

HARTMUT LUTZ

The Beginnings of Contemporary Aboriginal Literature in Canada 1967-1972: Part One¹

Zusammenfassung

Die Feiern zum hundertjährigen Jubiläum des Staates Kanada im Jahre 1967 boten zwei indianischen Künstlern Gelegenheit, Auszüge ihrer Literatur dem nationalen Publikum vorzustellen. Erst 1961 bzw. 1962 waren Erste Nationen und Inuit zu wahlberechtigten Bürgern Kanadas geworden, doch innerhalb des anglokanadischen Kulturnationalismus blieben ihre Stimmen bis in die 1980er Jahre ungehört. 1967 markiert somit zwar einen Beginn, bedeutete jedoch noch keinen Durchbruch. In Werken kanonisierter anglokanadischer Autorinnen und Autoren jener Jahre sind indigene Figuren überwiegend Projektionsflächen ohne Subjektcharakter. Der Erfolg indianischer Literatur in den USA (1969 Pulitzer-Preis an N. Scott Momaday) hatte keine Auswirkungen auf die literarische Szene in Kanada, doch änderte sich nach Bürgerrechts-, Hippie- und Anti-Vietnamkriegsbewegung allmählich auch hier das kulturelle Klima. Von nicht-indigenen Herausgebern edierte Sammlungen „indianischer Märchen und Fabeln“ bleiben in den 1960ern zumeist von unreflektierter kolonialistischer Hybris geprägt, wogegen erste Gemeinschaftsarbeiten von indigenen und nicht-indigenen Autoren Teile der oralen Traditionen indigener Völker Kanadas „unzensiert“ präsentierten. Damit bereiteten sie allmählich das kanadische Leseublikum auf die Veröffentlichung indigener Texte in modernen literarischen Gattungen vor.

Résumé

À l'occasion des festivités entourant le centenaire du Canada, en 1967, deux artistes autochtones purent présenter des extraits de leur littérature au public national. En 1961, les membres des Premières Nations avaient obtenu le droit de vote en tant que citoyens canadiens (pour les Inuits, en 1962 seulement), mais au sein de la culture nationale anglo-canadienne, leur voix ne fut guère entendue jusqu'aux années 1980. 1967 marque

1 This is the first part of a two part sequence of articles outlining the modernist beginnings of Aboriginal literature in Canada. *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* will publish the second part in a later issue. I am indebted to Mark Shackleton of the University of Helsinki and Ulrike Jekutsch of Greifswald University for reading the first draft and suggesting helpful corrections and improvements. My greatest thanks go to Mareen Zschichold, who diligently re-formatted the first version to meet the stylistic requirements of ZKS.

donc un début, sans pour autant constituer un tournant. Dans les œuvres d'auteur(e)s anglo-canadien(ne)s canoniques de cette période, les personnages indigènes sont essentiellement des projections, et non des sujets. Le succès de la littérature amérindienne aux États-Unis (le Prix Pulitzer 1969 ayant été attribué à N. Scott Momaday) est resté sans répercussions sur la scène littéraire canadienne ; pourtant, ici aussi, le climat culturel a progressivement changé à la suite du mouvement des droits civiques, de celui des hippies et de l'opposition à la guerre du Vietnam. Si, dans les années soixante, les recueils de « fables et contes amérindiens » publiés par des éditeurs non indigènes restent généralement marqués par une outrecuidance colonialiste dénuée de recul critique, de premiers travaux collectifs d'auteurs indigènes et non indigènes présentent toutefois des fragments « non censurés » des traditions orales des peuples indigènes du Canada. Ainsi, ces travaux ont peu à peu préparé le public canadien à la publication de textes indigènes fidèles aux canons des genres littéraires modernes.

In 1967 Canada proudly celebrated its centennial. For a brief moment in the nation's history and after a century of systemic neglect, Aboriginal artists were invited to share celebrations in front of international audiences. At the Montréal Expo the Tse-Shaht Chief George Clutesi (1905-1988) painted a mural and presented his poem "West Coast Indian". The text extols the virtues and achievements of an emblematic Aboriginal leader who is a strong provider, a selfless protector and an exuberant artistic creator. At the end of the poem the chief orders a potlatch and bids his guests "[c]ome enter and share with me" (Clutesi 1975, 126). The poem then concludes with the final statement: "A rich cultural inheritance is his indeed" (126). Similarly, at the centennial celebrations in Vancouver's Empire Stadium, the Coastal Salish actor and orator Chief Dan George (1899-1981) recited his "Lament for Confederation" to a crowd of 35,000 listeners (cf. Armstrong 2001, xv). His oration laments the loss of land and self-government. It draws attention to the ecological damage and the ridicule bestowed on the vanquished by the settlers. But in his speech he also envisions optimistically and prophetically a future in which "young braves and our chiefs [sit] in houses of law and government, ruling and being ruled by the knowledge and freedoms of *our* great land. So shall we shatter the barriers of our isolation. So shall the next hundred years be the greatest in the proud history of our tribes and nations" (Clutesi 2001, 3). Mercifully – or ironically? – the speaker did not elaborate on the question to whom the possessive pronoun in "*our* great land" refers – a question still argued in British Columbia these forty years later.

Cultural pride, generosity and a strong survivalist optimism 'in-spite-of what-has-happened-in-the-past' reflect positively on the personalities and on the cultural backgrounds of both speakers. But such qualities certainly do not reflect Canada's

official Indian policies at the time. Only six years prior to the centennial, in 1961, Aboriginal peoples had been 'granted' Canadian citizenship in a unilateral act which many of them resented. Then, just two years after the centennial, Trudeau's and Chrétien's notorious *White Paper* of 1969 sought to legally 'abolish' Aboriginal peoples altogether. In hindsight, then, Chief Dan George's and George Clutesi's generous words seem particularly ill-deserved by a settler nation that was busy celebrating its own national achievements while otherwise seeking to silence and systematically neglect the presence of Aboriginal nations on whose territories they had come to squat. "[F]rom 1885 until the 1960s, Aboriginal peoples almost disappeared from the national narrative" (Préfontaine 2007, 102).

Despite all this, however, more than forty years later 1967 stands out as a crucial historical moment that manifests a gradual change in Aboriginal affairs and in the development of Aboriginal literature in Canada. Obviously, Chief Dan George's optimistic look into the future foreshadowed some of the developments towards self-determination which we have come to witness since then. Even more obviously, in the field of literature the 1967 publication of George Clutesi's *Son of Raven, Son of Deer: Fables of the Tse-shat People*, in which his centennial poem "West Coast Indian" was published, appears today to be the decisive first step towards an independent and self-determined Aboriginal literary presence in Canada, and Clutesi's second book, *Potlatch* (1969), marks the advent of Aboriginal writing in modern Canadian literature. The scope of his achievement can best be assessed by a look at the political and cultural context of the 1960s and early 1970s in North America.

1. The 1960s in Canada

The late 1950s and most of the 1960s were a contradictory period. Politically and socially they were initially marked by the patriarchal conservatism and cultural stagnation of the Cold War. But towards the end of the 1960s the radicalizations of the civil rights struggle in the United States, 'collateral' effects of the student movement and hippie culture, and the influx of Vietnam War resisters ruffled Canada's tranquil surface, while the Women's Movement gained a momentum that has endured. But this was precisely also the period in which Canadian governmental agencies in a decolonising gesture consciously crafted Canadian nationalism and worked on institutionally implementing Canadian culture as a bulwark against the overpowering (mass) cultural influence from their mighty neighbour to the south. For that purpose, in 1957 the Canada Council for the Arts was founded to establish Canadian cultural self-determination and to promote productivity in Canadian arts, including the writing, publishing and dissemination of a national Canadian literature. The *New Canadian Library* reprint series, a means both to construct and solidify a national canon, was started the following year, and the new national literary jour-

nal, *Canadian Literature*, followed the year after that – only two examples of an unparalleled boost of Canadian cultural activity in publishing.

But 1960 had also been the beginning of the Quiet Revolution, and much national energy was spent in the following years on trying to keep Canada's 'Two Solitudes' together. This was easier on the symbolic level than in economic reality. In 1964 Canada adopted the maple leaf flag as an overarching national symbol to fade out or even replace the *Fleur-de-lis* and the Union Jack. In such a climate of national self-construction, little attention, if any, was paid by members of the settler cultures to the voices of Indigenous or other ethnic groups not belonging to the so-called founding nations. Nationalist feelings culminated in the aforementioned centennial celebrations of 1967, in which individual Aboriginal artists were granted token recognition to supply a colourful and internationally popular ethnic addition to the Canadian cultural mosaic, which Prime Minister Trudeau propagated almost immediately after his election. In 1969 the Official Languages Act recognized the equality of two foundational Canadian languages, neither of them Aboriginal. But Quebec separatism persisted, and after even the notorious War Measures Act during the 1970 October crisis had failed to mend the schism, the proclamation of multiculturalism as a Canadian national(ist) policy may be seen – besides being a measure to accommodate the growing numbers of non-British and non-Francophone immigrants – as an attempt to deflect attention from the dualism threatening the fabric of the nation state, which the centennial had so fervently celebrated a few years before.

Again, the new discourse did not include the voices of the Indigenous inhabitants on whose ancestral lands, Turtle Island, the beautiful mosaic was being based.² This omission may look like an oversight, but, when it comes to Aboriginal–non-

2 For an outsider with a German background like mine, all nationalisms not serving decolonisation are basically suspect of being part of a jingoist, chauvinist, potentially war mongering, and arch conservative project. But in the case of Canadian nationalism its development coincided in the late 1960s with a historical period, which – although it did not bring the cultural and political revolution young people and minorities may have hoped for – was experienced by many participants as the most progressively humanitarian, politically decolonising and liberating phase in the post-World War II Western world. Many protagonists of Canadian nationalism took an active part in civil rights and other 'liberation' movements of the time, so that in its formative years Canadian nationalism seems to have become complexly informed by an awareness of subaltern and marginalized groups, curbing its potential for right-wing chauvinism, and making Canada a most attractive country for visitors and sojourners like myself. And yet, when it comes to Aboriginal peoples (and other people of colour), multicultural openness often seems suspended, and there is a falling back into seemingly spontaneous and unreflective Old World patterns of racial and cultural chauvinism. Sometimes, such reactions are simply comic: When First Nations representatives protesting the *White Paper* entered the negotiating room in Ottawa drumming and chanting, Trudeau and his government representatives "retaliated" by rising from their seats and singing more loudly "Onward Christian Soldiers!" – This incident was related to me in 1990 by Cree poet Beth Cuthand, who was accompanying the Aboriginal caravan as a journalist at the time. I have not checked whether it is on record elsewhere.

Aboriginal relations, the 1960s were full of such striking contradictions, as the following examples may serve to demonstrate. As 'late' as the winter of 1957/58 fourteen Inuit people died of starvation in the North of Canada, but, as 'early' as 1958 John Diefenbaker appointed Jim Gladstone (Blood) as the first Indian senator (cf. Dempsey 1986, 164), at a time when First Nations and Inuit people generally did not even have the right to vote. Two years later, franchise for First Nations followed on the federal level (and for the Inuit in 1962), but Alberta and Quebec did not implement provincial franchise for Indians until 1965 and 1969 respectively. Although the Canadian Bill of Rights had been passed in 1960, First Nations women continued to lose their Indian status if they married a non-Native husband, while First Nations men upon marriage extended their Indian status to the whole family, including their non-Aboriginal wives.³ In 1962 Norval Morrisseau and other Aboriginal artists won national recognition in Toronto, while in Saskatchewan in 1963 Métis people were forcefully driven off their road allowance settlement near Yorkton, in the last of many Métis dispersals (cf. Campbell 1991, 45), and in Glaslyn, also in Saskatchewan, White citizens beat to death a young Saultaux First Nation man for camping on 'their' sportsfield. The 1960s abound in such contrasts.

Through most of the 1960s the policy continued of kidnapping or luring First Nations and Inuit children away from their communities and educating them in residential schools. Amongst the results of this ethnocidal practice was the physical, social, linguistic, psychological, and spiritual alienation of three generations of Aboriginal people from their home communities and families. After three consecutive generations of being denied the privilege of growing up in a nurturing family situation but instead being subjected to multiple forms of abuses, many Aboriginal individuals today are reduced to such a degree of confusion and shame, that the effects of this destructive policy are felt daily in First Nations families and are all too visible on skid row throughout North America. Colonialist 'de-education' left the majority of schooled Aboriginal people literally 'speechless'. The residential school system had effectively barred most First Nations and Inuit students – and many Métis students as well – from achieving a higher education, either by denying them completed high school careers or by steering them into vocational training after graduation. The de-education practice was based on an 1880 amendment to the Indian Act of 1876, and was upheld by the Indian Act of 1951, by which "any Indian obtaining a university degree would be automatically enfranchised" (DIAND 1986, 61). 'Enfranchisement', one of the key terms of Indian Acts and amendments, is a euphemism for the loss of Indian status. Very few individuals chose to pursue a higher education under these conditions, even if their residential schooling had enabled them to. For example, in 1958, Bill Asikinack, today a professor at the First Nations University of

3 This sexist practice was upheld by a Supreme Court decision in the famous Lavell case in 1973 until finally defeated by Bill C-31 in 1985.

Canada, was the only Aboriginal student in teachers college in Ontario, from which he graduated in 1962.

In 1968/69 the liberal federal government under Prime Minister Trudeau, with Jean Chrétien at the head of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), conducted a series of consultations with Aboriginal leaders who voiced their concerns, especially with regard to land title, treaty rights and cultural self-determination. But policy had already been unilaterally determined before talks even began. When the federal government in 1969 published its *White Paper*, and Jean Chrétien publicly called for the dissolution of his own department, First Nations leaders were appalled and protested this initiative, which advocated almost an exact replica of the Termination Policy in the United States sixteen years earlier. It called for a repeal of the Indian Act and an end to "the federal responsibility for Indians and terminating their special status." In the DIAND's own words

[...] the government hoped to abolish what it deemed the false separation between Indian people and the rest of Canadian society.

What the government had not fully understood was the value Indian people placed on their special status within confederation and on their treaty rights. The Indian Act thus revealed itself to be a paradox for Indian people. While it could be viewed as a mechanism for social control and assimilation, it was also the vehicle that confirmed the special status of Indians in Canada.

So vehement was the negative reaction of Indian people and the general public that the government withdrew the *White Paper*. Ironically, the new policy had served to fan sparks of Indian nationalism. (DIAND 1986, 87)

The government recalled Indian agents from the reserves and started funding Aboriginal organizations directly. This decision helped to divide Native groups into those who were funded by the government, and those who rebelled and lost good standing with their colonial grant-givers. It is true, however, that the response to the *White Paper* helped encourage already existing tendencies to advocate Native cultural nationalism. The 'winds of change' fanned Canadian Indian politics.

2. Canadian Mainstream Literature at the Time

The Canada Council's efforts to financially seed the development of Canadian literature fell on uniquely fertile grounds. The period marked an unprecedented literary productivity. In 1959 Sheila Watson's modernist novella *The Double Hook* abandoned both romanticism and realism. In contrast, Margaret Laurence in her five Manawaka novels between 1964 (*The Stone Angel*) and 1974 (*The Diviners*) contin-

ued the socially perceptive realist tradition in modern Canadian literature. Seminal works by other prominent Canadian authors and thinkers were also published in the 1960s: Northrop Frye's famous "Conclusion to the Literary History of Canada" (1965), Leonard Cohen's *Beautiful Losers* (1966), George Ryga's *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* (1967), Alice Munro's *Dance of the Happy Shades* (1968), Robert Kroetsch's *The Studhorse Man* and Margaret Atwood's *The Edible Woman* (both 1969). When read vis-à-vis Indigenous cultures this short list is exemplary, in that the texts seem to address only White audiences, and most novels are set almost hermetically in a White (woman's) world. While some texts demonstrate well-meaning attempts towards an acknowledgement of the Indigenous presence in Canada, and towards an inclusion of Aboriginal cultures within a Canadian canon, they remain well-intentioned but uncritical, still upholding the colonial subject-object relationship. Most attempts are still thwarted by a Eurocentric cultural hubris that defines and limits perception by the narrow and stereotyping contours of a Euro-Canadian middle-class frame of vision – quite literally a cliché – that defines and relegates a priori 'the Indigene' to the position of an exotic, and often frightening 'Other' against whom the nascent Canadian nation defines itself. This perception tokenizes 'the Aboriginal' in an appropriating gesture that is marked by paternalistic condescension. In their portrayals of 'Indian' cultures and characters, most literary texts of the 1960s in Canada do not grant Aboriginals the status of human subjects and contemporary citizens but define and functionalise them as usable objects.

In *The Double Hook*, according to the author, Sheila Watson wanted to explore how people are driven towards violence and insensibility "if they have no art, [...] no tradition, [...] no ritual" (qtd. in Bowering 2002, 1199). Indeed, her isolated and alienated archetypal settler characters are devoid of artistic traditions or civilizing rituals, and they have neither geographical nor historical roots in the region they inhabit, nothing upon which they could build a trust in themselves or identities to rely on. But in the novella an older Aboriginal presence is symbolically acknowledged by the mysterious appearance of Coyote, a mono-dimensional incarnation of evil. Watson's gothic Coyote figure is culturally far removed from the multidimensionality of the Aboriginal Trickster, "a figure found the world over, [...] but special and central in the cultures of North America. Among his names here, in Canada, are Glooscap, Nanabojoh, Weesakejak, Napi, Raven, Hare, Coyote" (Keeshig-Tobias 1988, 3). While Aboriginal Tricksters may be shape-shifting pranksters, often greedy and irresponsible, they are also powerful creators, teachers, and healers, and their multidimensionality escapes easy definition. "Essentially a comic, clownish sort of character, his role is to teach us about the nature and the meaning of existence on the planet Earth: he straddles the consciousness of man and that of God, the Great Spirit" (Highway 1998, iv).⁴ Rather than being a culturally literate rendering of as-

4 Tomson Highway includes this explanatory passage in his earlier published works. Here it is taken from his novel *Kiss of the Fur Queen*.

pects of that multi-dimensional and transcendently heterogeneous presence, whose name Watson's "Coyote" so obviously appropriates, her Trickster remains a "flat character" in E. M. Forster's classic definition of the term (1966, 75). Despite other readings which see him as archetype, I can only see in Watson's Coyote a stereotype, the unchanging and predictable incarnation of evil as understood in a Christian *Weltanschauung* that invented and defined the notion of 'sin' in the first place.⁵

Leonard Cohen's postmodernist novel *Beautiful Losers* (1966) ridicules Christian categories with a visceral gusto reminiscent of Swift. Cohen satirically deconstructs Catholic hagiography by portraying the way the blessed virgin Kateri Tekakwitha (1656-1680), the 'Lily of the Mohawks,' was constructed as a saint and worshipped as such by Jesuit missionaries. Of course, Cohen's character Kateri is not a realistically perceived and portrayed individual Kanienkehaka (Mohawk) woman. Rather, she is a 'White Man's Indian,'⁶ i.e. the White racialized and sexualized projection of European and Euro-North American obsessions with the Aborigines of North America – a male wet dream, the projection of White phallic desires for a brown woman's body. The unholy alliance between sexism and racism is even more obvious – and perhaps no longer even satirically funny – in the way Cohen portrays the second Indian in the novel, Edith, a member of the A-tribe, who is verbally and sexually abused by the protagonist – 'her anthropologist' –, as well as by his alter ego/confidant/friend, F. Edith comes to a crudely phallic and violent end, being crushed to death at the bottom of an elevator shaft. Cohen's two female characters

-
- 5 The trickster is obviously 'haunting' or rather obsessing literary scholars and critics of Native American and Canadian Aboriginal literatures. Critical studies abound in learned treatises on "trickster discourse" (Gerald Vizenor's term). Analyses of aspects of 'tricksterism' in contemporary Native literatures are the most frequent topoi addressed by (mostly non-Aboriginal) scholars, and there are multiple attempts to describe and explain this most elusive of characters, who, as most critics agree and have again and again conceded, defies all categorization and definitions a priori. Is it perhaps Trickster's defiant contempt for Cartesian categorizations which make Western approaches to explain 'the trickster' so obsessive? – For a comprehensive study on trickster in Aboriginal art, a book which is both erudite and tricksteri(s/c)hly humorous, see Ryan 1999. For a concise account and bibliography see Babcock / Cox 1996. For a short exploration of Trickster figures in Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cultures see Shackleton 2007. For a comparative approach see also Lutz 2005b.
- 6 Here and elsewhere I (have) follow(ed) historian Robert Berkhofer, Jr.'s by now classic distinction between 'Indian', as referring to the image Europeans and European North Americans have constructed of North American Indigenous peoples, and 'Native American' (or in Canada: 'First Nation', 'Aboriginal', 'Indigene') as referring to the real people indigenous to North America, e.g. the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois), Lakota (Sioux), Anishnabe (Ojibway/Chippewa), or Syilx (Okanagan/Okanogan). [For discussions of the relationship between the constructed image and the people it is meant to represent see: Berkhofer 1979, 3-51; Lutz 1985, 3-23; Francis 1992, 4-5; Mi-hesuah 1995; Deloria 1998; Valaskakis 2005.] In the context of identifying the "Other" see also Maurizio Gatti's discussion of assigned/perceived and experienced/"essential" Aboriginal identity – "Aussi, il existe une différence entre une groupe d'appartenance et un de référence," in Gatti 2006, 30.

represent the dichotomized perception of Aboriginal women as “Indian princesses” to be admired and worshipped, and “Easy Squaws” to be sexually abused (Acoose 1995).

In the morally repressive 1960s before the Women’s Movement, the sexism in *Beautiful Losers* apparently went unchallenged and perhaps largely unnoticed. At the time the explicit language could have been read as excitingly scandalous, and as daringly liberated. Likewise, the racist objectification of Indians as stereotypes was too commonly upheld in literature to raise a debate or even be noticed, and, after all, this novel was a post-modern cultural irony, if not a social satire. But for today’s readers it is blatantly obvious that this canonized Canadian classic reduces Indian women characters into objectified bearers of their sexual body parts, and that the violence of their abuse is lethal. In historical reality, the body of the blessed Kateri was indeed dismembered, and different parts of her corpse were distributed as relics to different missions – and later her skull was destroyed by a fire, so that today the shrine in the Kahnawake mission church only holds pieces of the martyr’s body – but that was long ago in the past, and seemingly part of a standard Catholic procedure with relics of prospective saints. On a purely phenomenological level, the fate of Kateri’s remains does demonstrate the fragmentation of a woman’s body into ‘usable’ parts, and it is an Aboriginal woman’s body that is so objectified. However, when the systemic, rampant but silenced violence against Aboriginal women in Canada today is considered (cf. *Stolen Sisters* 2004), then the abuse and mutilation of Indian women characters in *Beautiful Losers* seems no creative whim or historical coincidence, and the satirical fictionality of the text loses its protective distance to reality. Rather, contemporary readers are forcefully reminded that the fictionalized racial and sexual abuse in satire is outdistanced by the brutality against Aboriginal women in reality today.

Until the latter part of the 1960s, Aboriginals were generally just not perceived as contemporary intellectuals or literary authors. In Karl F. Klinck’s famous first comprehensive *Literary History of Canada* (1965), ‘Canada’s native peoples’ are mentioned only marginally. They receive less than a page’s worth of attention in Sheila Egoff’s short chapter on “Children’s Literature to 1960” (1976, 140), where Indians appear as romantic characters in children’s books or where their “myths and symbols” (142) are woven into such texts. In his famous “Conclusion” to the second edition of Klinck’s history Northrop Frye concedes that “[t]he Indians have not figured so largely in the [Canadian social] myth as one might expect,” and whenever so, “the kind of rapport with nature which the Indian symbolizes is central to it” (1976, 352). Frye sees Klinck’s history as expressive of “the obvious and unquenchable desire of the Canadian cultural public to identify itself through its literature” (335), but that identity, at least in the 1960s, remained almost exclusively White. There are exceptions, however, which the works of Margaret Laurence and George Ryga attest.

When seen as a whole sequence, Margaret Laurence’s four Manawaka novels and her collection of short stories, *A Bird in the House* (1970), present in my reading the

most successful attempt yet by a non-Aboriginal novelist to include an Aboriginal presence in a realistic contemporary setting.⁷ *The Stone Angel* starts off with the Métis family Tonnerre remaining literally marginal dwellers on the far outskirts of the little prairie town of Manawaka, down in the river valley and across the railroad tracks, where psychologically they remain unwanted 'others' in the mind of the protagonists. But, narrative by narrative, the Tonnerre characters very gradually move closer to the centre plot of each novel, until in *The Diviners*, Laurence's 1974 capstone to her Manawaka cycle, an emblematic union of Scottish and Métis ethnic heritages is achieved in the character of Pique Tonnerre Gunn – a union which historically echoes the very beginnings of 'Halfbreed' culture in Canada, and which seems to be designed by the author to foreshadow a humanist dream – however utopian at the time – of the way in which a reconciliation could be achieved in the conflicted relations between Aboriginals and settlers. Laurence's fictional and exemplary resolution of historical grievances may seem contrived and naïve, but her novels demonstrate how much the author was aware of the persistence of racial prejudice in settler Canada and the trans-generational traumata of internal colonization inflicted upon Native peoples. Her social realism also probes deeply into the psychological. Unparalleled in Canadian letters for decades to come is her depiction of how a young character, Vanessa, grows aware that she has been raised on romantic stereotypes which have denied her the maturity to perceive an Aboriginal person as a contemporary individual, a *Mensch*.⁸

On November 23, 1967, at the time of the centennial, George Ryga's play *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* premiered at the Vancouver Playhouse Theatre, with a mixed Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal cast, including Chief Dan George in the role of David Joe, the protagonist's father. Only twenty years later staging a play by a non-Aboriginal author speaking for a First Nations group would have incurred the wrath of many Aboriginal intellectuals for appropriating Native Voice, but at the time the play came as a revelation to Aboriginal audiences. For the first time a contemporary First Nations character took centre stage, not to be stereotyped as a romantic Indian princess, nor as an easy squaw or a muted drudge, but as a complex contemporary

7 There are rumours, and there seems to be visual and biographical evidence, that Margaret Laurence was in fact of part Métis origin, as Métis scholar David T. McNab told me at a conference in Vienna, Austria, in December 2006. However, since Margaret Laurence never 'came out' as Aboriginal but identified as settler-descended, I regard this link to indigeneity merely as a biological possibility, not as a cultural-ethnic identity, and therefore in this study I will continue to regard her as a non-Aboriginal author.

8 Laurence's depiction of Métis peoples and cultures remains contested among Aboriginal scholars. While Maria Campbell called Laurence a "respectful and spiritual woman" (1991, 58), Janice Acoose felt offended by Laurence's portrayal of Piquette Tonnerre in particular (cf. Acoose 1995, 79-85). My own admiration for Margaret Laurence's interracial awareness and humanitarian commitment remains as high as my appreciation for the psychological realism with which she portrayed in her fictional non-Native characters their racialized and gendered perceptions of Métis characters as 'others'. Cf. Lutz 1986; Lutz 2004, 175-176.

human being, caught between cultures, whose grievances and conflicts struck home as uncensored and real. In his very brief 1971 foreword to the play, Chief Dan George stresses that *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe* carried a message all Canadians needed to hear, because at the time (after the *White Paper*) laws were being readied that would affect Indians for years to come, and they needed sympathy and understanding. His appeal to non-Natives “to listen with their hearts – and when hearts are open ears can hear” (George 1971, 35) – is an appeal anybody dealing with First Nations people will hear often, and it is an axiom on which much of Aboriginal literature is based to this day. Chief Dan George also stresses that the “message of Rita Joe is true” (35), although some people were hurt by the play’s unmitigated criticism of White institutions and their representatives. At the time, the play, though written by a Ukrainian-Canadian author, spoke to the hearts and perhaps even from the hearts of Aboriginal audiences and touched non-Natives throughout Canada.

Laurence’s and Ryga’s works show that it was and would be possible for non-Native Canadians to seek to overcome racial stereotyping, to open their hearts to Aboriginals around them, and to address in their works systemic racism and the traumata of colonization. But in speaking ‘for’ the Natives, they were also speaking ‘instead of’. They could help, however, in raising awareness and help prepare the reading public to open their eyes and hearts to read texts authored by First Nations, Métis and Inuit authors.

3. Developments South of the Border

As stated above, Aboriginal reactions to the franchise for status-Indians and the Declaration of Human Rights in 1960 were quite mixed. Many First Nations leaders, especially the political representatives of treaty Indians, were wary of the right to vote, understanding that it constituted a decisive step towards enforced assimilation, because it meant the relinquishment of treaty status and the unilateral imposition of civil rights (and duties) on Aboriginal peoples. Such political reservations on the side of Aboriginals in Canada were far from ill-founded. They were based on the experiences Native Americans south of the border had had with the US government almost a decade earlier. In 1953, the American Congress had passed House Concurrent Resolution 108, better known as the ‘Termination Act’. By privatizing Indian reservations and terminating all special rights and privileges guaranteed to Indians by the BIA (Bureau of Indian Affairs), the act was designed towards a total assimilation of all Native Americans into the melting pot. Native Americans soon came to call this attempt at destroying tribal structures the ‘Extermination Act’, and they fought a long struggle against it, until the Nixon administration halted the erosion in the 1970s. Canadian First Nations now feared the beginning of a similar development in Canada.

And there were other external influences from the South affecting Aboriginal–non-Aboriginal relations in Canada. The impact of the American civil rights movement began to be felt. As in the United States, structural and personal racism were perceived,⁹ if at all in Canada, in terms of a Black–White conflict, thus blocking an awareness of racism in Indian–White relations. Accordingly, measures to abolish structural racism in Canada were at first exclusively focused on African Canadians. In 1964 Ontario officially stopped the segregation of Black students in provincial schools – a practice that had long been discontinued but still existed legally. Lincoln Alexander, the first Black Member of Parliament, was elected in 1968. In the process, White liberals came to realize that race relations in Canada were not so much better than in the United States.¹⁰ In Canada, instead of blatant discrimination there was a general neglect of Native people and their plight. Personal racism often seemed less raw or obvious, structural racism less visible. But they were there.

Learning from developments in the United States, non-Aboriginal Canadian student activists attempted to implement in the Prairies the civil rights tactics devel-

9 In using ‘structural racism’ and ‘personal racism’ I am following Jörg Becker’s definition of the terms. In his pioneering study on anti-Black racism in German children’s literature (Becker 1977), Becker adapts Stokely Carmichael’s differentiation between “institutional racism” and “personal racism” (125) to Johan Galtung’s definition of ‘structural’ vs. ‘personal violence’. The Norwegian peace researcher Galtung (1975) defines violence as existing “whenever individuals are impacted in such a way that their actual physical and mental realization is smaller in scope than their potential realization” (9; my translation). Galtung then defines other categories of violence ranging from milder forms of mental and physical frustrations to the actual killing of persons. He also clearly defines as *structural violence* situations in which such impingements or frustrations are inherent (and unavoidable?) in social structures and institutions, and as *personal violence* situations where such frustrations are inflicted ‘spontaneously’ by individuals, seemingly regardless of social structures. By including the spiritual, psychological and mental as well as the social and physical dimensions of structural and personal violence, Galtung’s definition is far more encompassing and comprehensive than a traditional understanding of violence as a physical attack on a person’s well-being or even life. Becker, in turn, uses Galtung’s complex definition to understand *racism as a form of violence* (in Galtung’s sense) based on an individual’s possession of certain racialized biological characteristics defining the object as belonging to a specific ethnic group (‘race’). By also adapting Galtung’s differentiation between the structural and the personal, Becker’s definition of racism makes possible a distinction between, for example, the systemic violence inherent in the institutionalization of compulsory education for First Nations and Inuit children in residential schools as a form of *structural racism*, whereas, for example, a racial slur directed against an Aboriginal woman would be an expression of *personal racism* (and sexism). By extension, Galtung’s (and Becker’s) definition of violence also facilitates an understanding of sexism, ageism, or poverty as forms of violence. It calls for a radical reassessment of the social institutions inflicting structural violence, and for a curbing of personal expressions of it. Such a process would imply complex and careful negotiations between restrictions which are unavoidable and socially acceptable, and those which are not and therefore need to be overcome.

10 For an exploration of racism in Canada as directed against Natives see the contributions by Joane Cardinal-Schubert, Emma LaRocque, Ron Bourgeault, Boyce Richardson, and others in Ormond McKague (ed.), *Racism in Canada*.

oped in the Southern States. For example, in the summer of 1965 ten students from Ontario and Saskatchewan emulated White freedom riders in the US and moved to Indian and Métis communities in Saskatchewan as part of the Student Neestow Partnership Project to learn more about conditions there and to support the Aboriginal struggle for self-determination (cf. Dobbin 1981, 226). However, while it seems justified to compare structural racism against First Nations in Canada to structural racism against African Americans in the US, there were also major differences. Both groups were impacted by (internal) colonialism, but they have different histories, a different relationship to the land, and most importantly, they differed in numbers, in cultural diversity, and in their degrees of urbanization. Nevertheless, the more radical political leaders emphasized the parallels and called for the solidarity of all Third and Fourth World Nations, seeing reservations and urban ghettos as internal colonies involved in the international anti-imperialist struggle for decolonization.¹¹ As the civil rights movement became radicalized by the dominant society's reaction to the Black Panthers and the movements of other Peoples of Colour (cf. Jacobs/Landau/Pell 1971, 435-459; Zinn 1980, 493-528), so were some groups of Native people in Canada, especially the Métis of Northern Saskatchewan, who share a tradition of political activism with which the names of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris are closely connected (cf. Dobbin 1981). Encouraged by Black Power and the beginnings of Red Power and Bronze Power movements in the US, many young Aboriginals in Canada became politically enthused and felt encouraged by the activism of radical students and African American, Native American, and Chicano political leaders, while others followed the drift towards de-politicization and escaped into the social fringes in the vicinity of the hippie, New Age and drug taking subcultures. Years later in retrospect, West Coast Aboriginal author and activist Lee Maracle would relate in her autobiography *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel*, how, for a time, she went through this process herself, and Jeannette Armstrong would fictionalize the historical development of the Red Power movement in great detail in her novel *Slash*.

Towards the very end of the 1960s in the US the grassroots activism of Peoples of Colour for civil rights and against structural racism initiated lasting changes in the educational and cultural fields. Demanding the abolition of a systemic Eurocentric bias in academia, minority students campaigned to deconstruct the tacit 'White Studies' approach in such fields as history, philosophy, literature or the fine arts, and they began to set up Black, Native American, Chicano and Asian American Studies programs or departments at colleges and universities – with Women's Studies following suit. Out of the political movements came new forms of artistic and literary self-expression, ranging, for example, from the establishment of countless movement pamphlets and newspapers – of which *Akwesasne Notes*, founded in 1969, had the greatest impact in Native North America and internationally – to pivotal counter

11 See Adams 1975 and also Karrer / Lutz 1990, 12-14.

cultural music events like Woodstock, to the widespread use of (Chicano) murals and the grassroots development of the politically engaged *actos* of the *teatro campesino*, and culminating in literature with the successes of African American and other minority authors. In 1969, for the first time in its history, a Pulitzer Prize went to a Native American author: N. Scott Momaday won the Pulitzer, in the category 'fiction in book form,' for his novel *House Made of Dawn*. This event manifests the advent of Native American literature in the US canon, and it encouraged and still encourages indigenous writers in the United States to follow suit. By comparison, Canadian Aboriginal literature at the time could boast no such achievement, since the struggle for survival tied most energies to the more immediate quotidian issues. And yet, the history of Native American literature in terms of the development of genres, provides a paradigmatic sequence, which is paralleled by other minority literatures, and which also provided the sequential model to be followed by Aboriginal literature in Canada later. In both cases, the road for this development was initially paved by the political activism outside literary circles.

In the US the first genres developed out of movement literature, mostly as short contributions to 'the struggle' in prose and poetry. They often came as oratories delivered to mostly Native audiences and sometimes captured in print later, as well as in politically engaged journalistic prose pieces and personal statements printed on occasional flyers and pamphlets or published in movement periodicals. Increasingly, such literary self-expression would also use the form of song lyrics and poems, and to this day poetry remains the most popular and widespread form of Native literary articulation, with thousands of closeted and hundreds of published poets on Turtle Island.¹² First anthologies of Native American poetry were either self-published or came out with small alternative and university presses. Gradually, short prose fiction published in periodicals followed suit, but it took a while for the first monographs to appear. While collaborative autobiographies, so-called "as-told-tos" (Krupat 1996, 176), had come out much earlier in the 20th century, they experienced a rebirth in the late 1960s and 1970s.¹³ In 1967 Dallas Chief Eagle's historical novel *Winter Count* received practically no critical attention, but the time had come for the recognition of the Native presence in America. The Red Power movement began to attract media attention. The spectacular occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay by Indians of All Tribes, which began in 1969, and an increasing number of demonstrations and occupations by members of AIM (American Indian Movement) and local activists groups, generated a massive upsurge of pan-tribal solidarity, of cultural nationalist feelings, of political insubordination, and of a liberating ethnic

12 In a survey article on poetry by Native women poets in Canada and the USA, written for an English and American Studies journal in Spain, Stefanie von Berg and myself identified 362 published authors in that category alone. See: Lutz / von Berg, 1998. For the – to my knowledge – most comprehensive study of Aboriginal women's poetry see von Berg 2001.

13 For the most erudite analysis of the complex relationship between the collaborating parties see Carolan-Brozy 2001.

pride amongst Native Americans throughout the US. At the same time it raised an awareness of Native grievances in the general population. When in 1969 N. Scott Momaday's novel *House Made of Dawn* won the Pulitzer Prize for fiction, only a year after its first publication, the dam had broken, and the flourishing of Native American literature (but almost totally without drama) could begin – a powerful development that has since been called the “Native American Renaissance” (Bruchac 1996, 311). It is true that this Renaissance could not have been possible without the superb quality of Momaday's and his fellow authors' writings, but I am convinced that literary quality alone did not account for its success. The ‘times were a'changing,’ and the time was ‘right for fightin’ in the streets’. The political activism, especially the threat of violence posed by AIM warriors publicly carrying guns, broke the tranquil surface of US governmental political self-complacency with regards to the internally colonized Native population. It showed to the public that Indians had not disappeared, and that things were not right with regards to Indians and other minorities. This opened also a cultural discourse within which Native Americans could speak and their voices would be heard. The wonderful emergence of Native American Literature seems unthinkable without the political activism that broke the shell of silence and neglect.

By comparison, Canadian Aboriginal literature was not nearly as successful until well over two decades later.

4. Literary Awakenings

The emergence of Aboriginal writings in Canada followed the general pattern that could also be observed in the development of Native American literature in the United States, and of other ‘new’ ethnic, postcolonial literatures. Initially there were far more ethnographic texts about the respective groups than there were texts authored by its members. When first indigenous book-length publications began to appear they were usually co-authored by members of the dominant culture – these included ‘myths’ and ‘legends’ from oral traditions, parts of life-writings, and miscellaneous pieces of ethnographic interest, which in the course of time came to foster first anthologies including texts by Aboriginals. But such monographs and collections were still heavily edited by non-Aboriginals like missionaries, ethnographers, and ‘friends of the Indians,’ who spoke on behalf of the Native peoples whom they studied or claimed to represent.

The first self-written texts by Aboriginals were usually purpose-driven and occasioned by current political and cultural events, especially by the need to communicate across linguistic boundaries and to counter the effects of distorted representations in mainstream media – ‘to set the record straight’ and to raise consciousness for the situation of the indigenous population of Canada. Such publications are political acts. They document the resilience and the will for self-determination of

peoples to whom literacy had long been a foreign mode of expression, and whose traumatic socialization in residential schools had failed, in most cases, to instil in the students a love for literature – although there are some quite striking exceptions.¹⁴ Early texts in the 1960s and throughout the following decade express an individual's or a community's reactions to the multiple traumata of colonization. They demonstrate the desire for self-expression and autonomous articulation among peoples whom the Canadian "regime" had muted and disenfranchised (cf. Episkenew 2006).¹⁵ Still, in the 1960s and early 1970s, there are no literary monographs, no novels or published plays, which would require an extended period of writing undisturbed by social and economic interruptions in 'a room of one's own'. Such privileged conditions did not exist for Aboriginal writers in Canada in the 1960s, which as Howard Adams stated, "were still concerned with bread and butter on the table. You cannot talk about culture or literature when you are hungry" (1991, 137). The absence of literary monographs by Aboriginal authors did not mean, however, that First Nations, Inuit and Métis authors had nothing to say or that they lacked an urge for creative expression. Short tales from oral traditions, often illustrated by Aboriginal artists, journalistic reports, funny stories and an increasing amount of poetry appear scattered in tribal papers, newsletters, pamphlets and occasional publications outside the realm of the emerging Canadian publishing industry. Such texts came out unnoticed by the larger reading public, and to this day they remain almost invisible and hard to come by.

5. Oral Traditions, Literacy, and Decolonisation

The oral tradition, or 'orature,' lies at the heart of Aboriginal ethnic identity. Traditionally, it tells people who the respective Indigenous people are, where they come from, and how they must conduct themselves in order to live meaningful lives and ensure survival in the future. Birch bark markings and pictographs, rock paintings, petroglyphs, painted winter counts on buffalo robes, totem poles, sacred bundles, strings and belts of wampum, hand-woven sashes, story knifings in snow, songs and musical instruments, ritualized tellings by expert historians, and dramatic performances by individuals and groups were all forms of expression which helped, in their material representationality or their mnemonic performativity, to memorize, store, and transfer texts from generation to generation. But there was no writing system based on standardized letters allowing texts to be preserved in forms generally

14 For a discussion of the complex and contradictory impact of residential school education on the development of literacy and literature, see Gatti 2006, 78-84.

15 Jo-Ann Episkenew in her doctoral dissertation (Episkenew 2006) uses the term 'regime' for the Canadian provincial and federal governments vis-à-vis Aboriginals in Canada – a term, shocking though it may be, which is most precise in defining the state's unsanctioned and uncurbed power over the internally colonized nations within.

accessible and independent of specialized or initiated individuals trained to read or interpret the mnemonic devices. The oral tradition was indeed, as Basil Johnston stated so forcefully, only “[o]ne generation removed from extinction” (1990, 10). If one generation of storytellers died or were left untrained, the stories died with them. It is a depressing venture to imagine how much oral knowledge was destroyed by ethnocidal measures like residential schooling alone, but when the actual physical decimation of the Indigenous nations by diseases, disposessions and other forms of colonial genocide are considered, the losses become astronomical. And yet, much of the oral tradition survived and was consciously preserved by taking it ‘underground’ or by committing some texts to writing.

Without going into details about earlier forms and developments of orature before 1967, it should be remembered that letter-based literacy is a relatively new phenomenon in Aboriginal cultural practices, and that the oral tradition as a mnemonic form of knowledge transmission continues to exist in various linguistically translated and culturally modified forms of expression.¹⁶ Today, orature and literature coexist side by side with electronic communication, and it has often seemed to me that among Aboriginal people in Canada the computer was welcomed faster and more wholeheartedly than the book.

Habent sua fata libelli – books have their fates – is particularly apt in the case of *Legends of Vancouver*, the ‘fate’ of which encapsulates and exemplifies the conflicted history of Aboriginal publishing in Canada. It is representative for republications of oral traditions in the 1960s and 1970s. On the one hand, the republication of Johnson’s collection of Capilano’s stories half a century after her original edition bears witness to the outstanding pioneering accomplishment of the Mohawk actress, singer and writer: Tekahionwake/Emily Pauline Johnson’s career in Canada as a woman of Aboriginal ancestry was way before others of her gender and ethnicity at the time.¹⁷ The republication in 1961 of Johnson’s collection by a non-Aboriginal editor is typical for the persistence of internal colonialism: no acknowledgement is given to the artistic accomplishment of the First Nations orator, Chief Joe Capilano. Rather, the editor of the new edition, Marcus Van Steen, attributes the literary sophistication of this text not to the author, Chief Capilano, but to its first editor, Emily Pauline Johnson, the “more than half white” (Van Steen 1961, viii) daughter of an English mother and a Mohawk father who had received a ‘white’ education and whose exceptionalism reinforces the general rule, i.e. the racist stereotype that Aboriginal people as proud but simple-minded primitives are incapable of artistic

16 For discussions of Aboriginal oral traditions in Canada see: “Traditional Orature” and “Traditional Song” (Moses / Goldie 2005); Lutz 2005b, 1-5; and Gatti 2006, 75-92.

17 Again, the situation was different in the United States, where Sarah Winnemucca (1844-1891) pioneered Native American women’s writing several decades before Johnson by publishing her autobiography *Life Among the Piutes* (1883), later followed by women writers like Zitkala Sa (Gertrude Bonnin; 1876-1938), and Humishuma (“Mourning Dove”, Christine Quintasket; 1882-1936).

excellence. In his introduction to the 1961 edition of E. P. Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* Marcus Van Steen writes about the Mohawk poet and her West Coast mentor, Chief Joe Capilano: "they both come from the proud but warm-hearted race of our first Canadians" (1961, vi). He addresses the collection in the same vein:

None of these stories, as they appear here, can properly be classified as folklore. There is more in them of the sophisticated artistry of Pauline Johnson than of the simple imaginings of a primitive people. But the folklore is unmistakably there, lovingly embellished, almost transformed by the word skill of the Mohawk singer. (Van Steen 1961, vii)

In their condescension, Van Steen's words are symptomatic of the early 1960s. Today, almost half a century later it may seem futile to criticize his phrasing, because terms like "our first Canadians," or "simple imaginings of a primitive people" reveal themselves for what they were and are: condescending and racist. But they are also factually wrong, because the "sophisticated artistry" which Van Steen cannot conceive as being (Ab)original but attributes to Emily Pauline Johnson's literary accomplishment, is in fact Joe Capilano's own. When one of Canada's foremost Aboriginal authors, critics and scholars, the Sto:loh poet and prose fiction writer Lee Maracle read the book half a century after its original appearance in 1911, she lauded Johnson for not embellishing but retaining the voice of Joe Capilano, and she praised the Mohawk writer for keeping her retold tale in a style that stays true to early 20th-century West Coast orature in English – before residential schools made Aboriginals almost mute.

She was true to his voice, the beautiful language that he used in English [...] our great-grandmothers and great-grandfathers, really, did speak English very well in the beginning. The residential school robbed us of both languages. Those who didn't go to residential school had no problem learning English or speaking English. (Maracle 1991, 171)

There is an interesting dialectic here. The fact that Johnson did collect and retell the stories herself even a hundred years ago demonstrates that in general the struggle for decolonization begins at the moment the process of colonization starts. Colonization by its oppressive nature engenders its own demise. From the beginning, oppression and silencing produce the need to resist and the desire to speak. The process to claim voice and regain agency, by reform or revolution, is reflected in the general development of publishing Aboriginal orature in Canada. It moves from almost total control by non-Aboriginal editors and publishers, through a phase of collaborative forms in which indigenous authors gain increasing agency, to publications that are entirely controlled by Aboriginal authors, editors and publishers themselves.

5.1. Oral Traditions Edited by Non-Aboriginals

Native oral traditions have always interested a small but growing group of non-Aboriginal scholars and enthusiasts. A trend persists to this day to publish 'legends,' 'fables,' 'tales' or 'myths' in editions compiled and edited by self-appointed experts, by personal friends of Aboriginal informants, or by missionaries and ethnographers. Diamond Jenness's *The Corn Goddess and Other Tales from Indian Canada* (1956) or Ella Elizabeth Clark's *Indian Legends of Canada* (1960) are early examples of heavily edited collections. They are representative of prevailing non-Aboriginal attitudes towards Canada's First Nations. Jenness "selected such tales as appear to possess literary merit," and he "chose them from every part of Canada in order that the reader may gain a conception of the Indian's outlook on the universe around him – an outlook that was essentially uniform in spite of superficial differences between one region and another" (Jenness 1966, iii). Clark follows a similarly paternalistic agenda. "Knowing that the general reader likes a variety of theme," she selected her texts firstly "for the most interesting examples of each type of narrative mentioned," secondly to "provide a background for a study of the American Indians," and thirdly, "desirous of a book of Indian stories that can be read in families and schools, [she][...] excluded tales with brutal or erotic themes" (Clark 1960, ix). Today, it is easy to identify these passages as condescending, stereotyping and racist. In Jenness's collection 'the Indian's' cultures are homogenized and essentialized, while regional differences in *Weltanschauungen* are dismissed as superficial. Clark selects individual texts as "most interesting" and exemplary for specific genres, but she alone decides which "myths and legends" are best suited for "a study of the American Indians," and which to exclude because they seem too obscene or brutal, while conceding that such a "procedure, of course is not new; [...] the myths and legends of the ancient Greeks, Romans, and Norsemen have been similarly screened for similar purposes" (Clark 1960, ix). Both introductions to these collections reveal the prevailing ethnocentricity. It is manifest in the selective treatment of Aboriginal texts, which were homogenized and sanitized to fit the conservative, sexually repressive and patriarchal White middle-class standards of the settler cultures. Aboriginal orators and storytellers had no agency in this process.

The collections edited by folklorist and educator George W. Bauer, a former children's supervisor at the Anglican student hostel in Fort George, Quebec, go a significant step further to acknowledge the input and agency of his Aboriginal informants and translators. He stresses that his collections of *Cree Tales and Beliefs* (1971) and *Tales from the Cree* (1973) were motivated by a genuine interest in and empathy for his Naskapi-Cree friends. But as a committed Christian he regrets that "[a]gainst the demons of their world, they had only meager propitiation and sacrifice to ensure their personal well-being" (Bauer 1973, v). Also based on Cree oral traditions is Lillian Small's 24-page booklet *Indian Stories from James Bay*, which came out in 1972 with illustrations by 'Indian Children of Moose Factory'. It is based, as the au-

thor explains in her "Foreword," on her spending "many happy hours listening, taping and translating these stories as told to me by my very dear friends the Cree of James Bay" (Small 1972).¹⁸ The collection is designed for Indian and non-Indian children, and it was gathered before the 'stories and legends' would disappear 'in this day and age'. Most of the stories are personal tales, and each is followed by the names of the storyteller and the translator. One of the narrations, told by Philip Kapasheshit and translated by Lillian Small, records in very short, direct, and realistic terms how the author's parents arranged a marriage for the narrator when he was still in his teens, because he was already a good hunter. This personal story, a matter-of-fact narrative, contains great psychological depth. The newlywed's pride in his huntsmanship and his romantic feelings are conveyed by precise observations of outward details and a final 'auctorial' comment:

The next morning I took my wife with me and we went to get the moose to bring it back to camp. She was very proud and happy. She helped me pack the meet on the toboggan: I pulled and she helped. She used a stick to push my load from behind and once in a while I'd turn back to look at her, and she gave me a big smile and I knew she was happy. (Small 1972)

Besides collections by friends of the Indians like Bauer and Small, there were also well-documented and scholarly collections of orature, in which trained anthropologists gave ethnographies of the people whose oral traditions they were collecting. They give credit to indigenous storytellers who are listed by name. Two smaller one hundred-page books are exemplary for this format: Marion Robertson's *Red Earth: Tales of the Micmac* (1969), illustrated by Micmac ideograms, and Peter Desbarats's *What They Use to Tell About: Indian Legends from Labrador* (1969), based on anthropological research among the Montagnais-Naskapi by members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Montreal in 1967. In the latter work, the researchers discuss the genre categories identified by the Aboriginal storytellers. They group the texts "into two categories: *tobadjimun* and *attenogan*" (Desbarats 1969, xv), the former being personal narratives of exploits in which the narrator or somebody s/he knows is a character, whereas the *attenogan* are of a metaphysical nature. While the oral tradition in general seems to be functional and didactic, a generic subdivision into the profane versus the sacred seems to be characteristic as well.¹⁹

18 According to the research notes I took while reading Lillian Small's 24 page booklet at the National Library and Archives Canada in Ottawa two years ago, there are no page numbers.

19 The division of indigenous North American orature into the secular and the ceremonial is a basic categorization which the Laguna Pueblo novelist, poet and literary scholar Paula Gunn Allen expounded ten years later as the sacred and the profane in her seminal essay "The Sacred Hoop: Contemporary Indian Perspectives on American Indian Literature" (Allen 1979).

The collections of oral traditions discussed above are all based on translations into English which do not entail the possibility of retrieving the original versions in indigenous languages in order to check on the quality of the translation or the kind of editorial interference on the side of the non-Aboriginal collectors and editors. But both Marion Robertson's *Tales of the Micmac* and Peter Desbarats's *Indian Legends from Labrador* (these are the books' subtitles) draw attention to the problem of translation. In her "Notes" Robinson explains some of the key terms spoken in the Micmac originals, and in his "Commentary" on Desbarats's collection, anthropologist Rémi Savard uses the Montagnais-Naskapi words 'tobadjimun' and 'attenogan' to distinguish between the two basic genres for these narratives, the material and the metaphysical. Furthermore, he explains that within the Montagnais-Naskapi idiom the profane and the sacred are distinguished linguistically on the lexical level:

Both the *tobadjimun* and the *attenogan* reflect, in different ways, the 'world vision' of the Montagnais-Naskapi. *Tobadjimun* show the extent to which the daily life is affected by man's view of the world. The *attenogan* contain a message that is highly metaphysical. A type of 'higher language' with its own concrete logic, this literary species impels the commentator to search for the 'key' without which the *attenogan* give us nothing but an impression of incoherence, childishness, and even vulgarity. (Desbarats 1969, xvii)

Savard's respectful and informed "Commentary" is far removed intellectually and ideologically from Ella Elizabeth Clark's concerns about "erotic themes". Savard hints at another dimension in Montagnais-Naskapi – which seems to exist in other Aboriginal languages as well²⁰ – namely, that Aboriginal languages function on two levels, a quotidian and a ritual one. On a higher meta-level, beyond the profane, there (co-)exists a complexly metaphoric and semantically over-determined 'higher language,' which transcends any 'profanity' and carries a semantics that remains closed to the general populace untrained to interpret it. Clark's concerns with obscenity, seems particularly questionable when seen in the light of this possibility of a higher language, which to the uninitiated gives "an impression of incoherence, childishness, and even vulgarity." What Clark as a morally concerned but culturally non-literate editor may identify as "brutal and obscene," may very well be based on an inadequate or uninitiated translation of a text whose complexity escapes her.

20 The Okanagan scholar and literary author Jeannette Armstrong is a trilingual translator officially sanctioned by the elders of the Syilx (Okanagan) nation to translate their Syilxcen (Okanagan language) into English, and also to transfer "High" or "Ceremonial Okanagan" into the everyday Okanagan idiom. Ceremonial Syilxcen, she explained, is a highly abstract and condensed idiom that uses Okanagan terms on a complexly coded "meta" level, which needs to be deciphered and interpreted by an initiated speaker who translates the Ceremonial into the Vernacular Syilxcen. I thank Jeannette Armstrong for this personal information.

Then, it would seem that it is not the text that is childish or incomprehensible, but the editor's inadequate understanding of it. As long as oral traditions told in Aboriginal languages are only given in translations, they will of necessity often say more about the editors' cultural limitations than about the informants'.

One way out of the epistemological dilemma entailed in translated and written renderings of orature is to publish them in bi- or multilingual editions, either by an individual collector/editor sufficiently fluent in both languages, or based on the collaboration between two or more individuals who pool their skills.

5.2. Collaborative Editions

A small 47-page bilingual collection of typed and mimeographed stories told by the Anishnabe storyteller Norman Quill and recorded on tape, transcribed on paper and translated into English by Charles E. Fiero was published by NLGM at Red Lake, Ontario, in 1965. By listing the Ojibway author/teller first, in giving both the original Anishnabe and the English text, and by explaining how the text was edited softly and remained almost totally 'undoctored,' the book sets a new standard for a respectful collaborative mode of publishing orature. The names of both partners in this collaboration are credited, and the function and extent of their involvement is made transparent. Instead of denying agency to the Aboriginal author and reducing him or her to the status of an anonymous informant, in whose place the non-Aboriginal appropriates power and speaks, Norman Quill and Charles Fiero appear as equal partners in a joint bicultural project that presents both the original language and the English translation. Moreover, this book privileges the teller as the author *sine qua non*, while also recognizing the expertise and diligence of the facilitator. Such a collaborative bilingual format may well be understood and recommended as a decolonised standard to be followed.

Marie-Jeanne Basile and Gerard E. McNulty's 38-page typescripted collaboration, *Atanúkana: Légendes Montagnaises: Montagnais Legends*, includes five selected pieces that were recorded from local elders in Mingan after 1966. The booklet pioneers a trilingual format by giving the narratives first in the Aboriginal Montagnais, and then in both of Canada's official languages. Anthropologist McNulty apparently recorded the stories and later published them, whereas Marie-Jeanne Basile translated them from her mother tongue.

C'est la première fois, à notre connaissance, que l'on publie simultanément en trois langues, un choix des contes inédits, recueilles directement dans la tradition amérindienne encore vivante. Ce fait mérite d'être souligné. Il est le fruit d'une étroite collaboration entre les deux auteurs de ce recueil, Mademoiselle Marie-Jeanne Basile, dont la langue maternelle est le montagnais, et Monsieur Gérard McNulty, linguiste et ethno-

logue rattaché au Centre d'Études nordiques de l'université Laval. (Basile/McNulty 1971, iii)²¹

The two collaborators are rightfully proud of their achievement, but unfortunately, the original storytellers' identities remain obscure. By referring to the "tradition amérindienne *encore vivante*" the editors follow implicitly the old assumption that Indian cultures are dying because Aboriginal peoples are on the brink of extinction, and that therefore ethnographers should make haste to record what is expected to disappear within a few years. This assumption may seem overly dramatic today because birthrates among Aboriginal peoples in Canada eclipse those of the general population, but it remains a sad truth that as a result of the settlers' formerly ethnocidal policies, more and more indigenous languages in Canada are being displaced by English – and to a lesser degree by French – and that with the passing away of native speakers, much of the oral tradition is lost, even if texts are passed down in English or French and are thus preserved for the future.

But there is more to this, and again the linguistic relationship is contradictory between what is traditional and what is contemporary in a complex colonial situation. It must be remembered that any language brought over from Europe can never adequately capture the intricate relationship which has evolved over millennia between ancestral places, indigenous peoples, and the languages that are the historical products and the interactive reflections of this relationship.²² Following this line of argument, all English translations of oral traditions will at best remain surrogate renderings of the original. But then, what can ever be defined conclusively as 'original' or 'authentic' in any given culture? And at what point in time can authenticity be 'frozen'?

In a larger historical perspective, the use of translations in the colonizers' tongues appears as a dialectic. Cultures are dynamic, forever changing and developing. At the same time national cultural identities are conservative. Amongst other forms of cultural continuity and preservation, the conserving tenacity of cultures is measurable in language retention or language loss. But even English or French translations of oral traditions are part of a cultural continuum. And yet, translations will appear to be puny and inadequate when compared to older Aboriginal forms of expression. On the one hand, it may be argued that oral traditions published in European languages reflect simultaneously the historical development and the continued pres-

21 "To our knowledge this is the first time that one publishes simultaneously in three languages a selection of unedited tales, collected directly from the First Nations tradition still alive. This fact deserves to be stressed. It is the product of a close cooperation of the two authors of this collection, Miss Marie-Jeanne Basile, whose mother tongue is Montagnais, and Mister Gérard McNulty, a linguist and ethnologist connected to the Centre for Nordic Studies at Laval University." (transl. HL)

22 For a discussion of the relationship between land, culture, history, and language see Armstrong 2007; also Lutz 2005a and Lutz 2007.

ence of cultures by facilitating narrative manifestations of survival. On the other hand, they serve as agents of linguistic displacement. Translations of Aboriginal oral traditions into European languages, then, by the simple fact of their existence, bear witness to the tenacity and continuous vitality of indigenous cultures, whose language loss they attest at the same time. Translations document the demise of Aboriginal languages while celebrating the survival of those cultures of which the languages are the traditional idiom. Whether translations of oral traditions are causes for lament or reasons to celebrate, then, will depend on the historical, ideological, and linguistic position of the listener or reader.

Carl Ray's and James R. Stevens's 1971 collection of *Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Crees* is another book which is based on a Native–non-Native collaborative authorship. It is beautifully illustrated by black and white drawings by the renowned Anishnabe artist Carl Ray, who also authored a dedication in English and Cree syllabics, entitled "To My People" (Ray/Stevens, 1988, vi-vii). An avid folklorist, who later edited James Redsky's 'autobiography,' Stevens provides a personal account of his meeting with the artist: "It was for this man that I had come to Sandy Lake to write down the stories of his people" (Ray/Stevens 1988, xii). The author then gives an ethnography of the Sandy Lake Cree, including a glossary of Cree terms with English translations, before about eighty individual and very brief stories are retold. They are grouped topically into 'legends' (e.g. of We-Sa-Kay-Jak), 'stories' (e.g. of the Windigo) and 'superstitions'. But despite Stevens's claim that "the stories in this volume are still known today" and that "[t]hey are written the way they are told by the people," so that when reading them the readers "will enter the mysterious, isolated world of the Sandy Lake Cree" (12), there are no acknowledgements of any individual authors from whom Stevens obtained his texts, nor is it unmistakably clear whether Carl Ray or James Stevens authored them.

Dan Kennedy's (Ochankugahe's) *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief*, also edited and with an introduction by James R. Stevens, is equally hard to classify in terms of its collaborative authorship. On the one hand, it contains various texts by Ochankugahe himself, on the other it is introduced by James R. Stevens's account of Assiniboine history, supplemented by thematic glossaries, archival photographs, and a bibliography for further reading. In addition, commentaries by the non-Aboriginal editor are made on several historical accounts by the First Nation author. As with Carl Ray's and James R. Stevens's collections, it remains obscure to the reader to what extent, or if at all, the editor interfered with the texts supplied by the Aboriginal author.

Ochankugahe's memoirs are of great historical interest, because in his long life he witnessed some pivotal events himself, and he spoke to eyewitnesses and survivors of crucial and often tragic moments in the history of the American and Canadian West, e.g. the Cypress Hills Massacre of Assiniboine people in 1873, Chief Piapot's refusal to break the treaty (No. 5), which he had signed in 1875, Sitting Bull's and his Hunkpapas' exile in Canada from 1877 until 1881, or Almighty Voice's ordeal in the

last years of the nineteenth century (1895-97). Such historiographic narrations are listed under the heading "Stories" and form the first part of the book (41-90), which also contains Ochankugahe's/Dan Kennedy's short autobiographical piece "Education" (54-58). His account is paradigmatic for what happened to the first generation of Aboriginal children in residential schools after the loss of independence:

'Ochankugahe,' Path Maker, was the name bestowed on me by my grandfather to commemorate his warpath exploit, in which he led a war party across the blizzard-swept plains in the dead of winter. I am very proud of my name.

In 1886, at the age of twelve years, I was lassoed, roped and taken to the Government School at Lebret. Six months after I enrolled, I discovered to my chagrin that I had lost my name and an English name had been tagged on me in exchange.

The interpreter explained to me that there were technical difficulties at the time of my enrolment.

"When you were brought here, for purposes of enrolment, you were asked to give your name and when you did, the Principal remarked that there were no letters in the alphabet to spell this little heathen's name and no civilized tongue could pronounce it. 'We are going to civilize him, so we will give him a civilized name,' and that was how you acquired this brand new whiteman's name."

In keeping with their promise to civilize the little pagan, they went to work and cut off my braids, which, incidentally, according to the Assiniboine traditional custom, was a token of mourning – the closer the relative, the closer the cut. After my haircut I wondered in silence if my mother had died, as they had cut my hair close to the scalp. I looked in the mirror to see what I looked like. A Halloween's pumpkin stared back at me and that did it. If this was civilization, I didn't want any part of it. I ran away from school, but I was captured and brought back. I made two more attempts, but with no better luck. Realizing that there was no escape, I resigned myself to the task of learning the three R's. (Kennedy 1972, 54)²³

In a second part, "When the Redman was Master of the Plains" (91-109), Ochankugahe gives ethnographic descriptions of individual aspects of Assiniboine culture, ranging from hunting and food to games and ceremonies, and in the final section of

23 For similar accounts of first experiences by inmates at US boarding schools and Canadian residential schools see: Luther Standing Bear, *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, 232-236; Jane Willis, *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood*, 37-59; Basil H. Johnston, *Indian School Days*, 22-47; Shirley Stirling, *My Name is Seepeetza*, 17-19.

his part of the book, "Legends" (111-157), the author, a graduate of St. Boniface College, relates narratives from the oral tradition of his people.

Regardless of the degree to which James R. Stevens may have edited Ochankugahe's short sketches, his texts share a number of features that are exemplary of much of Aboriginal literature. First, his narratives transcend several genres. Their generic scope ranges from the oral tradition and the autobiographical to the ethnographic and historical. This is a characteristic shared by many literary texts by Aboriginal authors, especially in this initial period of indigenous writing in Canada. Secondly, the text bears witness or 'signifies'. It consciously documents events and calls attention to personal experiences which the author understands as paradigmatic for a certain period and constellation in history, and which, given his own age, he knows he must record, because he is aware of the fact that nobody else is likely to be left to perform this important task for him and his people. Thirdly, the text provides a counter model to the western 'Franklinian' autobiography. Rather than interpreting his life as an individual success story – from rags to riches, as it were – Ochankugahe's narrative transcends the boundaries of the individual and directs attention to the collective. The author sees himself as a representative for his whole community, who assumes responsibility for its welfare and reputation. Even strictly autobiographical passages point beyond the individual's idiosyncratic experiences to the collective history of his nation and their neighbours. He describes the events in his personal life as emblematic of those of his whole ethnic group. Even where he is rightfully proud of his own achievements, he celebrates these not as the triumphs of a great individual, but as those of an Aboriginal person, who has been helped by others, and who carefully acknowledges their input. Fourthly, the text is written with a dual audience in mind. It 'writes back' to non-Aboriginal readers, whom the witness wants to enlighten about the situation of the internally colonized, and at the same time he also 'writes home' to his own ethnic constituency, sharing with them his knowledge about the colonizers' world. And finally, within Aboriginal writing in Canada in the early 1970s, Ochankugahe's complex collection of narratives straddles two generic thresholds, one leading to the Aboriginal autobiography as monograph, the other leading towards Aboriginal orature that is entirely self-authored.

References

- Acoose, Janice / Misko-Kisikàwihkwè (Red Sky Woman), 1995, *Iskwewak Kah' Ki Yaw Ni Wahko-makanak: Neither Indian Princesses nor Easy Squaws*, Toronto: Women's Press.
- Adams, Howard, 1975, *Prison of Grass: Canada from the Native Point of View*, Toronto: New Press.
- , 1991, "Howard Adams", in: Hartmut Lutz (ed. and author), *Contemporary Challenges: Conversations with Canadian Native Authors*, Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House, 135-154.
- Allen, Paula Gunn, 1979, "The Sacred Hoop: Contemporary Indian Perspectives on American Indian Literature", in: Geary Hobson (ed.), *The Remembered Earth: An Anthology of Contemporary Native*

- American Literature*, Albuquerque, NM: Red Earth Press. Repr. in: Paula Gunn Allen (ed.), 1983, *Studies in American Indian Literature: Critical Essays and Course Designs*, New York: The Modern Language Association of America, 3-22.
- Armstrong, Jeannette, 1985, *Slash*, Penticton: Theytus Books.
- , 2001, "Four Decades: An Anthology of Canadian Native Poetry from 1960 to 2000", in: Jeannette Armstrong / Lally Grauer (eds.), *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology*, Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, xv-xx.
- , 2007, "Kwtlakín? What Is Your Place?", in: Hartmut Lutz with Rafico Ruiz (eds.), *What Is Your Place? Indigeneity and Immigration in Canada*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 29-33.
- Babcock, Barbara / Jay Cox, 1996, "The Native American Trickster", in: Andrew Wiget (ed.), *Handbook of Native American Literature*, New York / London: Garland Publishing, 99-105.
- Basile, Marie-Jeanne / Gérard E. McNulty, 1971, *Atanúkana: Légendes montagnaises: Montagnais Legends*, Québec: Centre d'Études nordiques, Université Laval.
- Bauer, George W., 1971, *Cree Tales and Beliefs*, Orono, ME: University Press. (Northeast Folklore, Vol. X11)
- , 1973, *Tales from the Cree*, Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop.
- Becker, Jörg, 1977, *Alltäglicher Rassismus: Die afro-amerikanischen Rassenkonflikte im Kinder- und Jugendbuch der Bundesrepublik*, Frankfurt / New York: Campus.
- Berkhofer, Robert F., 1979, *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*, New York: Random House.
- Bowering, George, 2002, "Watson, Sheila Martin", in: W. H. New (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada*, Toronto / Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1197-1199.
- Bruchac, Joseph, 1996, "Contemporary Native American Writing: An Overview", in: Andrew Wiget (ed.), *Handbook of Native American Literature*, New York/London: Garland Publishing, 311-328.
- Campbell, Maria, 1991, "Maria Campbell", in: Hartmut Lutz (ed. and author), *Contemporary Challenges: Conversations with Canadian Native Authors*, Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House, 41-65.
- Carolan-Brozy, Sandra, 2001, *Autorschaft/Autorität und Schriftlichkeit/Mündlichkeit in kanadisch-indianischen Auto-Biographien*, Frankfurt am Main: Verlag Peter Lang. (Mainzer Studien zur Amerikanistik 45)
- Clark, Ella Elizabeth (ed.), 1960, *Indian Legends of Canada*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Clutesi, George, 1969, *Potlatch*, Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing.
- , 1975 (1967), *Son of Raven, Son of Deer: Fables of the Tse-shah People*, Sidney, BC: Gray's Publishing.
- , 1987, *Sohn des Raben, Sohn des Rehs*, Trans. Herta Holle-Scherer, Aachen: missio aktuell.
- , 2001, "A Lament for Confederation", in: Jeannette C. Armstrong / Lally Grauer (eds.), *Native Poetry in Canada: A Contemporary Anthology*, Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press, 2-3.
- Cohen, Leonard, 1993 (1969), *Beautiful Losers*, New York: Vintage Books.
- Deloria, Philip, 1998, *Playing Indian*, New Haven / London: Yale University Press.
- Dempsy, Hugh A., 1986, *The Gentle Persuader: A Biography of James Gladstone, Indian Senator*, Saskatoon, SK: Western Producer Prairie Books.
- Desbarats, Peter (ed.), 1969, *What They Used to Tell About: Indian Legends from Labrador*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- DIAND (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development), 1986, *The Canadian Indian*, Ottawa: Minister of Supplies and Services.
- Dobbin, Murray, 1981, *The One-And-A-Half Men: The Story of Jim Brady and Malcolm Norris, Métis Patriots of the 20th Century*, Regina: Gabriel Dumont Institute.
- Eagle, Dallas Chief, 1967, *Winter Count*, Freeman, SD: Pine Hill Press.
- Egoff, Sheila, 1976 (1965), "Children's Literature", in: Karl F. Klinck (ed.), *Literary History of Canada*, Vol. 2, Toronto / Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 134-142.

- Episkew, Jo-Ann, 2006, *Beyond Catharsis: Truth, Reconciliation, and Healing In and Through Indigenous Literature*, Diss. Phil., Greifswald University.
- , 2009, *Taking Back Our Spirits: Indigenous Literature, Public Policy, and Healing*, Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press.
- Forster, E. M., 1966 (1927), *Aspects of the Novel*, Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin.
- Francis, Daniel, 1992, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Vancouver, BC: Arsenal Pulp Press.
- Frye, Northrop, 1976 (1965), "Conclusion", in: Karl F. Klinck (ed.), *Literary History of Canada*, Vol. 2, Toronto / Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 333-361.
- Galtung, Johan, 1975, *Strukturelle Gewalt: Beiträge zur Friedens- und Konfliktforschung*, Reinbek: Rowohlt.
- Gatti, Maurizio, 2006, *Être écrivain amérindienne au Québec: Indianité et création littéraire*, Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise.
- George, Chief Dan, 1971, "no title (Foreword to *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe*)", in: George Ryga, *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe and Other Plays*, Toronto: General Publishing, 35.
- Highway, Tomson, 1998, *Kiss of the Fur Queen*, Toronto: Doubleday Canada.
- Jacobs, Paul / Saul Landau, with Eve Pell (eds.), 1971, *To Serve the Devil: Vol. 1: Natives and Slaves*, New York: Random House.
- Jeness, Diamond, 1966, *The Corn Goddess and Other Tales from Indian Canada*, Ottawa: National Parks Branch/National Museum of Canada.
- Johnston, Basil H., 1988, *Indian School Days*, Toronto: Key Porter Books.
- , 1990, "One Generation Removed from Extinction", in: W. H. New (ed.), *Native Writers and Canadian Writing*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 10-15.
- Karrer, Wolfgang / Hartmut Lutz, 1990, "Minority Literatures in North America: From Cultural Nationalism to Liminality", in: Wolfgang Karrer and Hartmut Lutz (eds.), *Minority Literatures in North America: Contemporary Perspectives*, Frankfurt: Lang, 11-64.
- Keeshig-Tobias, Lenore, 1988, "Introduction: Let's Be Our Own Tricksters, eh?", *The Magazine to Re-Establish the Trickster: New Native Writing*, Premiere Issue 1.1, 2-3.
- Kennedy, Dan (Ochankugahe), 1972, *Recollections of an Assiniboine Chief*, Ed. James R. Stevens. Toronto / Montreal: McClelland and Stewart.
- Klinck, Karl F. (ed.), 1976 (1965), *Literary History of Canada*, Vol. 2, Toronto/Buffalo: University of Toronto Press.
- Krupat, Arnold, 1996, "Collaborative Indian Autobiographies", in: Andrew Wiget (ed.), *Handbook of Native American Literature*, New York / London: Garland Publishing, 176-178.
- Laurence, Margaret, 1993 (1964), *The Stone Angel*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1993 (1970), *A Bird in the House*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- , 1993 (1974), *The Diviners*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lutz, Hartmut, 1985, "Indianer" und "Native Americans": Zur sozial- und literarhistorischen Vermittlung eines Stereotyps, Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag.
- , 1986, "Von den Ladies im Busch zu den Heldinnen der Prärie", *Gulliver: Deutsch-englische Jahrbücher*, 19, 69-72.
- , 2004, "Race or Place? The Palimpsest of Space in Canadian Prairie Fiction from Salverson to Cariou", *Textual Studies in Canada*, 17, 171-185.
- , 2005a, "Construction, Identity, Representation: First Nations Peoples as Selves and Others", in: Mark Shackleton / Veera Supinen (eds.), *First and Other Nations*, Helsinki: Renvall Institute at University of Helsinki, 1-19.
- , 2005b, "Die mündliche Literatur der Ureinwohner", in: Konrad Gross / Wolfgang Klooss / Reinrad M. Nischik (eds.), *Kanadische Literaturgeschichte*, Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler Verlag, 1-5.

- , 2007, "To Know Where Home Is: An Introduction to Indigeneity and Immigration", in: Hartmut Lutz with Rafico Ruiz (eds.), *What Is Your Place? Indigeneity and Immigration in Canada*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 9-28.
- Lutz, Hartmut / Stefanie von Berg, 1998, "Pounded Earth and Heartbeats: 20th-Century Poetry by Native Women of North America", *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses*, 37, 13-38; Repr. in: Hartmut Lutz (ed.), 2002, *Approaches: Essays in Native North American Studies*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 172-192.
- Maracle, Lee, 1990 (1975), *Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel*, Toronto: Women's Press.
- , 1991, "Lee Maracle", in: Hartmut Lutz (ed. and author), *Challenges: Conversations with Canadian Native Authors*, Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House, 169-179.
- McKague, Ormond (ed.), 1991, *Racism in Canada*, Saskatoon, SK: Fifth House.
- Mihesuah, Devon A., 1995, *American Indians: Stereotypes & Realities*, Atlanta, GA: Clarity Press, Inc. / Regina, SK: Clarity International.
- Momaday, N. Scott, 1977 (1968), *House Made of Dawn*, New York: Harper and Row Publishers.
- Moses, Daniel David / Terry Goldie (eds.), 2005, *An Anthology of Canadian Native Literature in English*, Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Préfontaine, Darren, 2007, "Métis History: Emerging from the Shadows, or How a non-Métis Discovered 'True' Métis History", in: Hartmut Lutz with Rafico Ruiz (eds.), *What Is Your Place? Indigeneity and Immigration in Canada*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 101-104.
- Quill, Norman / Charles E. Fiero, 1965, *The Moons of Winter and Other Stories*, Red Lake, ON: NLGM.
- Ray, Carl / James R. Stevens, 1988 (1971), *Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree*, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.
- Robertson, Marion, 1973 (1969), *Red Earth: Tales of the Micmac with an Introduction to the Customs and Beliefs of the Micmac Indians*, Halifax, NS: Marion Robertson and The Nova Scotia Museum.
- Ryan, Alan J., 1999, *The Trickster Shift: Humour and Irony in Contemporary Native Art*, Vancouver / Toronto: University of British Columbia Press / Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Ryga, George, 1971 (1967), *The Ecstasy of Rita Joe and Other Plays*, Toronto: General Publishing.
- Shackleton, Mark, 2007, "The Ever-Travelling Trickster: The Trickster Figure in Native and non-Native North American Writing", in: Hartmut Lutz with Rafico Ruiz (eds.), *What Is Your Place? Indigeneity and Immigration in Canada*, Augsburg: Wißner-Verlag, 74-82.
- Small, Lillian, 1972, *Indian Stories from James Bay*, Cobalt, ON: Highway Book Shop. [According to my notes from my research at the National Library and Archives in Ottawa two years ago, this booklet has no pagination.]
- Standing Bear, Luther, 1978 (1933), *Land of the Spotted Eagle*, Lincoln / London: University of Nebraska Press.
- Stirling, Shirley, 2002 (1992), *My Name is Seepetza*, Toronto: Douglass and McIntyre.
- Stolen Sisters: A Human Rights Response to Discrimination and Violence Against Indigenous Women in Canada*, (<http://www.amnesty.ca/campaigns/resources/amr2000304.pdf>), 10.05.2009.
- Valaskakis, Gail Guthrie, 2005, *Indian Country: Essays on Contemporary Native Culture*, Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press.
- Van Steen, Marcus, 1961 (1911), "E. Pauline Johnson", in: Pauline Johnson, *Legends of Vancouver*, Canada: McClelland and Stewart, vi-xvi.
- von Berg, Stefanie, 2001, "Uncomfortable Mirror": (De-)Kolonisation in Gedichten zeitgenössischer indigener nordamerikanischer Autorinnen 1973-1997, Aachen: Shaker Verlag.
- Willis, Jane, 1973, *Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood*, Toronto: New Press.
- Zinn, Howard, 1980, *A People's History of the United States*, London: Longman.