Native of the Forest**. Published in 1829 by a mixed-blood Pequot who had spent most of his life among European-Americans after suffering from alcohol-induced abuse in his family, Apes' autobiography examined and sharply criticized both the effects of drink on his people and the motives of those who supplied liquor to the Indians. Apes also devoted a great deal of his book to the experience of his conversion to Methodism and to the attitudes toward native people that he had encountered while growing up among whites. In a later book, **The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequod Tribe** (1833), Apes revisits this latter theme, adding details of his own experiences after conversion, when he was once refused the right to attend religious meetings because of his race.⁷⁴

The famed Sauk leader Makataimeshekiakiak ('Black Hawk') dictated his autobiography to a newspaper reporter in 1833. At that time he was in prison after being turned over to U.S. military forces by the Winnebago tribe with whom he had taken refuge after the 1832 'Black Hawk War' in Illinois and Wisconsin.

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Makataimeshekiakiak was a Sauk war chief who led a part of his people in their attempt to retain their village and farm lands in Illinois against encroaching American settlers and unscrupulous Indian agents. These lands the Indians believed had been wrongfully taken under an 1804 treaty with the U.S, one that was negotiated by General William Henry Harrison with much misuse of whiskey.

Black Hawk also recounted in his book his part in the War of 1812. In that conflict, he and his people decided to side with Tecumseh and the British after American commissioners broke trade promises made earlier to the Sauk and allied Mesquakie ('Fox') chiefs. He told how treaty commissioners misled him in 1816 into signing another treaty without informing him that the terms (in English only) gave the U.S. the right to sell his village. He used his autobiography to state the reasons and means by which he thereafter worked to renew the resistance of his people to these encroachments by the Americans. This resistance culminated in his armed efforts to hold on to his lands in 1832, as noted above.⁷⁵

The Sauk resistance attempt was doomed, as this was the era of Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act of 1830, which sought to force all Indians to the west of the Mississippi River into a 'Permanent Indian territory.' The 'Black Hawk War' was the last major act of armed Indian resistance to European-American encroachments in the Illinois area. Black Hawk's autobiography, currently available as **Life of Black Hawk, Dictated By Himself**, is an important personal and historical resource on the life and times of this great American Indian patriot.⁷⁶

The Ojibwe author, journalist and lecturer George Copway was perhaps the most popular of the Indian autobiographers of the 19th century. Having adopted Methodism, his church connections helped him enter the fields of lecturing and publishing. This was

during a time when many European-Americans were interested in Indians' capacities to merge native virtues with immigrant ways.

Copway's most significant work was his autobiography, originally entitled **The Life, History and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh** and first published in 1847. It went through six printings in its first year. He issued a revised edition in 1850, retitled **The Life, Letters and Speeches of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh: Or, G. Copway** which added letters and speeches he had given on a lecture tour of England. The book contains Copway's accounts of traditional Ojibwe life, the conversion of his family and band to Christianity and his personal role as an intermediary in the relations between his people and the missionaries. It closes with a history of contemporary Ojibwe relations with the European-Americans. Dr. LaVonne Ruoff has pointed out that George Copway's approach blended an ethnohistory of the Ojibwe people with his own personal story in a way that is highly characteristic of traditional Indian narratives, where one's own life story is told in the context of that of the family, clan and tribe.⁷⁷

Other important autobiographies of American Indian leaders appeared in print in the first half of the 20th century. A new generation of Indian authors followed after William Apes and George Copway, once again writing or dictating their own accounts of the structure and meaning of the traditional ways of life of their peoples, often in combination with the authors' personal histories. The books mentioned below reflect this trend and are thus both autobiographical and ethnographic in varying degrees.

Among the first of these was the noteworthy autobiography dictated by the famous Chiricahua Apache war leader and medicine man Geronimo (**Geronimo: His Own Story**). The newspaperman S. M. Barrett, who had covered portions of the final military campaign against the Chiricahua, served as editor of the text which Geronimo dictated.

In this book, Geronimo explained his life and the events and motives which led him to resist encroachments on the Apache homelands from both the United States and Mexico. The autobiography also provides details of Geronimo's life as a military prisoner and as a spokesperson for his people during their long confinement in Oklahoma.

Luther Standing Bear was a widely-read Lakota author of the early 20th century. He mastered English in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' school at Carlisle. Standing Bear wrote **Land of the Spotted Eagle** and **My People the Sioux**, books telling about his own life and the ways of his people as they dealt with the transition from freedom to the constrained life of the reservations of that era. His books are still in print more than half a century later.

Zitkala-Sa (also known as 'Gertrude Bonnin') was another noted early-20th century Lakota writer, educator and political activist. She was known to the general public chiefly as the author of a series of popular autobiographical articles in the *Atlantic Monthly* (these can be found in various 1900 - 1902 editions) – "Impressions of an Indian Childhood", "Schooldays of an Indian Girl", "An Indian Teacher Among Indians" and "Why I am a Pagan." Zitkala-Sa also published an anthology of tales from the oral tradition entitled **American Indian Stories**.

Ohiyesa, the Lakota physician mentioned earlier, also wrote several books that were autobiographical. These books include **Indian Boyhood** (1902), **From the Deep Woods to Civilization: Chapters in the Autobiography of an Indian** (1916) and **The Soul of the Indian** (1911). Ohiyesa made a special effort in these works to convey to his readers, particularly the younger ones, a sense of what traditional Indian life meant

and how it felt in contrast to the way of life that many Indians were being forced into around the turn of the century.

Ella Deloria, the Lakota author mentioned below in connection with her novel **Waterlily**, first gained a reputation as an ethnolinguist. She was known among academics for her book analyzing and explaining many classic stories in the Dakota (one of the three dialects of the Sioux language) oral tradition. Entitled **Dakota Texts** (1932), this scholarly treatment is regarded as an extremely valuable and authoritative contribution to the professional literature in the field of ethnolinguistics.

Perhaps best known to present-day readers are the dictated works of the Lakota medicine man Nicholas Black Elk (**Black Elk Speaks, When the Tree Flowered, The Sacred Pipe**), who worked in collaboration with the poet John Neihardt and with the ethnohistorian Joseph Epes Brown. These books present various events of Black Elk's life, which included experiences in the Custer Battle, touring the U.S. and Europe with Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show, and with teaching and his life on the reservation. Each book, particularly the latter, also addresses matters related to 19th century Lakota religious beliefs and practices as well as Black Elk's role as a medicine man. At the center of each story is the vision in which Black Elk received his powers, the crucial event in his life.

The foregoing is a selection of a few of the more prominent American Indian autobiographers of the past two centuries. H. David Brumble III's (1981) **An Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies** is an important and fairly up-to-date resource.⁷⁸ Teachers will find it helpful in diversifying their reading lists in this genre.

Scientific and Technical Writing

A few American Indian cultures, principally those in Mesoamerica, committed portions of their scientific knowledge to writing. A small number of surviving works or copies give us a sense of the scientific worldview of those cultures. Much of this body of work relates to the region's system of beliefs and practices connected to calendrics and the prediction of how history would unfold.

Unfortunately, scientific and technical writing virtually ceased among American Indians during most of the Contact era. When Indians entered modern scientific and technical fields in the 20th century, they transformed the earlier tradition of scientific writing. Indian scientists writing today frequently synthesize a contemporary technical perspective with a fairly traditional Indian sense of the values and purposes to be served by their science.

Among the significant surviving pre-Contact and early Contact Era American Indian scientific papers are the following Mayan works.

The 13th century **Dresden Codex** contains important predictive tables which did much to establish the modern reputation of the Maya in astronomy. The tables and their associated literary references are also a guide to many of the Classic and Post-Classic Mayan ritual practices, some of which the codex illustrates. Among the most notable of the contents are the five pages of mathematical tables describing each day of the 2,920 day cycle of Venus' synchronization with the sun. This table originated in the 7th century, some six hundred years before its inclusion in the **Dresden Codex**. The tables predict the earthly effects of the god-planet's movements and served as a valuable agricultural guide. Other important tables and texts included in the Dresden screenfold are those dealing with the prediction of solar eclipses, the prediction of rain and harvests, and several chapters on medicine and curing ceremonies.

The **Paris Codex** is a fragmentary, 22-page book on 12th century Mayan ritual practice and calendric ceremonies. It was written, like most other Mayan books, on paper made from pulverized fig tree bark. Its ritual system is based on computation of the Katun Round, a series of 13 katuns (a katun was a cycle of 7,200 days). Each katun in the Katun Round had its unique character and associated events. The Mayan priesthood prepared the **Paris Codex** and similar texts to help divine the prospects that the Maya people could expect during each new katun.

The **Paris Codex** additionally describes a number of the Mayan gods. It seems to show the influence of Toltecan calendrics in the use of the year-bearer convention established by the Toltec, who had infused themselves into Mayan culture following the abandonment of the Toltec capital of Tula. This influence and the absence of any European-derived references indicate that this codex was created after the Classic period but before the Conquest.

Possibly a post-Contact copy of a 13th century work, the 56-page **Madrid Codex** (also known as the **Tro-Cortesianus**) was written in Mayan script on paper sheets made from fig tree bark. It records the identity of many Mayan gods and contains depictions of a number of Mayan rituals. It also illustrates a great deal of information on Mayan astronomical and astrological practices, as well as recording items of Mayan technical and craft knowledge.

Other Mesoamerican cultures also left evidence of their scientific efforts in writings that have survived to the present. Scholars are still disputing the origin of the following group of six ritual-centered documents, with arguments presently favoring either the Puebla-Tlaxcala peoples or the Mixtec. The six books are written in a graphic style similar to the Mixtec historical documents mentioned earlier.⁷⁹

The **Codex Borgia** is a major work on the cosmogony and ceremonial practices of the people of the cities of Cholula and Tlaxcala in the south-central part of the Valley of Mexico. It features the ritually important positioning of the priests and symbols representing the various adopted Toltec gods in their interactions. These gods are representations of both planets and earthly physical phenomena. This codex emphasizes the relationships among these powers and the priesthoods and populace of the Cholulan and Tlaxcallan peoples, relationships which guided the unfolding of the history of the world according to their inherited Toltec views.

Like many of the other codices, the 'Borgia' provides instructions for a variety of commonplace ceremonies as well as the major periodic rituals. For example, the Borgia includes instructions on divining the prognosis of proposed marriages. The divination helped determine whether a prospective couple were suited to each other. Among its scientific contents, in the modern sense, are comprehensive instructions for the proper raising of maize and predicting the outcome of harvests.

The **Codex Fejérváry** shows parts of the system of rituals and associated calendrics that later cultures in the Valley of Mexico derived from Toltec society. It shows the temporal, spatial and cosmic relationships as well as the esoteric significance of the Toltecs' four 'Year-Bearer' signs. Also explained in the Fejérváry are the relationships among the 'Twenty Signs' of the names of days, each name associated with its thirteen numerical coefficients which together specify the Sacred Round or ritual year of 260 days in the Toltec religious calendar. The Sacred Round was further correlated with the solar year of 365 days to define the cyclic 52-year Calendar Round, the Mesoamerican equivalent of a century.

Many of the important ceremonials of Post-Classic era Mesoamerican life are shown in the Fejérváry, each assigned to its proper place in the Sacred Round. The

screenfold's priestly readers were also provided with crucial technical information and divinatory clues for each activity.

The **Codex Laud** is another of the technical texts once used by the Toltec-derived Mesoamerican priesthood. The **Laud** screenfold relates information about many of the gods and ceremonies recognized in the region. Notable is the presentation of the ceremonials, powers and attributes of Tlaloc, the ancient Rain God whose favor was critical to Mesoamerican agriculturists. This codex's explication of ceremonies includes one used by the priesthood to cure the sun of eclipses. It also presents calendrical tables and ceremonial procedures for the conduct of funerals. Three similar, possibly related codices are the **Codex Vaticanus B**, the **Mexican Manuscript No. 20**, and the **Codex Cospi**.

Among the earliest post-Contact Mesoamerican technical documents known today is the **Codex Borbonicus**. Reproduced in 1520 using the Toltec logographic script accompanied by later Spanish notations, the currently available copy of this screenfold details the structure of the 52-year period known as the Calendar Round. (As mentioned earlier, the Calendar Round was the correlation of the 260-day cycle of the religious Sacred Round calendar of the Toltec culture with the 365-day solar calendar to produce a 52-year cycle.) At the end of every Calendar Round, the Toltec and their heirs performed the New Fire ceremony for the renewal of the world and the inauguration of the next repetition of the Calendar Round. Featured prominently in the scenes of the Borbonicus are the diviner Oxomoco and her husband Cipactli, and their sons, Quetzalcoátl the culture-bringer and Tezcatlipoca the warrior-sorcerer.

As mentioned earlier, American Indians in growing numbers have returned to scientific fields during the 20th century. Some of them are discussed in the Sciences

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Essay; those mentioned below have published scientific papers related to a wide range of technical and theoretical problems.

Dr. Ronald Bourassa (Potawatomi) has written on the Nielsen-Taylor effect (which he named) in the noble metals. He also was part of a team studying the deHass-van Alphen effect in that family of metals (copper, silver, gold and platinum) using high-energy cyclotrons in Germany. He was the first physicist to publish a solution on the problem of gravitational lens effects for extended objects in astrophysics.⁸⁰

Dr. Clifton Poodry (Seneca) is a biologist with many publications to his credit in the areas of cellular biology and developmental genetics. He also taught at the University of Santa Cruz in California.⁸¹

Dr. Agnes Stroud (Tewa) worked for many years as a researcher in radiobiology at the Pasadena Foundation for Medical Research, the Jet Propulsion Laboratory, and the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory. She published many papers relating to radiation effects and therapy, and also wrote on the combination of microscopy and computer technology for work in chromosomal analysis.⁸²

Dr. Frank Dukepoo (Hopi) is a geneticist and the first member of his tribe to earn the Ph.D. degree. He taught at San Diego State University. His works include important publications on genetic effects relating to aging and to alcohol metabolism among minority populations.⁸³

George Yates (Nambe Pueblo) worked as a senior technologist at the Los Alamos Scientific Laboratory, where he developed and published technical reports on some of the lab's data instruments used to control and monitor underground nuclear tests. He also published a number of articles on digital electronic circuits and high-tech video imaging systems. He was among the first to describe and apply for patents on the popular computer input device known as a 'tablet', a type of x-y coordinate pointing device using a pen-like stylus for graphical inputs.⁸⁴

A co-founder of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, Jerry Elliott (Osage-Cherokee) is an honored NASA technician who also wrote **A Dictionary of Computer Terms** in the 1970s.⁸⁵

Joe Sando (Pueblo), mentioned above in connection with his book on Pueblo biography, is a professional audiologist and speech pathologist who has also published extensively in these technical fields.⁸⁶

A number of American Indians have published notable contributions to anthropology in the 20th century.

Dr. Edward Dozier (Hano Tewa) was the first American Indian known to have earned the Ph. D., which he achieved at UCLA in 1952.⁸⁷ He taught at the University of Arizona. Among Dr. Dozier's works are a classic study, **The Pueblo Indians of North America**, and also **Hano: A Tewa Indian Community in Arizona** about his own people; both books are still in use as texts in many college anthropology courses.

Dr. Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Tewa), mentioned above in the section on the oral tradition, is a professor at the University of New Mexico. His anthropological contributions include the highly-regarded **The Tewa World** and work as the volume editor on Volumes 9 and 10 of the Smithsonian Institution's massive **Handbook of North American Indians**. These two volumes deal with the cultures of the Southwestern United States and northern Mexico.

In addition to her work as a novelist, Ella Cara Deloria (Standing Rock Lakota), published many highly-regarded articles on anthropology, ethnology and linguistics, including **Dakota Texts**, her 1932 study of Siouan pictographic records.

Journalism

The journalistic tradition was a brother to the modern literary tradition that developed among Indians in the 19th and 20th centuries. James and Sharon Murphy,

scholars who have traced the history of American Indian journalism in the United States, identified several purposes served by Indian journalism in their book **Let My People Know**.⁸⁸

An early task of the Indian newspapers was education; as the Murphys put it:

Reading those first Native American papers, one senses that their editors were aware of the inevitable: it was only a matter of time before tribal lands were surrounded and stolen. So their people needed to be able to read, write, and converse in the language of the white society in order to stand a chance for survival in the imminent collision of cultures.⁸⁹

Other important and continuing functions of the American Indian press have been the spreading of news about their communities, news that was and is typically ignored by non-Indian journalists; serving as the official organs of the tribal governments which often sponsored the tribal newspapers; carrying advertising for and promoting tribal business enterprises, advertising non-Indian businesses on the reservations; and enabling Indian people to post the public notices required for settling estates or publicizing new laws in conformity to the practices of the legal systems adopted by the tribes or with which the tribes interacted.⁹⁰

The tribal and urban community newspapers and magazines of today, as well as those of earlier times, typically carry a clearly-stated message in editorial policies regarding social and political issues affecting the well-being of the communities they serve. The editorial perspective often tends toward political activism and advocacy of tribal and community interests; this perspective is frequently evident in the stories as well as the editorials despite a growing awareness of the impact of such advocacy on the credibility of Indian newspapers among outsiders. However, Indian journalists cover events and issues which are often ignored or misunderstood by the press of the non-Indian world. They are thus significant as channels of communication among Indians

and between American Indians and others, doing much to identify and sometimes reduce causes of misunderstanding and conflict.⁹¹

The slender financial resources and often limited readership of American Indian newspapers have long been major obstacles to the influence and quality of Indian journalistic efforts. Almost without exception, American Indian papers have historically had only brief publication runs, limited advertising income and readerships of a few hundred or a few thousand at most. The majority are dependent upon funding by grants or community organization and tribal appropriations, funds which often are short-term or which are sometimes withdrawn when the editorial content becomes too independent of the views of the grantors. Staffs are usually small, poorly trained and relatively inexperienced in journalism, doing demanding work out of a sense of service rather than for an adequate salary. As a result, staff burnout and turnover rates have been high among Indian journalists.⁹²

The lack of resources and relative isolation of many of the communities has, however, repeatedly been addressed by American Indian journalists, who formed national and regional press associations. The earliest was formed by Indian editors in Oklahoma Territory in the 1880s.⁹³ The American Indian Press Association (1970-75) was the first national association. After its dissolution over non-profit status problems, regional and specialized associations arose to take its place, including the Southwest Indian Media Collective (begun in 1977) and the Indian Newspaper Publishers Association (also started in 1977), and the Northwest Indian News Association (formed in 1978).⁹⁴ About this same time, the Native American Broadcasting Consortium began supporting the production and distribution efforts of Indian and public-broadcasting stations around the United States.

Newspaper Journalism

In 1821, after many years of developmental work, the great Cherokee polymath Sequoyah devised and taught his people the use of a Cherokee syllabary of 85 characters, becoming the first individual known to personally invent a written language. The written form of the Cherokee language was taught from person to person at first, later being used in tribal schools, books and newspapers. Literacy quickly spread throughout Cherokee society without limits as to sex or age, and was soon believed to be at a higher level than among neighboring non-Indians.⁹⁵

By the latter part of the 1820s, the Cherokee adopted the use of the printing press in order to produce books, Bibles, school texts and a national newspaper, the *Cherokee Phoenix*. All were published in Cherokee or bilingually in Cherokee and English.

The bilingual *Cherokee Phoenix* came out in New Echota, Georgia on February 21, 1828 as the first Indian newspaper in the U.S.⁹⁶ Its first editor was Elias Boudinot, a college-educated Cherokee teacher, missionary and clerk of the Cherokee National Council. Boudinot had helped raise the funds necessary to establish the press by a tour of speaking engagements in churches on the East coast in 1826. Type for the paper was cast in Boston in both Sequoyah's syllabic script and in the Roman type used for printing English.⁹⁷

The *Cherokee Phoenix* had an initial publication run of six years, becoming renamed the *Cherokee Phoenix and Indian Advocate* in 1829. Boudinot and his successor, Elijah Hicks, were both caught up in the internal and external political struggles of the Cherokee people against President Andrew Jackson's policy of Indian Removal. Boudinot resigned in August 1832 once his early editorial activism against the relentless U.S. pressures turned to acceptance of the inevitability of removal.

The *Cherokee Phoenix* appeared irregularly after Boudinot's departure, eventually suspending publication at the end of May 1834. The press and type were seized the

next year by the Georgia militia when the tribe attempted to move its publishing facility into Tennessee in an effort to resume publication of the newspaper.⁹⁸ It was followed in 1844 by the weekly *Cherokee Advocate*, authorized by the Cherokee National Council after it relocated to the nation's new Oklahoma capital at Tahlequah.⁹⁹

Other pioneering Indian newspapers were published by other tribes of the 'Five Civilized Nations', as the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole nations were called by outsiders. The Choctaw published the bilingual weekly *Choctaw Telegraph* and its successor, the *Intelligencer*, beginning in 1848. The Chickasaw *Intelligencer* was inaugurated in 1854 at the tribal town of Washita; it was succeeded in 1858 by the *Chickasaw Choctaw Herald*, printed in the Chickasaw capital of Tishomingo City.¹⁰⁰

These early papers, all located in the South or on its frontiers, suspended publication during the Civil War and were suppressed by Federal occupying forces for a few years afterward. For example, publication of the *Cherokee Advocate* was interrupted by the tribe's involvement in the Civil War, but resumed in 1870 once the tribe recovered its presses. A fire destroyed the paper's facilities in 1874 but editor William Penn Boudinot put the *Cherokee Advocate* back into publication in 1876.¹⁰¹

The Choctaw Nation established the *Vindicator* in 1872 as its official postwar organ; it ran into financial difficulties and merged with an opposing paper in 1877.¹⁰² The Choctaw Nation tried again in 1884 with the *Indian Champion*, briefly known also as the *Branding Iron*. The tribe withdrew its support the following year and the paper folded.¹⁰³ In 1886, several Choctaw established an independent paper, the *Indian Citizen*. Its editors, B.S. Smiser and his Choctaw wife, combined local coverage with reportage from her father J.S. Standley, a Choctaw delegate representing the Nation in Washington, D.C. This paper stayed in publication into the 20th century.¹⁰⁵

The first Creek newspaper was the *Indian Progress*, edited by E.C. Boudinot, formerly of the *Cherokee Advocate*. It was published in Muskogee and appeared in late 1875; it died shortly thereafter. That same year, the Creek council granted incorporation to a multinational press, the International Printing Company. Its Creek, Choctaw, Cherokee, Seminole and Chickasaw partners responded to the demise of the *Progress* with publication of the *Indian Journal* in 1876. A trilingual paper edited by William Ross, the *Journal* holds the distinction of being the first Indian paper to publish (albeit briefly) as a daily. Like the Choctaw *Indian Citizen*, the *Indian Journal* continued publication into the 20th century.¹⁰⁶

Several other papers published on the Cherokee reservation in the last two decades of the 19th century. The *Vidette* and the *Herald* were short-lived and unremarkable. A third, although owned by European-Americans in violation of Cherokee law, was the *Indian Chieftain*. It had several prominent American Indian editors including Robert Owens and William Ross, and stayed in print over a decade. Other Cherokee papers of the 1890s were the *Tahlequah Telephone* (founded in 1887), the *Indian Arrow* (also 1887), the daily *Capital City News* (1891) the *Tahlequah Sentinel* (1892), the *Tahlequah Courier* (also 1892), and the *Daily Capital*.

The number and volatility of journals suggests something of the diversity of social and political views held in the Cherokee Nation at the time; opinions were split on development, allotment and settlement by outsiders. Federal policies were being promulgated to crush tribalism throughout the west [see the Social Sciences essay] and the issues involved captured the journalistic attention of tribal defenders, 'progressives' and 'boomers' alike. In these last perilous decades of the 19th century the reservations of the Indian Territory attained a high point in Indian journalism, one which would not be surpassed until the second half of the 20th century.

The official *Cherokee Advocate* ceased publication in 1906; the *Indian Arrow* was renamed the *Tahlequah Arrow* in 1907 and held on a while longer. The *Advocate* was ordered suspended by the U.S. government at the same time that it prepared to throw the Indian Territory open to European-American settlement. An oil boom on the Territory's lands was an important factor sparking the rush. Another was the not-unrelated activity of the Congressional Dawes Commission in trying to end tribal ownership and parcel out the reservation lands of the 'permanent' Indian Territory. The pressures these powerful, outside economic interests brought to bear resulted in the loss of both Cherokee land and the Nation's journalistic voice.¹⁰⁷ The papers on the Creek and Choctaw reservations also died in the boom that swept away their governments and created the state of Oklahoma in their place.

Outside the 'Five Civilized Tribes', virtually no western tribes published their own papers in the 19th century. One exception was the *Osage Herald*, begun in 1875 at the Osage agency town of Pawhuska.

As more Indian children were forced or sent to attend the federal boarding schools at the end of the 19th century and in the early 20th century, the number of literate Indians grew. To meet the needs of this audience, Indian authors and reformers such as Dr. Carlos Montezuma founded newspapers and magazines.¹⁰⁸ Dr. Montezuma's paper was known by his Yavapai name, *Wassaja*, 'Signaling'. Published between 1916 and his death in 1923, *Wassaja* took a very firm stand against the policies of the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Montezuma advocated its abolition, despairing of reforming this division of the Department of the Interior. He undertook the publication of *Wassaja* following disagreements over this issue with the rest of the leadership of the Society of American Indians, the major Indian-run reform organization of the Progressive era of American politics. Whatever their respective views, such newspapers and magazines

served both as a means to carry news among the tribes and as a way to put American Indian opinions before the European-American public during a critical period of American Indian history.

However, the first decades of the 20th century were a lean time for American Indian newspapers, as noted above. Few new papers of real scope or circulation appeared until the 1930s ushered in a revival of tribal governments under the reforms of the Roosevelt administration. Among the Indian-published papers of this era were the *Independent American* (1935) put out by the Colville Confederated Tribes of Washington state; the *Standing Rock Eyapaha* (1943) printed by the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe (Lakota); and *Adhoniigii: The Navajo Language Monthly* (also 1943) published for a short time by the Navajo Nation in their capital of Window Rock.¹⁰⁹

The pace at which new publications appeared increased after World War II. Marie Potts (Maidu) printed *Smoke Signals* as a journal serving California Indians beginning in 1947. The National Congress of American Indians, founded during the war as a national representative body, began printing the *NCAI Bulletin* as its newsletter that same year.

Indian newspapers have made a notable comeback in recent decades. One of the earliest to become prominent was the *Navajo Times*, begun in 1959 as the official community paper of the Navajo Nation. However, it was suspended in 1989 by then-chairman Peter MacDonald as scandal rose around his administration. A widely-read Indian paper published since 1981 was the *Lakota Times*, appearing since 1993 as the independent, national *Indian Country Today* with Tim Giago as editor. Other papers, such as the *Tundra Times* in Alaska or the *Northwest Indian News* of Seattle, have a regional focus and readership. There are also intertribal newspapers, such as the *Indian Voice* published by the Small Tribes of Western Washington and the urban

community newspapers, notable among them the long-lived *Talking Leaf* in Los Angeles (since 1935!) and *The Circle* in Boston.

The great majority of tribes today publish a tribal newspaper, especially since the advent of desktop publishing has brought the cost of composing a paper to a level affordable to even small communities. These newspapers exhibit a wide range of editorial sophistication and size. Regardless of page count and technical qualities, nearly all serve a crucial role in their communities by publishing local Indian news items and national Indian concerns which often go unreported in the press of neighboring communities. The Murphys' discussion of modern tribal (and regional) papers, although a bit out of date, provides a realistic overview of the determined, if tenuous, role played by these small journals.¹¹⁰

Magazine Journalism

Cherokee women in the national capital of Tahlequah published a magazine known first as *Cherokee Rose Bud* and later as *A Wreath of Cherokee Rose Buds*, beginning in 1848 and continuing into the troubled era of the Civil War. It contained a wide range of news reports from exchange correspondents throughout the west along with fiction, poetry, short stories, practical and reflective articles and reports of the school lives and concerns of the predominantly boarding-school students who were the magazine's major contributors.¹¹¹ This journal is thought to be the earliest American Indian magazine.

Other magazines arose in the early 20th century. Some, like the *Cheyenne and Arapaho Carrier Pigeon* published in Darlington, Oklahoma between 1910 and 1915, were essentially local newspapers printed in a magazine format.¹¹² Others were what we would today consider a magazine – national in scope and readership, as well as being more 'magazine-like' in format, content and style.

Early 20th century American Indian magazines were started by Indian reformers and reform groups as a forum for the Indian and non-Indian writers who questioned and challenged the Indian policies and reservation practices of the federal government. These magazines were among the few places where the general U.S. population could read Indian opinions during the years when tribal communities were trying to pick themselves up from the demographic and cultural collapse which resulted from the paternalistic, colonial U.S. reservation policies of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

SAI was founded in 1911 by Montezuma along with Rosa LaFleshe (Omaha), Dr. Charles Eastman (Lakota), Thomas Sloan (Omaha), Laura Cornelius (Oneida), Harry Standing Bear (Lakota) and Charles Daganett (Peoria).¹¹³ The Society of American Indians worked to counter both federal abuses and neglect on the reservations and the well-meaning but paternalistic non-Indian reform groups of the era, typified by the attendees of the Lake Mohonk Conferences.

The SAI published its own magazine from 1912 until the organization's demise in 1923. It was first known as the *Quarterly Journal* but used the name *American Indian Magazine* beginning with the winter 1917 edition. Its editor was Arthur C. Parker, son of the late Seneca engineer and Commissioner of Indian Affairs Ely Parker (Donehogawah). An important contributor was the Lakota journalist Zitkala-Sa ('Gertrude Bonnin'). Parker held reformist views on the Bureau of Indian Affairs and its role in Indian Country. He believed that, given respectful policies and increased Indian staffing, the BIA could one day responsibly represent and protect Indian interests and rights from within the executive branch of the federal system. He and Montezuma clashed repeatedly over such ideas while the doctor remained on the board of SAI and even after, once Montezuma had his own newspaper in print. In their respective forums, these two fine and passionate writers conducted a notable debate over the

needs of Indian people and their communities as well as the proper relationship of the federal government to the tribes.

After World War II, the National Congress of American Indians also began publishing *NCAI Sentinel*, a magazine to supplement its newsletter. After thousands of trained, well-organized and networked American Indian veterans of the war returned home and went to college under the G.I Bill, then started professional lives, they eventually formed professional associations and projects. Many of these turned out a flood of modern Indian journals. A few of the many Indian magazines and bulletins published during recent decades are:

Indian Historian (founded in 1964 by the American Indian Historical Society in San Francisco)

Lakota Oyate-Ki (a prominent international journal published since 1969 by Indian inmates of Oregon State Penitentiary)

Indian Education (the journal of the National Indian Education Association since 1970)

Highlights (the journal of the National Tribal Chairmans' Association, published since 1971)

Weewish Tree (a youth magazine started in 1971 by the American Indian Historical Society)

Indian Courts Newsletter (also since 1971, published by the American Indian Court Judges Association)

Newsletter of the Association of American Indian Physicians (printed in Oklahoma City since 1973)

Indian Law Reporter (begun in 1974 by the American Indian Lawyer Training Program of Washington, D.C.)

American Indian Journal (published since 1975 by the Institute for the Development of Indian Law, also in Washington, D.C.)

Indian Affairs (formerly *Indian Natural Resources*, established in 1977 by the Association on American Indian Affairs, a legal and cultural support organization)

Winds of Change (the quarterly journal of the American Indian Science and Engineering Society since 1985)

Native American Journalism Workshop Newsletter (begun in the 1980s by the Department of Journalism at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque)

American Indian Broadcasting

American Indian broadcasting is a fairly recent phenomenon. Its beginnings may be traced to the personal access enjoyed by Will Rogers (Cherokee) in the 1920s and

the first half of the 1930s. On a broader social scale, however, American Indian broadcasting has a history only two decades old at the time of this writing.

The oldest Indian broadcast facilities in the United States are stations in North Carolina (WYRU-AM, 1970), New Mexico (KTDB-FM, 1972), North Dakota (KEYA-FM, 1975) and South Dakota (KINI-FM, 1976). Others have followed since, and a listing of currently-operating Indian-controlled broadcast facilities is provided below in Appendix D.

These stations follow a number of formats. Many are affiliates of the National Public Radio network and most offer a fair portion of Indian news, talk and local affairs programming. Most also offer musical programming meeting local Indian community tastes, with ethnic Indian music, country and western, and eclectic mixes of styles being most commonly played. Some, like WOJB-FM (La Courte Oreilles Ojibwe) and KABR-AM (Navajo), offer portions of their talk and news broadcasts in the American Indian language of their particular community. Several stations are owned by Indian-controlled schools and offer Indian students the opportunity to learn the skills needed in broadcasting.

There are efforts underway to build native-controlled networks of broadcast facilities. The Inuit Broadcasting Corporation (IBC) in Canada has constructed a series of production and broadcast facilities in northern Canada. The network features Inuktitut language broadcasts of shows dealing with Arctic interests, including current affairs, hunting, and entertainment programming.¹¹⁴

In the United States, the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium of Lincoln, Nebraska has become a major center for the production and distribution of programs about American Indian history, culture and contemporary life. These programs appear on Indian and non-Indian public broadcasting stations and are also

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used as instructional resources in some schools. The Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium was formed in 1976 in cooperation with the Nebraska Educational Telecommunications Center with support from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

The NAPBC principally acts as a library, technical assistance center and clearinghouse for educational and public television programming by and about American Indians. Its holdings of video programs about American Indian history and culture are the largest in the United States. The Consortium makes these available for use to member public broadcasting stations and educational institutions through its library program.

NAPBC also encourages the development of new programming by providing funding support for production, national distribution services, assistance in program development and consultation on the accuracy and authenticity of program content.¹¹⁵ It cooperates with the Corporation for Public Broadcasting and affiliated public television stations nationwide to produce new television programs of high quality. Such programs cover a wide range of topics, from contemporary Indian artists to the circumstances of treaty-making and today's efforts of Indian people to uphold the promises made by both parties to the treaties. The lives of urban and reservation Indians alike are well represented in NAPBC's collection of videos and films, which are available for use by member television stations and educational institutions around the country.¹¹⁶

Indian public broadcasting stations have recently organized themselves for mutual support in the Indigenous Communication Association. The ICA receives assistance from the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium, the Communications Department of the Institute of American Indian Arts and the University of New Mexico's Center for Technology Education.

Fiction

Fiction in the sense of ‘made up’ stories is a new genre of literature for most traditional American Indian cultures. An overwhelming majority wouldn’t conceive of their oral traditions, poetry and dramatic performances as anything but realistic and factual. The connotation of the English word ‘fiction’ as a description not based on a one-to-one correspondence with reality suggests something which traditional Indian people seek very hard to avoid. Reality is sacred; most Indian people have traditionally sought truth (an accurate match between description and reality) as a means to retain harmony among all the many beings sharing the same creation.

However, many changes have come to Indian Country in the past few centuries. Among them is a new idea, that deliberately devised descriptions that do not necessarily correspond one-to-one with reality can have literary value as expressions of possibilities or an author’s personal vision. This idea of a role for fiction in literature has gradually caught on among Indian writers, so that for several generations now they have been creating fiction. It is now commonplace to use this word to describe some of our oral and written traditions in the same way that European-Americans have used it to categorize their literature into types based on how ‘realistic’ the description is thought to be. So it is, then, that the genres of poetry, drama, short stories and folklore, and the longer written narratives called ‘novels’ are grouped here under this new label. But it was not always thus.

Poetry

The **Annals of the Cakchiqueles** are in the form of a long narrative poem similar to that of the Quiché Mayan **Popol Vuh**. The **Annals of the Cakchiqueles** record the history and cosmogony of the Cakchiqueles Maya of Guatemala up through the time of

the Conquest. Like the books of the **Chilam Balam**, this book may have originally existed in Maya logographic form, but no such copy survives. It is known from Romanized Maya and Spanish texts.

The **Popol Vuh** ('Council Book', also called 'The Dawn of Life') is an extraordinary epic poem fashioned from major components of Quiché Mayan cosmogony, history, and religious ritual. The oldest known copy was written in Romanized Quiché Maya in the 1600s. It was prepared by Spanish-educated members of the noble lineages of the town of Quiché who were anxious to preserve their cultural traditions in the wake of the Spaniards' destruction of their literature. This version was later transcribed by the Dominican Father Francisco Ximénes in the early 18th century. He copied the Quiché Mayan text using their Latinized, alphabetic representation of the Quiché language and, in parallel columns, added a translation into Spanish of the original. After the closing of the Dominican monasteries in Guatemala in the 19th century, his manuscript was found and published in 1857. In 1861, it was released in a French translation. Ximénes' manuscript still exists, having been removed from Guatemala in 1861 and added to the collection of the Newbery Library in Chicago in 1911.

The **Cantares Mexicanos** was a manuscript prepared during the Conquest period by the Aztec Brotherhood of Poets. The Brotherhood was one of the many Aztec professional and artisan societies. The manuscript is a set of poetic songs about the cultural glories of the Toltec days. It was recovered and translated into English by D. G. Brinton in 1887.¹¹⁷ In his discussion of excerpts from Brinton's work, Dr. Gordon Brotherston argues that the Nahuatl-speaking poets demonstrated a subtle, critical awareness of the power of poetry. The Aztec authors compared poetry to the enduring remnants of the city of Tula, home of the Toltec culture-bearers from whom the Aztec poets claimed heirship.¹¹⁸

As mentioned earlier, Dr. A. LaVonne Brown Ruoff of the University of Chicago has written several recent books exploring the contributions of American Indian poets and authors. Her historical accounts and literary assessments are important resources for teachers who wish to introduce American Indian writers to their students. Also mentioned elsewhere and referred to here is the work of Penny Petrone on Canadian Native authors and poets. Their books provide the materials for the introduction of the modern American Indian poets which appears below, for which I acknowledge them with my appreciation for their scholarship.

The earliest known American Indian volume of poetry in English was published in 1868, a year after the death of its author, the Cherokee newspaperman and novelist John Rollin Ridge. Ridge, who was known among his people as Cheesquatalawny ('Yellow Bird'), wrote most of these poems in his teenage years. Despite his youth at the time these poems were written, Dr. Ruoff has praised Ridge's skills in characterization and description in some of them.¹¹⁹

Another early Indian poet who worked in English was Alexander Posey. This Creek author was a journalist and satirist best known to the general public for his "Fus Fixico Letters" based on observations of Creek reservation life in Oklahoma. These rather resembled the "Mr. Dooley" columns of Posey's better-known journalistic contemporary Finley Peter Dunne. His poetry, the product of his younger years (like John Rollin Ridge), appeared in 1910, published by his wife Minnie after his death in 1907. **The Poems of Alexander Posey** was one of the small number of books of Indian poetry published in the first half of the 20th century, according to Dr. Ruoff.¹²⁰

Emily Pauline Johnson (Mohawk) was one of the first widely-read Canadian Native poets. She also published many popular short stories in womens' and family

magazines in the U.S. and Canada around the turn of the century. Her three volumes of collected poems were **The White Wampum** (1895), **Canadian Born** (1903) and **Flint and Feather** (1912). **The White Wampum** is the first known book of poetry published by an American Indian woman.

Paula Gunn Allen is a contemporary Laguna Pueblo/Lakota author principally known as a poet and essayist. Her work as a poet is collected in two acclaimed books, **Wyrds** (1987) and **Skins and Bones: Poems 1970-87** (1988). She is among the modern Indian poets represented in the poetry anthology **Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back**.¹²¹ Her poems and essays often explore the unique characteristics of American Indian women and their relationships with each other. A noted lesbian scholar, her literary works and research offer a perspective on American Indian women's lives which is hard to find in most writings.

Jim Barnes (Choctaw) is an active and prolific teacher and poet whose works include **This Crazy Land** (1980), **The Fish on Plateau Mountain** (1980), **The American Book of the Dead** (1982), **A Season of Loss: Poems** (1985), and **La Plata Cantata: Poems** (1989). He is a co-editor of *The Chariton Review*.

In addition to the narrative poems contained in his anthology **Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales**, Peter Blue Cloud (Mohawk) has also published two collections of his poems, **Turtle, Bear and Wolf** (1976) and **White Corn Sister** (1977, 1981).

Joseph Bruchac, the Abenaki scholar, is also a productive American Indian poet. His own volumes include **This Earth is a Drum** (1977), **There Are No Trees Inside the Prison** (1978), **Entering Onondaga** (1978), **Translator's Son** (1980) and **No Telephone to Heaven** (1984). In addition, he has edited anthologies of American Indian poetry and short writings. These include **Words from the House of the Dead:**

Prison Writings from Soledad (1971 with William Witherup), **Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back: Contemporary American Indian Poetry** (1983) and **The Light from Another Country: Poetry from American Prisons** (1984). Bruchac is also editor of the *Greenfield Review*.

Louise Erdrich, the Ojibwe novelist, has also given us two volumes of her poetry, the critically-acclaimed **Jacklight: Poems** (1984) and **Baptism of Desire: Poems** (1989).

Joy Harjo is a powerful Creek poet whose major collections are **What Moon Drove Me to This?** (1979), **She Had Some Horses** (1983) and **In Mad Love and War** (1990).

Linda Hogan is a Choctaw writer of short stories, novels and poetry. Her poems are gathered in **Calling Myself Home** (1978), **Daughters, I Love You** (1981), **Eclipse** (1983), **Seeing Through the Sun** (1985) and **Savings** (1988).

Maurice Kenny (Mohawk) is the author of three volumes of poems, along with his work in editing anthologies of stories from the oral tradition. His poems have been published in **Is Summer This Bear** (1985), **Between Two Rivers: Selected Poems 1956-84** (1987) and **Humors and/or Not So Humorous** (1988).

Dr. N. Scott Momaday (Kiowa) is a professor of English, an essayist and a Pulitzer Prize-winning novelist; his achievements as a poet are also of a high order. His collections include **Angle of Geese and Other Poems** (1974) and **The Gourd Dancer: Poems** (1976). He is represented in several anthologies as well, including **Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back**.

Duane Niatum (Klallam) is Washington state's best-known contemporary Indian poet. He has edited two major anthologies, **Carriers of the Dream Wheel** (1975) and **Harper's Anthology of 20th Century Native American Poetry** (1988). His own collections include the acclaimed **Ascending Red Cedar Moon** (1969), **After the Death of an Elder Klallam** (1970), **Taos Pueblo: Poems** (1973), **Digging Out the**

Roots (1977), **Songs for the Harvester of Dreams** (1981), and **Drawings of the Song Animals** (1990).

Simon Ortiz is a respected Acoma Pueblo author of short stories, poems and literary analysis. His poetry has appeared in numerous journals and anthologies, and is collected in his books **Going for the Rain** (1976), **A Good Journey** (1977), **Fight Back: For the Sake of the People, for the Sake of the Land** (1980), and **From Sand Creek** (1981).

Leslie Marmon Silko (Laguna Pueblo) is known as an eclectic weaver of traditional and modern elements in her fiction and poetry, which are also often interwoven. Her poetry appears in her books **Laguna Woman** (1974) and **Storyteller** (1981).

Gerald Vizenor (Ojibwe) is a professor of English. His scope as a writer is exceptionally wide: he has published as a poet, essayist, screenwriter, novelist, journalist and academic scholar. During and after service in the U.S. Army, he trained in Japan in the haiku form. Vizenor's poetry is collected in **Raising the Moon Vines: Original Haiku in English** (1964), **Seventeen Chirps: Haiku in English** (also 1964), **Slight Abrasions: A Dialogue in Haiku** (1966), **Empty Swings** (1967) and **Matsushima: Pine Islands** (1984)

James Welch (Blackfeet/Gros Ventre) is a professor of English, a popular novelist and a poet. **Riding the Earthboy 40** (1971) is his major collection of poems.

Northwest American Indian poets are well-represented in a recent anthology edited by Andrea Lerner. **Dancing on the Rim of the World** (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1990) includes selections from the works of Victor Charlo (Salish), Anita Endrezze (Yaqui), Phil George (Nez Percé/Tsimshian), Janet Campbell Hale (Coeur D'Alene), Duane Niatum (Klallam), Sandra Osawa (Makah), Glen Simpson (Athabaskan), Mary Tallmountain (Athabaskan), Gail Tremblay (Onondaga/Micmac),

Vince Wannassay (Umatilla) and Elizabeth Woody (Wasco/Navajo), among many others. This is an excellent (no holds barred, though) introduction to contemporary Northwest Indian poets for teachers and high school students alike.

Drama

The most successful American Indian dramatist of the 20th century was 'Rolla' Lynn Riggs, a Cherokee. His credits include the Broadway shows **Big Lake** in 1927 (not a hit); **Borned in Texas** (successfully produced on Broadway as **Roadside** in 1930); **Green Grow the Lilacs** (written in 1928, it was first produced in 1931, then adapted in 1943 as the popular musical **Oklahoma!**); **The Cherokee Night** (1936) was critically recognized and was Riggs only overtly 'Indian' play; this was followed by the satire **Russett Mantle** in 1936. Riggs went on to work as a free-lance screenwriter and director of drama at the University of Iowa and Northwestern University in his later years.¹²²

Gerald Vizenor, the Ojibwe professor introduced in the section on poetry, had a notable screenwriting success in the early 1980s. He wrote a screenplay which became the cult favorite comedy **Harold of Orange** in 1983.

A few American Indian authors have written stage plays in recent years, but no one has yet equaled Riggs stature. Among the leading modern Indian playwrights is Hanay Geiogamah (Kiowa/Leni-Lenape), who published **New Native American Drama: Three Plays** in 1980. Geiogamah is also a principal in the American Indian Dance Theater, mentioned in the Physical Education/Health essay.

In the Pacific Northwest, Ed Edmo (Shoshone-Bannock) has earned a reputation as the region's leading American Indian playwright with a series of one man performances and contemporary one act plays. **Skid Road** was the first in 1985.

Short Stories and Folklore

The collection and publication of the oral traditions of many of the tribes was a major strand of American Indian literature that flourished during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. A host of professional and amateur scholars compiled oral histories and tribal stories from Indian informants throughout the Americas, or recovered from obscure repositories the Indian stories collected by earlier generations of Europeans and Americans. A great deal of the surviving oral traditions was reduced to written form in this manner.

Prominent compilers included two men already mentioned, George Bird Grinnell (then editor of the popular outdoor magazine *Forest and Stream*) and the adopted American-Blackfeet author James Willard Schultz. Another American-Blackfeet adoptee who collected and published the tribal stories was Walter McClintock. Academic compilers of note were Stith Thompson of Indiana University, Clarence Bagley of the University of Washington, and, more recently, Ella Clark of Washington State University. Nebraskan poet laureate John G. Neihardt also collected tribal stories in the 1930s in addition to his work with the Lakota visionary medicine man Nicholas Black Elk on two books about Black Elk's life and spiritual teachings.

Professional scholars also began significant compilations in the late 19th century. Important contributors to this work were the early anthropologists Lewis Henry Morgan, John Wesley Powell (the first head of the Smithsonian Institute's Bureau of American Ethnology, which published extensive collections annually for several decades), Adolf Bandelier, James Mooney (who worked for the BAE) and Columbia University professor Franz Boas. Boas in particular influenced a subsequent generation of his students to continue this work, prominent among them Matilda Coxe Stevenson, Frances Densmore, T. T. Waterman and Margaret Mead.

However, teachers must approach and use much of this material with caution. Tribal storytellers have pointed out that many of the collectors misunderstood, simplified or actively edited the stories they gathered and printed. These compilers lost much of the deep meaning of American Indian stories which is conveyed by traditional storytellers through gesture, facial expression and intonation.¹²³ Many of them edited the stories to fit their ideas of the social expectations of their non-Indian audiences; consequently, the texts often have been criticized by tribal storytellers and elders who frequently comment “That’s not how I used to hear that story told.”

It is advisable to contact a recognized tribal storyteller or historian to help validate the authenticity of printed versions of collected American Indian stories. This is especially recommended where the collector has not identified both the tribe of origin and the tribal storyteller from whom the author obtained the version published. Tribal government offices and many urban Indian cultural organizations can assist teachers in obtaining contact information for this purpose.

Translation or transcription of Indian performances from the oral traditions, continued to develop as a literary genre into the second half of the 20th century. A number of native and non-native authors with strong sympathies for the beauty of these traditions have collected and published numerous modern anthologies. John Bierhorst, Richard Erdoes and Alfonso Ortiz (San Juan Tewa), Alice Marriott and Carol Rachlin, Jarold Ramsey, and Barry Holstun Lopez, among others, have published many collections of older and more modern stories from the oral tradition in the past few decades. Paula Gunn Allen’s **Spider Woman’s Granddaughters**, mentioned above, is another such compilation of modern and traditional stories, these written by American Indian women authors.

Several anthologies of modern Indian short stories have had commercial and critical success in recent years. Simon Ortiz edited one such anthology of short fiction, **Earth Power Coming** (1984). Peter Blue Cloud edited **Elderberry Flute Song** and a later collection of contemporary Coyote stories, **Coyote's Journal**, both mentioned earlier in this essay.

Rayna Green (Cherokee) was the editor for **That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women**, published in 1984 by the University of Indiana Press. Jamake Highwater (Blackfeet) compiled **Words in the Blood: Contemporary Indian Writers of North and South America** in 1984 as well. Canadian Native writers are represented in **An Anthology of Canadian native Fiction**, edited in 1987 by Thomas King (Cherokee) and published as a special edition of *Canadian Fiction Magazine*.¹²⁴ A great many American Indian and Inuit authors have been anthologized in recent decades, appearing in compilations of fiction, poetry and essays prepared by non-Native editors; teachers can consult the appendices and indices of the general bibliographic works cited earlier in this essay for more complete references than it is possible to provide here.

Novels

American Indian authors began to write extended fiction in the modern novel format about 140 years ago. The first Indian novels were 'few and far between', and the vast majority of American Indian novels date from the 1930s and more recent decades. I am indebted here as well to the scholarship of Dr. Ruoff for her characterizations of some of the important Indian novelists and their works. Her reference and bibliographic works contain information about many other native authors as well and are well worth consulting, along with the bibliographies of Anna Stensland and Penny Petrone.

The first American Indian novel was John Rollin Ridge's **Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta**. This popular, historically-based book was first published in 1854. The plot involves a semi-legendary Mexican-Indian miner who seeks revenge for his brother's murder in the California gold fields. Ridge was a mixed-blood Cherokee newspaperman in California during the gold rush days. His book inspired several later Mexican-American writers to add to the Murieta legend in their own works.

Mourning Dove (also known as Christine Quintasket) of the Colville tribe collaborated with a scholar (Lucullus McWorter) to write the first novel published by an American Indian woman. Released in 1927, **Cogewea, the Half-Blood** dealt with the identity and cultural position of mixed-race individuals and the orienting role of the oral tradition for these individuals.

D'Arcy McNickle, already mentioned as an historian, also was a novelist of note. His first novel, **The Surrounded** (1936), examined both the breakdown of a tribe under the pressures of acculturation and land loss and the challenges faced by a mixed-blood in discovering his place in the community. His second novel, written for a young adult audience, was **Runner in the Sun** (1954), a tale of a young man's efforts to save his pueblo from starvation and the power of an evil rival. This is still a popular novel found in many school libraries. McNickle's last novel was **Wind From an Enemy Sky** (1978), published a year after the author's death. It deals with a conflict between the government's efforts to build a dam that floods a sacred site and a tribe's values centered on its religious beliefs. Two tribal brothers, one a traditionalist and one favoring assimilation, provide readers with insight into the complex issues facing Indians as they deal with both their ancient relationships with their homelands and the changes brought about by peoples only recently arrived.

George Todd Downing was a Choctaw educator and productive author working in the 1930s and early '40s. He was one of the first of the few Indian novelists to

contribute to the detective and mystery genre. His titles tended to have locales set in Mexico, where Downing also worked as a cultural tour guide; they are **Murder on Tour** (1933), **The Cat Screams** (1934), **Vultures in the Sky** (1935), **Murder on the Tropic** (also 1935), **The Case of the Unconquered Sisters** (1936), **The Last Trumpet** (1937), **Night Over Mexico** (also 1937), **Death Under the Moonflower** (1938), **The Mexican Earth** (1940) and **The Lazy Lawrence Murders** (1941). While not in the artistic or commercial league of a Dashiell Hammett or Agatha Christie, Downing had reasonable success with his mystery stories during an age that relished and devoured many such titles for recreational reading.

In 1944, Ella C. Deloria (Standing Rock Lakota), a noted linguist and historian of her people, completed a novel begun in the 1930s. Entitled **Waterlily**, the book was first published in 1988 by the University of Nebraska Press and has been critically acclaimed. It especially shares much about the life of 19th century Lakota women, detailing the network of relations and customs within Lakota families and bands.

Navarre Scott Momaday, the Kiowa author, has crafted several highly-regarded novels. One of these, **The House Made of Dawn** (1968), won him a Pulitzer Prize for Literature the following year. It is a story of a mixed-blood Jemez Pueblo soldier who, estranged from his family and community, experiences a cycle of hardships over many years. Through these experiences and the teachings of various relatives, Indian friends and his white girl friend, the protagonist begins to integrate his tribe's oral traditions with his own memories to shape a sense of self and an identity as a community member as the novel comes to its close.

Another of Momaday's novels, **The Ancient Child** (1989), brings together Kiowa, Navajo and Pueblo story themes as a culturally-disconnected Indian artist undertakes an odyssey of self-healing and transformation in which he eventually becomes himself a story renewing one of the ancient stories.

Leslie Marmon Silko's novel **Ceremony** (1977) somewhat resembles Momaday's **The House Made of Dawn**. A mixed-blood ex-soldier protagonist undertakes a spiritual regeneration and reintegration by reenacting through the medium of his own life his pueblo's stories of migration and transformation into fully human form. Dr. Ruoff asserts that Silko is less ambivalent than Momaday in her treatment of the issues and challenges involved in following the guidance of the oral tradition in modern circumstances.¹²⁵ Her latest novel is **Almanac of the Dead** (1991).

James Welch is a Blackfeet/Gros Ventre educator, poet and novelist. Three of his works, **Winter in the Blood** (1974), **The Death of Jim Loney** (1979), and **Indian Lawyer** (1991) are given contemporary settings. Each takes a deep look at the complex issues of personal and family identities and cultural connectedness for middle-aged protagonists who experience conflicts between these aspects of who they are and what others, Indians and non-Indians alike, expect of them. **Fools Crow** (1986) is a historical novel about the Blackfeet in the days just before they are forced onto a reservation. Welch focuses on the personalities and interactions of the members of a band facing increasing settlement pressures, particularly the life and experiences of a warrior who is undergoing training to become a shaman.

Louise Erdrich (Ojibwe) is best known as a novelist for her multigenerational trilogy about the complex relationships among members of several North Dakota Chippewa families in the 20th century. **Love Medicine** (1984) covers events between 1934 and 1983 relating to a love triangle; **Beet Queen** (1986) follows two cousins and a friend through their lives in an off-reservation town between 1932 and 1972; **Tracks** (1988) tells the stories of the schemes and relations of the only surviving members of two of the families in their dealings with a greedy mixed-blood and many other perplexities. This part of the story takes place between 1912 and 1919; this was the generation that dealt with the allotment and breakup of the tribal reservation. Erdrich projects a fourth

novel in this series to further tie up the complicated knots of this story! In addition to her trilogy, she recently co-wrote **The Crown of Columbus** with her husband Michael Dorris (the Modoc author of **A Yellow Raft on Blue Water** and **The Broken Chord**). **The Crown of Columbus** is a multi-layered novel dealing with many of the historical and continuing repercussions of Contact and Conquest.

Martin Cruz Smith (Senecu del Sur/Yaqui) is another of the small number of Indian writers who have written mystery novels. Publishing under several names and pseudonyms (Martin William Smith, Martin Cruz Smith, Martin Quinn, Simon Quinn, Nick Carter and Jake Logan), Smith is best known for his mystery thrillers **Nightwing** (1977) and **Gorky Park** (1981), both of which have been made into movies. Other Smith novels include the critically-lauded **Stallion Gate** (1986) about the World War II testing of nuclear weapons in the Pueblo homelands of New Mexico and **Polar Star** (1989), another of his stories based in Russia.

These few examples of American Indian storytellers, historians, actors, technical writers, poets, orators and novelists are but the beginnings of an introduction to the literary achievements of the hundreds of native cultures of the Western Hemisphere. The riches spoken forth, written down, and acted out by the generations of native practitioners of the language arts in the Americas are worthy and capable of sustaining the attention of generations of students and teachers. They are, after all, half of the world's story about our shared humanity.

APPENDIX A CHRONOLOGY

A Chronology of American Indian Literature and Language Arts

Dates in **boldface** indicate events primarily due to American Indian initiatives; dates in plain type indicate events primarily due to initiatives by others.

- ca. -600** At the Zapotec site called San José Mogote, one of the oldest known American Indian date hieroglyphs is carved onto a threshold stone in a corridor between two public buildings.
- ca. -250** At the city now called Monte Albán, the Zapotec carve hieroglyphs for bar-and-dot numerals, the day names of the Calendar Round system, and other logographic symbols which suggest they were the first known American Indian culture to develop true writing.
- ca. -100** A system of logographic writing develops and begins to spread through the Mayan cultural region. The Mayan scribes begin to record the deeds of their kings on monumental flattened obelisks known as stelae, set up in public places in their emerging cities.
- 36** A stone slab is incised with a date corresponding to December 8 of this year at the late Olmec site of Chiapa de Corzo in what is now the Mexican state of Chiapas.
- 32** Olmec scribes in the community of Tres Zapotes carve a date corresponding to September 3 of this year in a stela.
- 120** The earliest known Mayan object with a contemporary decipherable date is created, the so-called 'DO celt' (a ritual axe head).
- 199** The Maya carve and erect their earliest known dated stela. From this time until the collapse of the classic Maya communities in the late 9th century, dynastic histories and important ceremonial events will be recorded by the Maya on these stelae, which are known from every important Mayan center.
- 1427-80** Tlacaelel, the Cihuacoatl ('Woman Snake' or vizier) to three consecutive Aztec leaders, promotes a policy of historical revisionism which results in the burning of most books of peoples conquered by the Aztec armies. Only those works which cast the Aztec in a favorable light are preserved, and much of the Aztecs' own historical record is rewritten in this period.

- 1547-65** Collaborating with the Franciscan friar Bernardino de Sahagún, a large group of Aztec informants and scholars assembles a twelve-volume text in Romanized Nahuatl and in the Toltec logographic writing system. This series on Aztec history and culture is called the **Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España**.
- 1553 Pedro de Cieza de León publishes his **La Crónica del Peru**, basing it on his observations of post-Conquest Incan life as he had witnessed it on a 1548 journey along the Inca Royal Highway from Colombia into Peru
- 1555 The Spanish publish an Aztec (Nahuatl) dictionary.
- 1562 In one of the worst disasters ever to befall world literature, the Franciscan padre Diego de Landa gathers together and burns every Indian book written and stored in an important library in the Mayan city of Maní on the Yucatán Peninsula on July 12. [The loss is comparable to the destruction of the library of Alexandria in Egypt during the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. Only two complete and two fragmentary Mayan hieroglyphic books, along with literary fragments entombed as burial offerings, survive to the present.] Other Franciscan and Dominican priests also contribute to the destruction of the Maya and Aztec literary heritage over a period of several decades as the conquest of Mesoamerica proceeds. In 1563, Landa is called to Spain to justify his action before the Council of the Indies. He is exonerated of any guilt and returned to Mexico as the Bishop of Yucatán in 1573.
- 1565** In Mexico City, Father Sahagún prepares a Spanish translation of the Nahuatl text of the **Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España**. To retain authenticity, he continues consulting his Aztec collaborators and numerous Native texts hidden from destruction in the autos-da-fé of Landa and other priests. [The resulting books can thus best be seen as a product of cooperative authorship.]
- 1566 While in Spain, Diego de Landa writes his **Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán**, an ethnography of the Mayan peoples in the southern regions of Mesoamerica. He includes extensive notes on the logographic writing system used in the Maya books he had helped obliterate. These have provided modern scholars with some important clues used in deciphering parts of the Mayan writing system. His work also touches on aspects of Mayan science, art, religion and ceremonies, social customs and warfare, as well as Mayan mathematics and calendric systems.
- 1569 Alfonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga publishes his **La Araucana**, an epic on the attempted Spanish conquest of Chile.

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- 1576-79 The Dominican monk Diego Durán writes the first of his three major books on traditional Aztec culture, the **Book of the Gods and Rites**.
- 1579 Durán, in his monastery in Mexico City, writes **The Ancient Calendar**, describing the Aztec calendric system and its place in the ritual life of the traditional Aztec society.
- 1580-81 Fray Durán completes his trilogy with **The History of the Indies**.
- 1583 The Catholic Church's Council of Lima orders the destruction of the Incan libraries of quipu strings, asserting that they are the work of the devil. This disaster, comparable to the burning of the Mayan libraries by Father Diego de Landa 21 years earlier, results in the loss of all but a few hundred 'documents' from the state records of the Inca Tawatinsuyú.
- 1596 Sir Walter Raleigh publishes **The Discoverie of Guiana** about his 1595 expedition up the Orinoco River in search of El Dorado, the legendary 'Man of Gold.' He reports finding some gold mines and claims the local chiefs ceded their lands to England. [He was to return in 1616, leading a failed expedition to exploit his earlier claims and discoveries.]
- 1585-1613** The bilingual Inca historian Guamán Poma writes his **New Chronicle and Good Government**. [This notable history of the early decades of contact between the Inca and the Spanish is partly based on Poma's transcription of some of the surviving Inca quipu records; he claimed to possess the specialized knowledge needed to do so as the son of an official librarian. Poma also drew on contemporaneous eyewitness accounts of Inca officials and priests. He wrote in a mixture of Spanish and Quechua and included 397 of his own illustrations.] The history is quite extensive, totaling 1179 pages. Upon its completion, Guamán Poma sends it to the King of Spain, Philip III, in the hope that it might help the monarch to better understand his Peruvian possessions. Poma offers the Spanish king advice on how to appropriately govern the region in the cultural vacuum left after the destruction of the Inca state in 1572.
- 1609-16** The Incan historian Garcilaso de la Vega publishes his **History of the Conquest of Peru**.
- 1643 Roger Williams, while in London to obtain a charter for his colony of Rhode Island, writes and publishes **A Key Into the Language of America** based on his knowledge of the Narragansett language, in which he had become fluent.
- 1654 John Eliot, Puritan missionary of Roxbury, Massachusetts Bay Colony, publishes a short catechism (Christian religious instructional program) in

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the Natick dialect of Massachusetts (one of the Algonkin family of languages). Used as a basis for classroom instruction, the catechism also introduces two Indian teachers and scores of young Indian students to the rudiments of written English.

- 1661-63 John Eliot translates the Bible into the Natick dialect as a part of his activities on behalf of the Company for Propagating the Gospel in New England and Parts Adjacent in North America, the first English missionary society. When completed, his work becomes the first Bible published in America.
- 1669 John Eliot expands his earlier Natick catechism into a bilingual, Natick-English text published as the **Indian Primer**. It becomes one of the first American textbooks, used along with Eliot's Bible and his translation of a primer in logic as the basis for instruction in the schools of the New England Indian 'Praying Towns' during much of the next century.
- 1683 William Penn writes a tract promoting settlement in his new proprietary colony of Pennsylvania, **A Letter to the Free Society of Traders** (also known by the title **A General Description of Pennsylvania**). He describes the territory and gives a reasonably accurate 'field report' on the culture of the Leni-Lenape Indians, also known as the Delaware tribe. The report encourages a great influx of European, particularly German, settlers.
- 1697 The last known major collection of pre-Contact Mayan documents, preserved by the Itzá (elected king of the city) of Tayasal in the Petén region of what is now northern Guatemala, is lost or destroyed in the conquest of this last independent Mayan capital by the governor of Yucatán, Martín de Ursúa.
- 1701-21 Father Francisco Ximénes translates the sacred Quiché Mayan book, the **Popol Vuh** ('Council Book,' also called 'The Dawn of Life') into a Latin alphabet adaptation of the Quiché language and, in parallel columns, into Spanish. One manuscript copy still exists. This book has been called the most important native American text. The subject matter begins in mythic times before the dawn of the current age of mankind and continues into the era of the historical Maya, touching on creation, religion, the origins of social life, and the establishment of Mayan culture and customs.
- 1754 Jean Jacques Rousseau, in Geneva, publishes his essay **L'Inégalité par les hommes: discours** ('**A Discourse on the Origin of Inequality**'). He offers many references to Native American customs, drawn from accounts of early explorers and settlers, in justification of his social reform thesis. Rousseau imagines a description of 'savage' life which gives birth to several persistent myths about the differences between Indians and

'civilized' men. Essentially, he alternates between describing American Indians as 'insensible barbarians' and 'noble savages.' [It is Rousseau's intent in this essay to use the contrasts between his view of a decadent, authoritarian European civilization and the exemplary 'natural' social life he conceives as existing among American Indians to urge Europeans to see possibilities for social reform in their own homelands.]

- 1762 In his **Du Contrat social, ou principes du droit politique** ('**The Social Contract or Principles of Political Right**'), Rousseau argues that the right to possess land as a first occupant is qualified by three conditions: the land must be unoccupied by others; one must occupy only what one needs for subsistence; and only labor and cultivation, and not "empty ceremony," confirm proprietorship in absence of a legal title. Distorted use of Rousseau's second and third conditions is later made by European-Americans in court and legislative arguments over their supposed 'right' to extinguish Indian title to lands in the following century and a half. Rousseau's first condition is often ignored or is fictitiously claimed to exist in these discussions.
- 1772 Samson Occom, a Methodist missionary and member of the Mohican tribe, is the first Indian to publish a work in English. His *Sermon Preached at the Execution of Moses Paul* is done in the style of then-popular execution sermons; it becomes a best-seller. The tract also deals with the evils of alcohol. [Occom later becomes an important advocate for his people in their land claim lawsuits against New York. He also is instrumental in arranging the relocation of portions of the Oneida and other New York tribes to Wisconsin after the Revolutionary War.]
- 1775 James Adair, scion of an Irish family, a former trader among the Chickasaw and an active opponent of French influence in the Mississippi Valley, publishes his **History of the American Indians** in London. He makes the argument (as had various Spanish authors, William Penn, Roger Williams and Cotton Mather before him, later taken up by the Mormon Church) that the Indians of America are descended from the lost tribes of Israel.
- 1809-21 Sequoyah (also Sikwayi or George Gist), a mixed-blood Cherokee resident of Tennessee who never learned English, invents the Cherokee syllabary. His system uses 85 symbols to represent the syllables of the Cherokee language, and becomes the medium for school instruction and book and newspaper publication among the Cherokee through to the present. [Sequoyah was also a noted painter, silversmith and soldier who served in the U.S. Army in Andrew Jackson's war against the Creek Nation in 1813-14.]

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- 1823 **The Pioneers**, first of a series of frontier novels known as the 'Leatherstocking Tales,' is published by James Fennimore Cooper of Cooperstown, N.Y. These are immensely popular in the U.S. The main character is a woodsman named Natty Bumppo (known by his nicknames 'Deerslayer,' 'Pathfinder,' and 'Hawkeye'). Bumppo is supported in his career in these novels by a Mohican 'sidekick' named Chingachgook (he is also called 'John Mohegan'). This latter character influences the view many 19th century Americans take of Indian life and personality.
- 1826 Cooper publishes **The Last of the Mohicans**.
- 1827 David Cusick, Tuscarora, becomes the first Indian to publish a work of history in English. His **Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations** contains accounts of the tribal histories of the Six Nations making up the Iroquois Confederacy.
- 1829 William Apes, Pequot, becomes the first published Indian autobiographer with the release of his **A Son of the Forest**. [Apes lived among whites during childhood as an indentured servant, served in the U.S. Army during the War of 1812, and was ordained a Methodist minister the same year he released his book.]
- James Fennimore Cooper releases **The Prairie**.
- 1831 The Aleut language is put into written form for the first time by Russian Orthodox missionaries.
- 1833 While in military prison following his defeat and capture in the Black Hawk War that bears his name, Makataimeshekiakiak dictates his autobiography **Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak**, which is published later in the year.
- William Apes publishes **The Experiences of Five Christian Indians of the Pequod Tribe**, a history of his people. In an appendix entitled "An Indian's Looking-Glass for the White Man", Apes criticizes state laws denying Indian civil rights as well as the federal Indian Removal Act.
- 1834-74 George Bancroft, 'the father of American history,' writes his 10-volume **History of the United States**. This work becomes a best-selling, standard text on the colonial and Revolutionary periods through the 19th century. Bancroft's nationalistic views and belief in 'progress' as God's will lead him to offer a perspective on frontier relations between Indians and European-Americans which distorts the realities faced by the tribes and celebrates U.S. encroachments as a blessing for all.
- 1835 William Apes issues a forceful protest volume, **Indian Nullification of the Unconstitutional Laws of Massachusetts, Relative to the Marshpee**

Tribe. This work details the history of the Marshpees' complaints with the colony and later state of Massachusetts. Apes becomes an adopted member of the tribe. His efforts as a publicist and historian of their conflict greatly assist the Marshpee in winning a court case against Massachusetts, one of the few Indian land rights victories during the Removal Period.

William Gilmore Simms publishes **The Yemassee**, a work of romantic fiction about the Yamasee tribe of the Carolinas and their conflicts with colonists in the region. [This book was reprinted in 1964 by the College & University Press.]

1836 The final publication by William Apes, an oratorical sermon entitled **Eulogy on King Philip**, offers a powerful criticism of the mistreatment of New England's tribes by the Pilgrims and later immigrants.

1840 **The Pathfinder** is published by J. F. Cooper; it is the year's best-selling novel in America.

1841 Under the tutelage of Father Veniaminov, the Russian Orthodox missionary in the Fox District of the Aleutian Islands, all the resident Aleut have learned to write.

Fennimore Cooper's last novel in the 'Leatherstocking' series, **The Deerslayer**, tells the story of Natty Bumppo as a young man. [The series was not written in a chronological order. Cooper's initial realism in his portrayals gave way to romantic views of the conflict between 'primitive' and 'civilized' ways of life as the series progressed.]

George Catlin publishes his **The Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians** in two volumes. These books draw from his seven years of field notes, diary entries and letters, written while he was traveling in the West painting among the tribes of the Missouri and Mississippi regions.

1843 William Hickling Prescott of Boston releases his popular 3 volume **History of the Conquest of Mexico**. Based upon Spanish sources and lacking a basis in firsthand observation of the cultures involved, it romanticizes the Indian cultures there somewhat while simultaneously reporting the history from a Spanish point of view. It is nevertheless regarded as the first American example of a history guided by scientific standards of research while maintaining high literary quality. It is eventually translated into 10 languages and printed over 200 times.

1847 W. H. Prescott publishes the 2 volume **History of the Conquest of Peru**, which follows the format and popularity of his earlier work on Mexico.

- 1848 Maungwudaus (George Henry, Ojibwe) prints a pamphlet entitled **An Account of the Chippewa Indians**, the first extensive travelogue published by an Indian. [He had released a much shorter pamphlet the previous year entitled **Remarks Concerning the Ojibway Indians, By One of Themselves, Called Maungwudaus.**] It recounts the experiences of Maungwudaus' band of Ojibwe performers on a road trip through the U.S., England, Ireland, Scotland, Belgium and France.
- 1850 Kahgegagahbowh (George Copway, Ojibwe), releases **Traditional History and Characteristic Sketches of the Ojibway Nation**. Copway uses some materials from the oral traditions of his people to trace the history of Ojibwe migrations and wars as well as to introduce aspects of Ojibwe social life.
- 1851 George Copway publishes an early Indian travel book, **Running Sketches of Men and Places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium and Scotland**. For a few months this year, he also prints a newspaper, *Copway's American Indian*.
- 1854 The first novel written by an American Indian, John Rollin Ridge's **Life and Adventures of Joaquín Murieta**, is published. The story involves a semi-legendary Mexican Indian miner who seeks revenge for his brother's murder in the California gold fields. Ridge's book inspires several later Mexican-American writers who add to the Murieta legend in subsequent works. While in California, Ridge, a mixed-blood member of a prominent Cherokee family, also writes for several early newspapers and later owns and edits several others.
- 1855 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Harvard poet, publishes his **Song of Hiawatha**, a romantic narrative poem with a strongly incantative meter which contributes to its popularity. The poem draws only somewhat upon Iroquoian stories and owes very little to the historical personage of the Mohawk Hiawatha. [Hiawatha was a noted cultural hero of his people who had helped establish the Great Law of Peace and a federal form of union among the original Five Nations of the Iroquois.]
- 1861 **History of the Ojibway Indians** by Kahkewaquonaby (Peter Jones, Ojibwe) is published posthumously. Jones, a Methodist missionary (as was George Copway), presents information on a large body of Ojibwe social customs. His work is regarded as more authoritative than Copway's earlier work.
- 1863 The French abbot Charles Étienne Brasseur de Bourbourg discovers a copy of Bishop Diego de Landa's **Relación de las Cosas de Yucatán**.

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The manuscript is found in a library in Madrid. Brasseur's publication reintroduces this valuable document to the world.

- 1868** A year after his death, a collection of John Rollin Ridge's poetry is released. **Poems** is the first volume of American Indian poetry to be published in English.
- 1870** Peter Dooyentate Clarke (Wyandot) issues his **Origin and Traditional History of the Wyandotts, and Sketches of Other Indian Tribes of North America**, a tribal history based on the oral tradition.
- 1881** Elias Johnson, a sachem of the Tuscarora Nation, releases his **Legends, Traditions and Laws, of the Iroquois**, a historical and sociological work.
- 1883** Sarah Winnemucca (whose married name is Hopkins), Paiute, is the first American Indian woman to publish an autobiography, **Life among the Piutes**. Winnemucca is the granddaughter of Truckee and the daughter of Old Winnemucca, two well-known Paiute chiefs who had counseled good tribal relations with U.S. citizens despite much ill treatment from them. She provides a good deal of information on the social customs of her people, including the prominent place of women in the Paiute councils. Winnemucca's book also offers an extensive personal history, focusing on her impressions of tribal life and personalities. Her writing contains pointed criticism of those immigrants who mistreated her people.
- 1885** William Whipple Warren's 1852 volume, **History of the Ojibway, Based upon Traditions and Oral Statements**, is finally published more than 30 years after the Ojibwe author and statesman's death. This work details the history of the Ojibwe people and also includes a general discussion of their Algonkin relatives in other tribes.
- 1887** Mackawdegbenessy (Chief Andrew Blackbird) of the Ottawa tribe brings out his **History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan**.
- 1892** Emily Pauline Johnson, a Canadian Mohawk, first reads her poem "A Cry from an Indian Wife" in Toronto. This poem about the first Riel Rebellion of the Metis (mixed-bloods) wins her wide acclaim. She goes on to give readings of this and other works across Canada, the United States and England.
- 1895** Emily Pauline Johnson is the first American Indian woman to publish a book of poetry. **The White Wampum** strongly emphasizes Indian themes.
- 1896** James Mooney releases **The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890** as part of a Bureau of Ethnology Report to the Smithsonian Institution. The report is based upon his travels to

reservations where the Ghost Dance had appeared as an expression of hopes for Indian cultural revival. It provides painstaking documentation of the causes and personalities involved in the events that led up to the Wounded Knee battle and the assassination of Hunkpapa Lakota leader Sitting Bull. [Mooney took pains to visit and learn directly from the Paiute prophet Wovoka who initiated the Ghost Dance. He also spent months in the field talking with various tribal dance leaders. Thus, he was permitted to compile the lyrics of 161 Ghost Dance songs (with translations) from thirteen tribes. Mooney also included extensive drawings and photographs of persons, events, and objects associated with this era of American Indian history.]

- 1901** Alexander Posey, Creek, edits the *Indian Journal* (which he buys in 1902) in Eufaula, Oklahoma Territory. Inspired by Finley Peter Dunne's 'Mr. Dooley' character, Posey writes a satirical column known as the "Fus Fixico Letters" using a Creek/English dialect style. Posey's barbs are aimed about equally at the convoluted politics of the Indian Territory (later incorporated into Oklahoma) and the foibles of the United States, especially its Indian policies.
- 1902** Ohiyesa (the Lakota physician also known as Dr. Charles Eastman) publishes one of the earliest children's books by an American Indian author, **Indian Boyhood**. It consists of an account of Ohiyesa's childhood during the final decade of Lakota freedom. As with most of Eastman's books, his wife Elaine is co-author of this popular volume.
- 1903** Emily Pauline Johnson publishes her second volume of poetry, **Canadian Born**.
- 1904** The Eastmans print a children's collection of retold traditional stories, **Red Hunters and the Animal People**.
- 1905-35** Will Rogers, mixed-blood Cherokee (and Irish; possibly a descendant of James Adair, see above) performer, comedian, film star and author, rises to prominence, becoming acclaimed as a national treasure. Following a period in a Wild West show in Argentina (1902), Rogers uses his trick roping and comedic skills in New York vaudeville shows, joining several major revues and the *Ziegfeld Follies* from 1915 through the mid-1920s. He is the author of a weekly syndicated newspaper column beginning in 1922, which becomes a daily piece after 1926. In the form of a 'daily telegram', these later columns run in 350 newspapers around the country. Rogers' columns poke sly fun at politicians and current events in the laconic 'cowboy' style he also uses on stage. Beginning in the late 1920s until his death, he acts as a major star in a number of movies. These include *A Connecticut Yankee* (1931), *State Fair* (1933), and *David Harum* (1934); he also stars in Eugene O'Neill's comedy *Ah, Wilderness*

on stage in San Francisco in 1933. He is a prolific author, whose book credits include **Rogersisms: The Cowboy Philosopher on Prohibition** and **Rogersisms: The Cowboy Philosopher on the Peace Conference** (both 1919), **What We Laugh At** (1920), **The Illiterate Digest** (1924), **Letters of a Self-Made Diplomat to His President** and **There's Not a Bathing Suit in Russia** (both 1927), and **Will Rogers' Political Follies** and **Esther and Me** (both 1929). He is the most popular comedian in the United States at the time of his 1935 death in a plane crash with famed aviator Wiley Post in Alaska.

- 1906** Three years before his death in military confinement on the Fort Sill Reservation in Oklahoma, Geronimo dictates his autobiography. His story is told to the educator S.M. Barrett through the interpretation of Asa Daklugie, the son of Nedni Apache chief Whoa. The resulting book contains Geronimo's account of the social structure, daily life and customs of the various Apache bands, and recounts the history of their struggles against Mexican and American encroachments on their territories.
- 1907** Charles and Elaine Eastman release a collection of reworked Lakota stories about notable men and women entitled **Old Indian Days**.
- 1909** The Eastmans publish another of their interpretive collections of Lakota stories, **Wigwam Evenings: Sioux Folktales Retold**.
- 1910** Emily Pauline Johnson (Mohawk) is writing short fiction which she releases through the Chicago-area journals *Mother's Magazine* and *Boy's World*. Since *Mother's Magazine* has a circulation of over 600,000 at this time, Johnson becomes one of the best-known Indian authors of her era.

The Eastmans' popular 1909 volume of children's' stories is reissued as **Smoky Day's Wigwam Evenings: Indian Stories Retold**.

The Poems of Alexander Lawrence Posey is released posthumously by Posey's wife Minnie. This volume is one of only a few works of American Indian poetry published during the early 20th century.

Karl May, a German novelist, publishes the best-selling **Winnetou**, the first of a 3 volume series of romantic fiction about Apache life. May's later works, most continuing the romantic interpretation of American Indian cultures, total some 70 stories. Through these, May becomes a major influence on a generation of European youth. [One of these young readers, Richard Erdoes, later emigrated to America, where his artistic gifts and May-inspired romanticism led him into contact with John Lamé Deer, a Lakota medicine man. A collaboration between these two resulted in a biography of Lamé Deer in the 1970s. Erdoes has since made other

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contributions to the literature on American Indians, among them editing an anthology of traditional stories with Tewa scholar Alfonso Ortiz.]

- 1911** Ohiyesa and his wife Elaine Eastman issue an important early 'insider' work on traditional Lakota philosophy and religion, **Soul of the Indian**.
- 1912** Emily Pauline Johnson releases a collection of her poetry from earlier sources entitled **Flint and Feather**.
- 1913** In her final year, Emily Pauline Johnson publishes two collections of short fiction, becoming one of the first Indian women to work in this genre. **Moccasin Maker** is a set of stories and essays about Canadian Indian and non-Indian women. **The Shagganappi** is a volume of short stories for boys.
- 1914** Dr. Charles Eastman and his wife publish **The Indian Today**, an account of Indian history and contributions which includes contemporary materials about the deteriorating conditions on the reservations.
- Edward Sheriff Curtis, a photographer and ethnologist from Seattle, exhibits his short film *In the Land of the Headhunters*. The film is a 'documentary' dramatization of Northwest Coastal life made with the assistance of Kwakiutl Indians on Vancouver Island, British Columbia over a period of three years. Included are scenes of ocean-going canoes with dancers arriving for a wedding visit, a dance and give-away ceremonial using screens to hide some of the dancers for dramatic effect, and scenes showing a supernatural and physical combat between a shaman who has stolen a bride and her young husband who struggles to get her back. [This 47-minute film was restored and re-released in 1973 by the University of Washington as *In the Land of the War Canoes*.]
- 1916** Ohiyesa releases another of his autobiographies, **From the Deep Woods to Civilization**, which details his transition as a young man from tribal life to medical school, where he became one of the first American Indians to earn an M.D.
- 1916-23** Dr. Carlos Montezuma, Yavapai, publishes a magazine bearing his Indian name *Wassaja* ('Signaling') from 1916 until his death in 1923. As editor, his central theme is the need to abolish the Bureau of Indian Affairs in order to eliminate what he sees as the chief cause of the degrading standard of living on the reservations.
- 1918** Drawing upon years of conversations with many of the important living Lakota leaders and their friends, Charles and Elaine Eastman write a series of personal profiles published as **Indian Heroes and Great Chieftains**.

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Eduard Stucken, German novelist, publishes his trilogy **Die weissen Götter** ('The White Gods') about the downfall of the Aztec empire.

- 1922 Robert Flaherty directs *Nanook of the North* on location at an Inuit ('Eskimo') village with substantial assistance and guidance from the tribal performers. The 64-minute film is a documentary drama of Inuit home life and the challenges faced by Arctic hunters. This documentary is now considered a pioneering classic in the genre.
- 1926 David Herbert Lawrence, English-born author, publishes **The Plumed Serpent**, a novel about a woman who encounters a mystic Hispanic who is attempting to revive Aztec ways. D. H. Lawrence begins to write this book while living in Mexico for a time during the course of his peripatetic life.
- 1936 **Drums Along the Mohawk**, a work of historical fiction by Walter D. Edmonds of New York, faithfully recounts many of the social, political and military events involving the tribes and settlers in the Mohawk River valley during the American Revolution. This book becomes Edmonds' best-known work.
- 1948 Bernard de Voto wins the Pulitzer Prize for History with his **Across the Wide Missouri**, the story of the interactions of Indians, explorers, fur traders, and pioneers in a major region of the American West.
- 1949 D'Arcy McNickle, Cree/Kutenai historian, releases an important survey of American Indian history entitled **They Came Here First**.
- 1950 Thor Heyerdahl publishes **Kon-Tiki**, a landmark work of recreative ethnological speculation. The book reports Heyerdahl's 1947 voyage demonstrating the possibility that Indians from Peru had the technical capability and opportunity to have colonized the islands of the South Pacific as progenitors of the Polynesian peoples.
- 1954 D'Arcy McNickle publishes **Runner in the Sun**, his best-known novel.
- 1959 Along with Harold Fey, D'Arcy McNickle writes a study of contemporary American Indian peoples and their relations with immigrants, **Indians and Other Americans**.
- 1962 D'Arcy McNickle releases **The Indian Tribes of the United States**, a survey of tribal histories and study of cultural survival in the face of overpowering assimilationist pressures.

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- 1964 Peter Shaffer, British playwright (*Equus*, *Amadeus*), releases **The Royal Hunt of the Sun**, a play about the conquest of Peru focusing on the moral struggles between the Inca and Spanish.
- 1969 N. Scott Momaday, Kiowa author and professor of English, wins the Pulitzer Prize in fiction for his novel **The House Made of Dawn**.
- Vine Deloria, Jr., Lakota lawyer and historian, brings out **Custer Died for Your Sins: An Indian Manifesto** in an effort to describe contemporary Indian social realities in both historical context and in contrast to prevailing attitudes and stereotypes about Indians in the dominant culture.
- Arthur Kopit, Harvard playwright, publishes **Indians**. The play portrays scenes from the lives of Buffalo Bill and Sitting Bull in a protest of U.S. treatment of Native peoples.
- 1970 Vine Deloria, Jr. releases **We Talk, You Listen**, a volume of social analysis and commentary which elaborates several of the themes of **Custer Died for Your Sins**.
- 1971 D'Arcy McNickle goes to press with **Indian Man**, a biography of the 'squaw man' Oliver LaFarge and his immersion into the world of Indian art and culture.
- Vine Deloria, Jr. edits two volumes of historical essays, **Of Utmost Good Faith** and **Red Man in the New World Drama**.
- Thor Heyerdahl publishes **The Ra Expeditions**, an account of his two attempts to cross the Atlantic Ocean between Africa and the Caribbean using replicas of ancient Egyptian reed boats. The boat used in the second, successful, attempt was built for Heyerdahl by master Indian boat-builders of the Aymara people of Peru and Bolivia, using reeds from Lake Titicaca.
- 1973 D'Arcy McNickle releases his last major historical work, **Native American Tribalism**.
- Vine Deloria, Jr. publishes **God is Red**, an extraordinary thesis on religion, discussing its sources, nature, and transformation under the influences of place.
- 1974 Vine Deloria, Jr. releases **Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties**, a study of the background to the events of the Indian activist movement of the early 1970s.

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1975 Will Sampson, Creek, plays a significant role ('Chief Broom') as a supporting actor in the Academy Award winning film *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. In Ken Kesey's original novel, the story is narrated from Chief Broom's point of view.

The Mound Builders, a play by Lanford Wilson, the Pulitzer Prize-winning author of **Talley's Folly**, contrasts views of the Earth (as a metaphor for life) between a group of archaeologists excavating a midwestern Indian site and a realtor who wants to develop the location.

1976 Joe Sando, Jemez Pueblo historian and biographer, publishes **The Pueblo Indians**, a history of the Pueblo peoples of the Southwest.

The Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium is founded with assistance from the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. The Lincoln, Nebraska-based NAPBC helps produce and distribute video and film programs about American Indian life and culture to public television stations and educational institutions around the United States.

1977 Vine Deloria, Jr. issues his study of the context of the Indian fishing rights dispute in Washington state, **Indians of the Pacific Northwest**.

1978 A year after his death, D'Arcy McNickle's publishers release **Wind From an Enemy Sky**, the noted Kutenai/Cree author's final novel.

1979 **The Metaphysics of Modern Existence** is Vine Deloria, Jr.'s sequel to his earlier philosophic and religious study, **God is Red**.

1983 Vine Deloria, Jr. issues **American Indians, American Justice**, an examination of the legal practices and unique legal status of American Indians within the federal system.

1984 Vine Deloria, Jr. co-edits two volumes of historical, cultural and federal Indian policy studies, **The Aggressions of Civilization: Federal Indian Policy Since the 1880s** and **The Nations Within**.

Louise Erdrich (Ojibwe) releases her first novel, **Love Medicine** to critical acclaim, winning the National Book Critics Circle Award for fiction. In it, she tells a complex story of multigenerational relations between two Indian families in North Dakota from the 1930s to the 1980s; the story is also linked to two of Erdrich's later novels as well.

The U.S. Congress amends Title IV of the Library Services and Construction Act of 1973 to provide federal support for the construction and development of American Indian and Hawaiian Native tribal libraries for the first time.

- 1985** In a productive literary year, Vine Deloria, Jr. edits and contributes to **American Indian Policy in the Twentieth Century**, a set of essays on a variety of policy problems between American Indian nations and the United States. He also releases a fiction work, **The Indian Affair**. Finally, he edits and contributes to a volume of literary criticism entitled **A Sender of Words: Essays in Memory of John G. Neihardt** about the Nebraskan poet who co-authored the influential biography **Black Elk Speaks**.
- 1985-87** Congress authorizes funds under the Higher Education Act for a brief period to train librarians in 506 tribal and Alaskan Native communities in the U.S. A portion of the training assists tribal communities to take advantage of the Library Services and Construction Act's Title IV funding. In 1986, \$1,658,250.00 is granted under Title IV for tribal library projects, about 1.5% of that year's federal funds for improving library services and construction.
- 1989** The State of New York returns 12 wampum belts containing some of the coded records of historically important intertribal agreements of the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Confederacy to the keeping of the tribal historians of the Onondaga. This tribe is traditionally recognized as the Keepers of the Council Fire of the Iroquois Confederacy.
- 1990** The Canadian government, in reducing federal support to provincial governments and Indian organizations, cuts support of Indian governments, communications networks and newspapers, education programs, and Indian cultural and legal associations from \$55 million to \$45 million, a decrease of 22%. These cuts end the Native Communications Program, which funded 12 Indian community newspapers throughout Canada. The Northern Native Broadcast Access Program loses 16% of its budget, about \$2 million. A half-million dollar program to support aboriginal language education in the Northwest Territories is ended. Additionally, the central government ends a \$1 million postal subsidy to residents of the northern provinces and territories, mostly Indians and Inuit.
- The U.S. Congress passes the Native American Languages Act of 1990 which is significant in that it formally ends the government policy of suppressing American Indian languages that has been in effect since the early 1870s. It encourages the use of native languages as a medium of instruction in all schools serving Indian students. However, the law includes no provisions for funding of language instruction programs in the schools. [See below at 1992.]

1991 Joe Sando releases **Pueblo Nations: Eight Centuries of Pueblo Indian Culture**, a study of the complex modern history of the descendants of the ancient Southwestern Indian cultures.

1992 Congress passes the Native American Languages Act of 1992, SB 2044. It authorizes programs for native language preservation and for helping teachers in tribal and public schools to use American Indian languages as an instructional medium. The act supports development of elder/youth language projects, the training of teachers of Indian languages, the writing and publishing of Native language books and other printed materials, Native language broadcast training, efforts to record tribal languages, and acquiring equipment to carry out these purposes. Implementation of the Act awaits an appropriations measure to fund its provisions. [Many tribal school programs already in existence do offer a program of tribal language learning, but only a few tribal schools instruct major academic subjects in a native language. The great majority of American Indian students do not attend tribal schools. Only a few states, among them Oklahoma and Minnesota, accept native language competency in satisfaction of state educational requirements for mastery of a non-English language by public school and college students.]

Producer Robert Redford and director Michael Apted release *Incident at Oglala*, their 1991 documentary film about the killing of two FBI agents and a Native American in a shoot-out on the Pine Ridge Reservation in 1975. The purpose of the film is to expose what many people believe to be a fabricated murder case against Leonard Peltier, an American Indian Movement member. [Peltier took part in the armed defense of Indian women and children when the two agents entered a traditional encampment and provoked a gunfight. The incident occurred at a time of conflict between traditionalist Lakota and the tribal government they accused of corruption, just one day after the tribal chairman had signed away rights to one-eighth of the reservation without holding a required vote of the people. In the opinion of many American Indian people, Peltier's extradition from Canada and subsequent trial, conviction and imprisonment were marked by notable instances of government misconduct. Amnesty International finally concurred in the late 1980s, declaring Peltier to be a political prisoner.]

APPENDIX B Publishers and Sources of American Indian Books

Children's Literature

Annick Press
15 Patricia St.
Willowdale, Ontario
Canada M2M 1H9

Michigan Indian Press
45 Lexington NW.
Grand Rapids, MI 49504

Children's Book Press
1461 Ninth Ave.
San Francisco, CA 94122

John Muir
P.O. Box 613
Santa Fe, NM 87504

Council for Indian Education
517 Rimrock Road
Billings, MT 59102

Naturegraph
Box 1075
Happy Camp, CA 96309

Cross Cultural Education Center
P.O. Box 66
Park Hill, OK 74451

New Seed Press
P.O. Box 3016
Stanford, CA 94305

Daybreak Star Press
P.O. Box 99100
Seattle, WA 98199

Pemmican Publications
412 McGregor St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
Canada R2W 4X5

Fifth House
20 36th St. East
Saskatoon, Saskatchewan
Canada S7K 2S8

Sierra Oaks Publishing Co.
1370 Sierra Oaks Lane
New Castle, CA 95658

Fulcrum Publishing
350 Indiana Street Suite 350
Golden, CO 80401

Sister Vision Press
P.O. Box 217, Station E
Toronto, Ontario
Canada M6H 4E2

Fun Publishing Co.
P.O. Box 2049
Scottsdale, AZ 85252

University of New Mexico Press
Journalism Bldg. Suite 220
Albuquerque, NM 87131

Indian Country Communications
Route 2 Box 2900-A
Hayward, WI 54843

Upper Strata Ink
Box 250
Bernalillo, NM 87004

Mariposa
922 Baca St.
Santa Fe, NM 87501

Waapoone
Lakefield, Ontario
Canada K0L 2H0

General Books By or About American Indians

Arrowstar Publishing
10134 University Park Station
Denver, CO 80210
Indian owned

Navajo Community College Press
Navajo Community College
Tsaile, AZ 86556
Tribally owned

Augustana College
Center For Western Studies
Box 727 Sioux Falls, SD 57197
(Midwestern tribal cultures and history)

Sequoyah Books
P.O. Box 5474
New York, NY 10168
(publisher for several American Indian organizations)

Beechwood Books
720 Wehapa Circle
Leeds, AL 35094
(Southern tribal cultures and history)

Southwest Museum
P.O. Box 41558
Los Angeles, CA 90041
(wide variety of Indian topics and titles)

Daybreak Star Press
P.O. Box 99100
Seattle, WA 98199
United Indians of All Tribes Foundation

University of California
American Indian Studies Center
3220 Campbell Hall
Los Angeles, CA 90024
(publishes books, videos and journal)
University of Nebraska Press
901 North 17th St.
Lincoln, NE 68588-0520
(publishers of the extensive Bison Books series)

Indian Historian Press
1493 Masonic Ave.
San Francisco, CA 94117
Indian owned

University of New Mexico Press
Journalism Bldg. Suite 220
Albuquerque, NM 87131
(associated with Avanyu Publishing, Inc.)

Indian University Press
Bacone College
Muskogee, OK 74401

MacRae Publications
MacRae Indian Book Distributors
1605 Cole St. P.O. Box 652
Enumclaw, WA 98022
(wide variety of Indian topics and titles)

University of Oklahoma Press
1005 Asp Ave.
Norman, OK 73019-0445
(publishers of the extensive Civilization of the American Indian series)

American Indian Baseline Essays SUBJECT: Language Arts

National Museum of the American Indian
3753 Broadway
New York, NY 1003s
(cultural and topical titles)

University of Washington Press
P.O. Box 50096
Seattle, WA 98145-5096

APPENDIX C Some American Indian Newspapers and Journals

The Cherokee One Feather

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians
P.O. Box 501
Cherokee, NC 28719
(704) 497-5513

Tribal weekly

The Navajo Times

The Navajo Nation
P.O. Box 1245
Window Rock, AZ 86515
(602) 871-6641

Tribal weekly

Choctaw Community News

Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians
P.O. Box 6010
Philadelphia, MS 39350
(601) 656-1521 FAX (601) 656-1992

Tribal monthly

News from Indian Country

Indian Country Communications, Inc.
Route 2, Box 2900 A
Hayward, WI 54843
(715) 634-5226

Regional/National monthly

Circle

Boston Indian Council
105 South Huntington Ave.
Jamaica Plain, MA 02130
(617) 232-0343

**Boston urban community monthly
Bilingual (English/Micmac)**

Portland Indian News

American Indian Associations of Portland
4838 NE. Sandy Blvd.
Portland, OR 97213
(503) 232-9818

Portland urban community monthly

Eagle

Eagle Wing Press, Inc.
Box 579-MO
Naugatuck, CT 06770

New England regional bimonthly

Wotani-Wowapi

(formerly *Wotanim*)
Fort Peck Assiniboine and Sioux Tribes
Box 1027

Poplar, MT 59225

(406) 768-5155

Tribal weekly

Indian Country Today

(formerly *The Lakota Times*)
Native American Publishing, Inc.
1920 Lombardy Drive
Rapid City, SD 57701
(605) 341-0011 FAX (605) 341-6940

Lakota Tribal/National weekly

Yakima Nation Review

Yakima Indian Nation
P.O. Box 151
Toppenish, WA 98948
(509) 865-5121

Tribal/National semi-monthly

Native Monthly Reader
RedSun Institute
2749 Easy Street P.O. Box 122
Crestone, CO 81131
(719) 256-4848 FAX (719) 256-4849
National 'scholastic' monthly

APPENDIX D American Indian Radio Stations

Tribal Public Radio Stations

CKON 97.3FM (Canadian)
Mohawk Nation of Akwesasne
P.O. Box 140
Roosevelt, NY 13683
(518) 358-3426

KABR 1500AM
Alamo Navajo School Board
P.O. Box 907
Magdalena, NM 87825
(505) 854-2632 FAX (505) 854-2545

KBRW 680AM
Native Village of Barrow (Inuit)
P.O. Box 109
Barrow, AK 99723
(907) 852-6811

KCIE 90.5FM
Jicarilla Apache
P.O. Box 603
Dulce, NM 87528
(505) 759-3681 FAX (505) 759-3005

KDLG 670AM
Dillingham Village (Agligmiut)
P.O. Box 670
Dillingham, AK 99576
(907) 842-5281 FAX (907) 842-5645

KEYA 88.5FM
Turtle Mountain Chippewa
P.O. Box 190
Belcourt, ND 58316
(701) 477-5686 FAX (701) 477-5028

KNNB 88.1FM
White Mountain Apache
P.O. Box 310
Whiteriver, AZ 85941
(602) 338-5229 FAX (602) 338-4778

KONA 91.5 FM (projected 1994)
Yankton Sioux
P.O. Box 9
Wagner, SD 57380
(605) 384-3814

KOTZ 720AM
Native Village of Kotzebue (Inuit)
P.O. Box 78
Kotzebue, AK 99752
(907) 442-3435

KSHI 90.9FM
Zuni Pueblo
P.O. Box 339
Zuni, NM 87327
(505) 782-4811 FAX (505) 782-2700

KSUT 91.3FM
Southern Ute
P.O. Box 737
Ignacio, CO 81137
(303) 563-4507 FAX (303) 563-4229

KTDB 89.7FM
Ramah Navajo School Board
P.O. Box 89
Pinehill, NM 87357
(505) 775-3215 FAX (505) 775-3551

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KGHR 91.5FM

Navajo/Greyhills High School
P.O. Box 160
Tuba City, AZ 86045
(602) 283-6241 FAX (602) 283-6271 x.50

KWSO 91.9FM

Warm Springs Confederated Tribes
P.O. Box 489
Warm Springs, OR 97761
(503) 553-1968 FAX (503) 553-3348

KIDE 91.3FM

Hupa
P.O. Box 1220
Hoopa, CA 95546
(916) 625-4245 FAX (916) 625-4594

KYUK 640AM

Yupik Inuit
Pouch 468
Bethel, AK 99559
(907) 543-3131 FAX (907) 543-3130

KILI 90.1FM

Oglala Lakota
P.O. Box 150
Porcupine, SD 57772
(605) 867-5002 FAX (605) 867-5634

(Projected 1993, no call sign yet)

Quinault Tribe
P.O. Box 332
Taholah, WA 98587
(206) 276-8211 x.335

KINI 96.1FM

Rosebud Lakota
P.O. Box 146
St. Francis, SD 57572
(605) 747-2291 FAX (605) 747-2224

WOJB 88.9FM

Lac Courte Oreilles Chippewa
RR 2 Box 2788
Hayward, WI 54843
(715) 634-2100 FAX (715) 634-4797

KMHA 91.3FM

Mandan-Hidatsa-Arikara
P.O. Box 699
New Town, ND 58763
(701) 627-3333 FAX (701) 627-3805

Tribal Commercial Radio Stations

KWSI 96.5FM

Warm Springs Confederated Tribes
20450 Empire Avenue
Bend, OR 97701
(503) 389-9500 FAX (503) 388-5448

WASG 550AM

Poarch Band, Creek Nation
1210 S. Main
Atmore, AL 36502
(205) 368-2511

KTNN 660 AM

Navajo Nation
P.O. Box 2569
Window Rock, AZ 89515
(602) 871-2582

WYRU 1160AM

Lumbee Tribe
P.O. Box 0711
Red Springs, NC 28377
(919) 843-5946

APPENDIX E American Indian Words Used in English

Below are some words commonly used in American English. They come from some of the hundreds of American Indian languages. You might want to find out how many of them are familiar to your students. They can look up unfamiliar words in a dictionary. They'll probably be surprised at how many American Indian words they already know!

adobe	hootchy-kootchy	potato
alpaca	hurricane	potlatch
anorak	huskies	pow-wow
appaloosa	igloo	puma
avocado	ipecac	pumpkin
bannock	jaguar	punk
barracuda	jerky	quinine
bayou	kachina	quinine
blizzard	kayak	raccoon
calumet	kiva	sachem
canoe	llama	saguaro
capybara	mackinaw	sasquatch
caribou	mahogany	savanna
cassava	maize	shark
caucus	manatee	skunk
cayuse	mangrove	squash
cement	maracas	succotash
chicory	mesquite	tapioca
chicle	moccasin	tapir
chigger	moose	terrapin
chinchilla	muckamuck	tipi (tepee)
chinook	mugwump	tobacco
chipmunk	mukluk	toboggan
chocolate	muskeg	tomahawk
cigar	okay (OK)	tomato
condor	opossum	totem
cougar	pampas	toucan
coyote	papaya	tump(line)
curare	parka	vicuña
dory	pecan	wampum
hammock	pemmican	wickiup
hickory	persimmon	wigwam
hogan	peyote	winnebago
hominy	piranha	yankee
honk	podunk	yucca

hooch

poncho

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Many American **place names** used today originally were Indian words. European immigrants adopted these words after they came to the Americas. Place names are often the names of resident Indian tribes, sometimes slightly changed. They can be a clue as to the identity of the original American inhabitants. See if your students can find these places and other American Indian place names on a U.S. map.

Alabama (state, river)	New Mexico (state)
Alaska (state)	Niagara (town, river)
Arizona (state)	Nicaragua (nation)
Arkansas (state, river)	Ohio (state, river)
Bogota (town, from 'Bacata')	Okanagan (town, mountains, valley)
Canada (nation)	Oklahoma (state)
Chehalis (town, river)	Omaha (town)
Chetco (river)	Ontario (province, lake)
Cheyenne (town)	Orinoco (river)
Chicago (town)	Oshkosh (town)
Chiloquin (town)	Ottawa (town, river)
Clackamas (town, river, county)	Panama (nation)
Clatskanie (town)	Pensacola (town)
Clatsop (county)	Peru (nation)
Connecticut (state)	Pontiac (town)
Coos (town, county, bay)	Puyallup (town, river)
Cuba (nation)	Saskatchewan (province)
Dakota (two states)	Schenectady (town)
Erie (town, county, lake)	Seattle (town)
Guatemala (nation)	Skagit (county, river)
Honduras (nation)	Snohomish (town, county, river)
Huron (lake)	Spokane (town, county, river)
Idaho (state)	Tacoma (town)
Illinois (state, river)	Tallahassee (town)
Iowa (state, river)	Tennessee (state)
Kansas (state)	Texas (state)
Kentucky (state)	Tillamook (town, county)
Klamath (town, county, river, lake)	Topeka (town)
Manhattan (part of New York City)	Tualatin (town)
Manitoba (province)	Umatilla (county)
Massachusetts (state)	Utah (state)
Mexico (nation)	Walla Walla (town)
Michigan (state)	Wallowa (town, county, mountains)
Minneapolis (town)	Wasco (county)
Minnesota (state)	Wenatchee (town, river, mountains)
Mississippi (state, river)	Wichita (town)
Missouri (state, river)	Willamette (river)
Mobile (town, bay)	Wisconsin (state)
Multnomah (county)	Wyoming (towns, state, valley)
Nebraska (state)	Yakima (town, county, river)

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Nehalem (town, bay, river)

Yuma (town)

APPENDIX F American Indian Languages

The classification below basically follows the scheme of the 1966 First Conference on American Indian Languages for classifying linguistic relationships among many of the major languages native to the Americas. It is not complete, nor is it the only classification scheme accepted among linguists. It does serve to identify many of the prominent American Indian languages, however. Where more than one language is shown on a line, those languages are quite closely related.

Phylum	Family	Language(s)
American Arctic/ Paleo-Siberian	Inuit-Aleut	Alaskan Inupiat
		Central and Greenland Inuktitut Eastern Aleut Western Aleut
Na-Dene	Athabaskan	Ahtena, Ingalik, Nabesna, Tanaina Beaver, Sarcee, Sekani Carrier, Chilcotin Chastacosta, Taltushtuntude, Tutuni Chipewyan, Slave, Yellowknife Chiricahua Apache, Mescalero Apache Dogrib, Hare, Saschutkenne Eyak Han, Koyukon, Tanana, Tutchone Hupa Jicarilla Apache Kaska, Tahlitan Kato, Wailaki Kiowa-Apache Kutchin Lipan Apache Mattole Navajo San Carlos Apache Tolowa
	Tlingit Haida	Tlingit Haida
Macro-Algonkian	Algonkin	Abnaki, Penobscot Algonkin, Ojibwe, Ottawa, Saulteaux Araphaho, Atsina, Nawunena Cheyenne Cree, Montagnais, Naskapi Fox, Kickapoo, Sauk

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Phylum	Family	Language(s)		
Macro-Algonkian	Algonkin	Kainah, Pikuni, Sisksika (all Blackfeet)		
		Leni-Lenape (Delaware)		
		Malecite, Passamaquoddy		
		(continued)		
		Menominee		
		Micmac		
		Potawatomi		
		Shawnee		
		Yurok		
		Wiyot		
		Muskogean	Alabama, Koasati	
			Chickasaw, Choctaw	
			Creek, Seminole	
			Hitchiti, Miccosukee	
Natchez				
Atakapa				
Chitimacha				
Macro-Siouan	Siouan	Tunica		
		Tonkawa		
		Crow		
		Dakota, Lakota, Nakota (all Sioux)		
		Hidatsa		
		Iowa, Oto		
		Kansa, Omaha, Osage, Ponca, Quapaw		
Macro-Siouan	Catawba Iroquoian	Mandan		
		Winnebago		
		Catawba		
		Cayuga, Onondaga, Seneca		
		Cherokee		
		Mohawk		
		Oneida		
		Tuscarora		
		Wyandot (Huron)		
		Macro-Siouan	Caddoan	Arikara, Pawnee
Caddo				
Wichita				
Macro-Siouan	Yuchi	Yuchi		
		Hokan	Yuman	Havasupai, Hualapi, Yavapai
				Halchidhoma, Maricopa, Mojave, Yuma
Cocopa, Halyikwamai, Kohuana				
Hokan	Seri Pomo	Akwáala, Diegueño, Kamia, Kiliwa, Nyakipa		
		Seri		
		Coast Pomo		

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Phylum	Family	Language(s)
Hokan	Palaihnihan	Northeast Pomo Southeast Clear Lake Western Clear Lake
		Achomawi Atsugewi
	Shastan	Shasta
	Yanan	Yana
	Chimariko	Chimariko
	Washoe	Washoe
	Salinan	Salinan
	Karok	Karok
	Chumashan	Chumash
	Comecrudan	Comecrud
	Coahuiltecan	Coahuiltec
	Esselen	Esselen
	Jicaque	Jicaque
	Tlapanecan	Tlapanec Subtiaba Maribichicoa
	Tlequistlatecan	Tluamelula Mountain Tlequistlateco
Penutian	Yokuts	North Foothills Yokuts South Foothills Yokuts Valley Yokuts
	Maidu	Southern Maidu Northwest Maidu Mountain Maidu Valley Maidu
	Wintun	Patwin Wintun
	Miwok-Costano	Sierra Miwok Coast Miwok, Lake Miwok Costano
	Klamath-Modoc	Klamath-Modoc
	Sahaptin-Nez Percé	Nez Percé Sahaptin
	Cayuse	Cayuse
	Molale	Molalla
	Coos	Coos
	Yakonan	Alsea Kuitsh, Siuslaw
	Takelma	Takelma
	Kalapuyan	Santiam

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Phylum	Family	Language(s)
Penutian	Chinookan	Yoncalla Lower Chinook Upper Chinook
	Tsimshian	Tsimshian
	Zuni	Zuni
	Mixe-Zoquean	Mixe Zoque
	Mixe-Zoquean	(continued) Sierra Popoluca Texistepec Sayula Oluta
	Mayan	Huasteco Chontal of Tobasco Chol Chorti Punctunc Moianec Tzeltal Tzotzil Tojolabal Chuh Jacalteco Kanjobal Solomec Motozintleco Mam Aquatec Ixil Tacaneco Tlatiman Taquial Tupancal Tutuapa Coyotin Quiché Cakchiquel Tzutujil Rabinal Kekchi Pokonchi or Pokomchi Pokoman Maya
	Chipaya-Uru	Chipaya Uru

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	Totonacan	Totonac
	Huave	Tepehua Huave
Aztec-Tanoan	Kiowa-Tanoan	Tiwa (Isleta, Picuris, Sandia and Taos Pueblos) Tewa (Hano, Nambe, Santa Clara, San Ildefonso, San Juan and Tesuque Pueblos) Towa (Jemez Pueblo) Kiowa
Phylum	Family	Language(s)
Aztec-Tanoan	Uto-Aztecan	Mono Bannock, Northern Paiute, Walpapi, Yahuskin Comanche, Gosiute, Panamint, Shoshone Chemehuevi, Kawaiisu, Southern Paiute, Ute Hopi Tubatulabal Luiseño Cahuilla Cupeño Serrano Pima, Tono Oodham (Papago) Pima Bajo Mayo, Yaqui Tarahumara Cora Huichol Tepehuan Nahuatl Nahuat Mecayapan Pipil Pochutla Tamaulipeco
Oto-Manguean	Manguean	Mangue Chiapaneco
	Otomian	Otomí Mazahua Ocuiltec Matlatzinca Chichimeca, Jonaz Pamé
	Popolocan	Popolac Chocho Ixateco Mazateco

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	Mixtecan	Mixtec Trique Cuicateco Amuzgo
	Chinatecan Zapotecan	Chinatec Zapotec Chatino
Macro-Chibchan	Chibchan	Cara Chibcha (Musica) Cuna
Phylum Macro-Chibchan	Family Chibchan	Language(s) (continued) Guaymi Lenca Moskito
	Paezan	Canari, Jirajara Puruha Atacameno Mura
Ge-Pano-Carib	Ge	Bororo Botocudo Caingang Canella Cayapo Shavante Sherante Manasi
	Panoan	Conibo Shipibo
	Cariban	Arara Arma Calamari Camaracoto Carib Catio Motilon Quimbaya Yagua
	Guayacuruan	Abipon Matacoan Mbaya Payagua Charrua

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Andean- Equatorial	Quechuamaran	Quechua Aymara
	Araucanian- Chon	Araucanian Chono Ono Puelche Tehuelche Yahgan
	Zaparoan	Zaparoan
	Arawakan	Taino Goajiro
Phylum	Family	Language(s)
Andean- Equatorial	Arawakan	(continued) Guayape Palicur Campa Chane Guana Baure Mojo Paressi
	Tupi-Guarani	Camayura Mundurucu Parintintin Tupinamba Guaraní Chiriguano Siriono
	Jivaroan	Jivaro Palta
	Timotean Zamucoan	Timote Zamuco
Undetermined Phyletic Affiliations	Keresan	Keres
	Yukian	Yuki Wappo
	Beothukian Kutenai Karankawan Chimakuan	Beothuk Kutenai Karankawa Chimakum Quileute
	Salishan	Lillooet Shuswap Ntlakyapamuk

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Phylum	Family	Language(s)
Undetermined	Salishan	Colville, Lake, Okanagan, Sanpoil Flathead, Kalispel, Spokane Couer d'Alene Sinkiuse-Columbia, Wenatchi Tillamook Twana Cowlitz, Lower Chehalis, Quinault, Upper Chehalis Duwamish, Nisqually, Snoqualmie Clallam. Lummi, Songish Halkomelem Squamish Comox, Sishiati
Phyletic Affiliations	Wakashan	Bella Coola Nootka Nitinat Makah Kwakiutl Bella Bella, Heiltsuk Haisla. Kitamat
	Timucuan	Timucua
	Tarascan	Tarasca

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Footnotes

¹Reproduced in Erdoes, Richard and Ortiz, Alfonso (eds.), **American Indian Myths and Legends**. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984, p. 83.

²Erdoes and Ortiz, p. 95-96.

³Master's thesis "The Creation Story of the Crow People as Told by a Traditional Tribal Elder" submitted at Eastern Montana College, Winter 1990 by Henry Real Bird, a member of the Crow tribe. The elder who told this story in 1952 was Mark Real Bird, Henry's grandfather.

⁴Waldman, Carl, **Atlas of the North American Indian**. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985, p. 65. Also see "American Indian Languages", an informational flyer prepared by the National Museum of Natural History of the Smithsonian Institution. Washington, D.C.: Office of Public Information, Department of Anthropology, Smithsonian Institution, 1987, p. 1.

⁵Consult p. 67 of Waldman's book for a simplified map of the territories in which various language 'phyla' or stocks predominated. See also the similar map in Kopper, Philip (ed.), **The Smithsonian Book of North American Indians Before the Coming of the Europeans**. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Books, 1986, p. 59. Both maps present a view of the distribution of North American Indian languages at the 'phylum' level, which creates an oversimplified impression of the actual complexity of the distribution of languages at the 'language' level. A good discussion of Native language diversity and problems of classification with an emphasis on Canada is Regna Darnell's "A Linguistic Classification of Canadian Native Peoples: Issues, Problems and Theoretical Implications" in Morrison, R. Bruce and Wilson, C. Roderick (eds.), **Native Peoples: The Canadian Experience**. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1989, p. 22-44.

⁶Greenberg, Joseph, **Language in the Americas**. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987. See also his article "Linguistic Origins of Native Americans" in *Scientific American*, Vol. 267 (November), 1992, p. 94-99. See also Ross, Philip, "Hard Words" in *Scientific American*, Vol. 264, no. 4 (April), 1991, p. 138-147. Ross includes a brief bibliography on the major theoretical divisions in the debate; he also uncritically accepts the "land bridge migration hypothesis" as a basis for presuming a language relationship of some sort between Eurasia and the Americas. *Science* has run articles on the controversy Greenberg's views have provoked among linguists; see Volume 242 (December 12, 1988), p. 1632-1633 and Vol. 248, April 27, 1990, p. 439-441. *Science News* also ran an article on Greenberg's hypotheses in Vol. 137 (June 9), 1990, p. 360-362.

⁷Smithsonian Institution, "American Indian Languages", p. 1.

⁸Smithsonian Institution, "American Indian Languages", p. 1.

⁹Olien, Michael, **Latin Americans: Contemporary Peoples and Their Cultures**. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973, p. 66-67.

¹⁰Accounts of the personal and cultural impacts of the policies to end use of American Indian languages have been published in numerous books and are still a topic of conversation among American Indian elders today. See Szasz, Margaret C., **Education and the American Indian**. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1977 for a general outline of U.S. Indian education policy in the 20th century and some commentary on the failings of the late 19th century boarding school system. Testimony of several Indian students who experienced the boarding schools appears in Nabokov, Peter, (ed.), **Native American Testimony**. New York: Viking Penguin, 1991, in the chapter entitled "To Learn Another Way." Several essays and commentary pieces touching on the issues of language in the Indian schools appear in Smith, Jane and Kvasnicka, Robert, (eds.), **Indian White Relations: A Persistent Paradox**. Washington D.C.: Howard University Press, 1981.

¹¹Nabokov, Peter, (ed.), p. 220.

¹²Nabokov, Peter, (ed.), p. 222.

¹³Prucha, Francis P. (ed.), **Documents of United States Indian Policy**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1975, p. 174-176.

¹⁴Szasz, Margaret, p. 71-75.

¹⁵McMillan, Alan, **Native Peoples and Cultures of Canada**. Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1988, p. 291; the general historical character of Canadian and mission Indian school policy is touched on in p. 233, 235, 266-267, and 305-306.

¹⁶McMillan, Alan, p. 306.

¹⁷Ortiz, Alfonso and Erdoes, Richard, p. xv..

¹⁸Leonard Crow Dog, quoted in Ortiz, Alfonso and Erdoes, Richard, p. xiii.

¹⁹Lopez, Barry H., **Giving Birth to Thunder, Sleeping With His Daughter**. Kansas City: Sheed Andrews and McMeel, Inc, 1977; Ramsey, Jarold, **Coyote Was Going There: Indian Literature of the Oregon Country**. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1977; Erdoes, Richard and Ortiz, Alfonso, *op. cit.*; Bierhorst, John, **The Red Swan: Myths and Tales of the American Indians**. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976. Other good general anthologies with a few 'trickster' tales are a pair by Alice Marriott and Carol Rachlin, **Plains Indian Mythology** (New York: Mentor Books, 1975) and **American Indian Mythology** (New York: Mentor Books, 1968); two late 19th century collections by George Bird Grinnell are more authentic than most of that era - see **Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk Tales** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1961 reprint) and **Blackfoot Lodge Tales** (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962 reprint). A collection with a Pacific Northwest flavor is **The Raven**

Steals the Light (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1984) by Bill Reid and Robert Bringhurst; most of the stories in this volume also illustrated by Reid focus on Raven, a Northwest trickster.

²⁰Blue Cloud, Peter; Arnett, 'Gogsigi' Carroll; Nemirow, Steve and Koller, James (eds.), **Coyote's Journal**. Berkeley: Wingbow Press, 1982. Blue Cloud, Peter, **Elderberry Flute Song: Contemporary Coyote Tales**. Buffalo: White Pine Press, 1989.

²¹Thompson, Stith, **Tales of the North American Indians**. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966 reprint of the 1929 edition; Clark, Ella, **Indian Legends of the Pacific Northwest**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953.

²²Mourning Dove, **Coyote Stories**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990 reprint of the 1934 edition.

²³Junaluska, Arthur, (ed.), **Great American Indian Speeches, Volume 1**. New York: Caedmon, 1976. Two 90-minute audiocassette taped performances of notable American Indian speeches of the 17th through 20th centuries as read by Vine Deloria, Jr. (Lakota) and Arthur Junaluska.

²⁴Coe, Michael, **Breaking the Maya Code**. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992, p. 61. Of these three ancient cultures, the Maya and the Zapotec survive; our present archaeological knowledge suggests that the Zapotec were the first to develop a true writing system in the modern sense of the term.

²⁵Coe, Michael, p. 14-34. Dr. Coe presents a very useful and succinct discussion of the types of languages (isolating, agglutinative, inflectional and, most commonly, blends of these three fundamental types), the three major types of writing systems (logographic, syllabic, and alphabetic), and the history of Western scholarly attempts at understanding the nature of both spoken and written language. The entire chapter "The Word Made Visible" in Coe's book is very worthwhile for teachers of the language arts, as it helps correct several mistaken beliefs about languages and writing, and offers teachers a solid grasp of some fundamental linguistic issues.

²⁶According to the informational bulletin "American Indian Languages" prepared by the Smithsonian Institution and available through the National Museum of Natural History in Washington, D.C.; see p. 2. See also Wissler, Clark, **Indians of the United States**. Garden City: Doubleday & Company, 1940, 1966, p. 235, 326-327. Also see Coe, Michael, **Mexico**. New York: Thames & Hudson, 1984, p. 61, 76, 81, 83-85, 87-100, 117, 139-140, 163. (But also see Todorov, Tzvetan, **The Conquest of America**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1984, p. 80-81, for his argument that the Aztec (Nahuatl language) writing system could not serve literary functions. This notion is adequately refuted by the examples of Nahuatl poetry cited by Dr. Coe and by Dr. Gordon Brotherston in his book **Image of the New World: The American Continent Portrayed in Native Texts**. London: Thames and Hudson, 1979.)

²⁷Coe, p. 87.

²⁸Coe, p. 143, 155; Todorov, p. 77-78.

²⁹Coe, p. 166.

³⁰Olien, Michael, **Latin Americans: Contemporary Peoples and Their Cultural Traditions**. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1973, p. 148.

³¹Nuttall, Zelia, **The Codex Nuttall: A Picture Manuscript From Ancient Mexico**. Dover Publications, Inc., 1975. This facsimile reproduction of the **Codex Nuttall** is in the PPSD Professional Library.

³²Prominent among Brinton's publications in the 1880s and 1890s were **The Maya Chronicles** (1882), **Aboriginal American Authors** (1883), an English translation of the **Cantares Mexicanos** which he titled **Ancient Nahuatl Poetry** (1887), and **Essays of an Americanist** (1890).

³³Highwater, Jamake, **Many Smokes, Many Moons**. New York: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1978, p. 34-35.

³⁴Coe, p. 61. See also the discussion in Brotherston, p. 74-75.

³⁵Brotherston, p. 74-75.

³⁶For a discussion of the surviving quipu strings and the complexities of the quipu coding system, see Ascher, Marcia and Ascher, Robert, **Code of the Quipu: A Study in Media, Mathematics and Culture**. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981.

³⁷Olien, p. 53. See also Lyons, Patricia J. (ed.), **Native South Americans**. Boston: Little, Brown and co., 1974, p. 58) for an expression of the contrary view.

³⁸See Brotherston, p. 131-133, 191-192, 219 for several examples of Lakota and Cheyenne pictographs painted on hides; see p. 94-95, 190-191 for Inuit pictographic carvings; see p. 50-53, 95-96, 193-194 for

pictograph writing examples taken from Delaware and Ojibwa birchbark scrolls; see p. 58-60, 204-205 for Haida and Kwakiutl totem poles and their interpretation.

³⁹See Brotherston, p. 95-96, 256-258, 268-269 for examples of Midewiwin ceremonial writings.

⁴⁰Noble, David Grant, **Ancient Ruins of the Southwest: An Archaeological Guide**. Flagstaff: Northland Press, 1981, p.45-46. See also the discussion of Leni-Lenape (Algonkin) Indian pictographic writing in Wissler, p. 75.

⁴¹Wissler, p. 130, 144-145, 322-323; cf. Braudel, Fernand, **The Structures of Everyday Life: Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Volume 1**. New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981, p. 443; and also Morgan, Lewis, **League of the Iroquois**. New York: Citadel Press, 1962, p. 120-121.

⁴²One guide to the petroglyph sites in the Pacific Northwest is Beth and Ray Hill's **Indian Petroglyphs of the Pacific Northwest**. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974. Many other regional guides that can be found in good bookstores include information on petroglyph sites in other parts of the Americas.

⁴³Brotherston, p. 15-18, 74-75.

⁴⁴See James Axtell's **The Invasion Within: The Contest of Cultures in Colonial North America**. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985; his chapters entitled "The Art of Reduction" and "Harvest of Souls" detail the French educational and social practices in Canada while "Reduce Them to Civility" and "The Little Red School" portray the English equivalent in New England and Virginia. Axtell's volume as whole provides much background on the three-sided clash of English, French and Indian cultures during this period.

⁴⁵Axtell, p. 182-183; Grun, Bernard, **The Timetables of History**. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979, p. 303.

⁴⁶Axtell, p. 190-194.

⁴⁷quoted in Axtell, p. 196.

⁴⁸Axtell, p. 196.

⁴⁹Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, **American Indian Literatures**. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990, p. 64-65. Ridge was also a poet, although the collection of his poetry was published posthumously.

⁵⁰Stensland, Anna Lee (ed.), **Literature by and about the American Indian** (2nd edition). Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English, 1979.

⁵¹Petrone, Penny, **Native Literature in Canada**. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1990.

⁵²Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, **American Indian Literatures**. Also, **Literatures of the American Indian**. New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1991. With Jerry W. Ward (eds.), also see **Redefining American Literary History**. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990.

⁵³Brotherston, p. 58-60.

⁵⁴Brotherston, p. 57-58. An illustration from Red Horse's account also appears in Robert Utley's **The Indian Frontier of the American West 1846-1890**. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984, p. 185.

⁵⁵See, for example, the Lakota accounts of Standing Bear, Iron Hawk, and Black Elk in Raymond DeMallie's (ed.) **The Sixth Grandfather: Black Elk's Teachings Given to John G. Neihardt**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984, p. 180-198. There is also the Bad Heart Bull pictographic account (documented by Helen Blish) in the collection of the Carnegie Institution.

⁵⁶Brotherston, p. 176

⁵⁷Brotherston, p. 193.

⁵⁸The story of Rafinesque and the subsequent study of the **Walam Olum** is told at length in Weslager, Clinton, **The Delaware Indians**. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1972, 1989, p. 81-91. Documents relating to the story of the **Walam Olum** are listed in Weslager on p. 94-96. Appendix 2 to Weslager's book, p. 470-472, presents a letter from Henry Rowe Schoolcraft to E.G. Squier, an early scholar of the **Walam Olum**, wherein the historian sets forth his few objections to the authenticity of Rafinesque's version.

⁵⁹Brotherston, p. 53-54.

⁶⁰The series of wampum belts that codify the Iroquois Kaianerekowa or "Great Law of Peace" is translated in part in a comparison with portions of the U.S. Constitution in the booklet **The Great Law of**

Peace and the Constitution of the United States of America by Dr. Gregory Schaaf and Chief Jake Swamp, undated publication of the Tree of Peace Society, Akwesasne, New York.

⁶¹See Arthur Miller's preface to Nuttall, Zelia, **The Codex Nuttall: A Picture Manuscript From Ancient Mexico**.

⁶²See Arthur Miller's preface to **The Codex Nuttall**, p. x-xi.

⁶³See Arthur Miller's preface to **The Codex Nuttall**, p. ix., and Brotherston, p. 138-139.

⁶⁴Brotherston, p. 216-217.

⁶⁵See Arthur Miller's preface to **The Codex Nuttall**, p. x-xi.

⁶⁶Tedlock, Dennis, **Popol Vuh: The Definitive Edition of the Mayan Book of Life and the Glories of Gods and Kings**. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985, p. 24.

⁶⁷One of the first examples of new historical research to result from the breakthrough in Mayan translation is Linda Schele and David Freidel's **A Forest of Kings**. New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc., 1990. The story of how the Mayan written language was deciphered appears in Michael Coe's **Breaking the Maya Code**.

⁶⁸The story of the **Popol Vuh** as a document, along with a complete text in English, is given in Tedlock.

⁶⁹Brotherston, p. 42.

⁷⁰Brotherston, p. 45-47, 73-78.

⁷¹Schele, Linda and Freidel, David, p. 57.

⁷²Mikkelson, Mary D., "American Indian Contributions to Science, Medicine and Technology" in Funches, Peggy (ed.), **Minority Contributions to Science, Engineering, and Medicine**. San Diego: San Diego City Schools, 1978, p. 134.

⁷³Another important work on the way in which John Neihardt transformed the story of Nicholas Black Elk is DeMallie, Raymond, **The Sixth Grandfather**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984.

⁷⁴Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, "Three Nineteenth-Century American Indian Autobiographers" in Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown and Ward, Jerry (eds.), **Redefining American Literary History**. New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 1990, p. 253-255.

⁷⁵See the excerpts from **Life of Ma-ka-tai-me-she-kia-kiak or Black Hawk, Dictated By Himself** in The Council on Interracial Books for Children's **Chronicles of American Indian Protest**. New York: The Council on Interracial Books for Children, 1979, p. 82-106; see also p. 106-110.

⁷⁶An enlarged edition of the original autobiography of Black Hawk is still in print. See Patterson, J.B. (ed.), **Life of Black Hawk, Dictated by Himself**. Fairfield: Ye Galleon Press, 1975.

⁷⁷Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 256-257.

⁷⁸Brumble, H. David (III), **An Annotated Bibliography of American Indian and Eskimo Autobiographies**. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1981.

⁷⁹See Arthur Miller's preface to **The Codex Nuttall**, p. ix.

⁸⁰Mikkelson, p. 123-124.

⁸¹Mikkelson, p. 131.

⁸²Mikkelson, p. 132.

⁸³Mikkelson, p. 132.

⁸⁴Mikkelson, p. 127.

⁸⁵Mikkelson, p. 125.

⁸⁶Mikkelson, p. 134.

⁸⁷Mikkleson, p. 136.

⁸⁸Murphy, James E. and Murphy, Sharon M., **Let My People Know**. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1981.

⁸⁹Murphy and Murphy, p. 16.

⁹⁰Murphy and Murphy, p. 71, 73.

⁹¹Murphy and Murphy, p. 16-20, 72-74.

⁹²Murphy and Murphy, p. 71, 75.

⁹³Murphy and Murphy, p. 146.

⁹⁴Murphy and Murphy, p. 159.

⁹⁵The Council on Interracial Books for Children, p. 112.

⁹⁶Murphy and Murphy, p. 21.

⁹⁷Murphy and Murphy, p. 23-25.

⁹⁸Murphy and Murphy, p. 26-31.

⁹⁹Murphy and Murphy, p. 33-34.

¹⁰⁰Murphy and Murphy, p. 36-38.

¹⁰¹Murphy and Murphy, p. 39-40.

¹⁰²Murphy and Murphy, p. 41.

¹⁰³Murphy and Murphy, p.44-45.

¹⁰⁴Murphy and Murphy, p.44-45.

¹⁰⁵Murphy and Murphy, p. 45.

¹⁰⁶Murphy and Murphy, p. 46-48.

¹⁰⁷Murphy and Murphy, p. 50-52.

¹⁰⁸See Peter Iverson's essay on Dr. Montezuma in R. David Edmunds' **American Indian Leaders**.

Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980, p.206.

¹⁰⁹Murphy and Murphy, p. 53-54.

¹¹⁰See chapters 5-8 in Murphy and Murphy, p. 70-119, for mention of many of the tribal, regional and national Indian journals of the 1970s. Sadly, many of them were fairly transitory, but quite a few are still published.

¹¹¹Murphy and Murphy, p. 35-36.

¹¹²Murphy and Murphy, p. 52-53.

¹¹³Consult La Potin, Armand (ed.), **Native American Voluntary Organizations** (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987) for capsule histories of many Indian organizations and their founders.

¹¹⁴Tombs, George, "Canada's New Arctic", *World Monitor*, Vol. 3, no. 7, July 1990, p. 46.

¹¹⁵The information in this section was kindly provided by the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium. NAPBC makes available a catalog of its video library holdings and offers library memberships to schools and public television stations. The catalog and membership information can be obtained by writing to NAPBC, Inc., P.O. Box 83111, Lincoln, NE, 68501 or by telephoning (402) 472-3522.

¹¹⁶Information on the Native American Public Broadcasting Consortium comes from their 1990 catalog.

¹¹⁷Brinton, D. G. (ed.), **Ancient Nahuatl Poetry**. Philadelphia: Library of Aboriginal American Literature, 1887; cited in Brotherston, p. 307.

¹¹⁸Brotherston, p. 270-277.

¹¹⁹Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, **American Indian Literatures**. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1991, p. 65.

¹²⁰Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 68.

¹²¹Bruchac, Joseph (ed.), **Songs From This Earth on Turtle's Back**. Greenfield Center: The Greenfield Press, 1983. Allen's poems are on p. 3-7.

¹²²Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 74-75.

¹²³Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 14-17.

¹²⁴King, Thomas (ed.), **An Anthology of Canadian Native Fiction**. Special issue, *Canadian Fiction Magazine*, volume 60, 1987, cited in Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 149.

¹²⁵Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown, p. 78.

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