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Indians and immigrants: Survivance stories of literacies

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INDIANS AND IMMIGRANTS: SURVIVANCE STORIES OF LITERACIES

BY

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Bachelor of Arts University of Massachusetts Boston 1995

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DISSERTATION

Submitted to the University of New Hampshire

in Partial Fulfillment of

the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

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DEDICATION

To my children Rebecca Rain Frew, Robert Latora, and Paul Frew.
To my grandchildren Hunter, Hayden, and Robert.
To William.

To pray you open your whole self
To sky, to earth, to sun, to moon
To one whole voice that is you.
And know there is more
That you can't see, can't hear,
Can't know except in moments
Steadily growing, and in languages
That aren't always sound but other
Circles of motion.

Joy Harjo

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ABSTRACT

INDIANS AND IMMIGRANTS: SURVIVANCE STORIES OF LITERACIES

by

Joyce Rain Anderson
University of New Hampshire, December, 2005

This project stems from my mixedblood heritage and from a community of mixedblood scholars. In this text, I relate stories of the early colonization of Southern New England, of the zones of contact between whites (primarily English) and Indians (primarily Massachusett or Wampanoag). I offer perspectives on competing views of literacy and explored texts translated from Massachusett Algonquin to see how Indians *used* writing to enact rhetorics of survivance which challenged the prevailing assumptions of the dominant culture. Within these texts we see how Indians continued to define themselves in the Metis spaces of colonization and missionary attempts to change them. Moreover, I extended my discussion to look at other missionary efforts in the eighteenth century. I read letters in English which also uncover ways in which Indians described themselves and the events brought upon them.

From there, my focus turns to the newly-formed United States government which was determined to solve the “Indian problem,” and invested in a program of cultural genocide, or a David Wallace Adams calls it “education for extinction.” During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the off-reservation federal boarding school system was developed, English-only became the strictly-enforced policy, and vocational

education programs were designed to remake the Indian into an industrious and useful citizen who would assimilate into white culture—everyone would all be part of the same homogenous pot. However, notions of racial superiority ensured the Indians would find themselves being educated in the ways of the whiteman, but unable, for the most part, to participate fully in the whiteman's world. They were trained for trades and domestic work, and not expected to achieve much beyond those vocations. Thousands of children were taken from their homes and languages, rituals, and beliefs from their cultures were stripped from them. Yet, in the writing produced by these Indians, we find evidence of rhetorical sovereignty as they *used* their writing to maintain their Indian selves and enact rhetorics of survivance. These writings tell a different story from the grand narratives, and they also help us to learn how to read texts differently so that we may recover the stories in them. We find political, historical and social stories among them, and gain knowledge of how people negotiate the particular borders of these Metis spaces.

In my pedagogy, I use some of the Indian texts I have explored in my classes and listen to the student voices joining in these stories and finding their own rhetorical sovereignty. I lay out my approaches for working with students, and use examples of their writings and dialogues to reveal their negotiations in academic spaces and how these negotiations are evidence of survivance rhetoric. I also critique current practices in institution as I work toward pedagogical sovereignty.

INTRODUCTION

KUTCHE UNNOME NUTTAHHON (IT BEGINS WITHIN OUR HEART)

What every American Indian must learn to do is keep both feet on shore, remain an Indian, but also understand the need to occasionally sail into the whiteman's territory to survive.

(Slow Turtle John Peters, Wampanoag Medicine Man)

Scholarship is an act of imagination and of telling stories of that imagining, stories about how the world works (Malea Powell).

We are part of an old story and involved in it are migrations of winds, of ocean currents, of seeds, songs, and generations of nations. (Joy Harjo)

This is a story, or it is a story among the many stories.

Stories are old, yet they carry us forward as we honor our ancestors who tell them.

We “open the door” as Leslie Marmon Silko suggests, inviting our ancestors to join us. They of all understand the struggle for survival. In his use of storytelling, Greg Sarris tells us, “stories are used in a number of ways for a multitude of purposes” (*Slug Woman* 4). I am honored to be among these stories, those stories of the past and of the present—stories that remake themselves and appear as new stories; those stories wrapped in “a shimmering web” (*Harjo Woman* 37) of all the stories. Joy Harjo urges us “You have to claim the past. It’s filled with stories that move you and at the same time horrify you” (*Spiral* 139). Each story begins another, as Silko points out, there is “an elaborate structure of stories within stories” (*Yellow Woman* 50). All the stories intertwine to help

us know who we are and where we come from. Stories are not in isolation from each other. We as people are not in isolation from each other. As Indian ¹ people we work communally. In *That the People Might Live*, Jace Weaver writes “no Native scholarship can be produced in isolation. It must be a communal effort” (xii). The stories on these pages are told of peoples who have inhabited these lands long before contact with the Amer-Europeans ²; and they are told as part of a community of American Indian scholars who have helped me bring these words forward so our voices may be heard. As Scott Lyons reminds us, “In the stories we tell, we translate lived experience into narrative, conversely we rely on narratives to live our lives, to make sense of our worlds, engage in production, relate to others, and construct and assert our identities” (“Captivity Narratives” 88). At the same time, this community is not designed to exclude, but rather to invite others in to engage in dialogue for “stories are as much in the listener as they are in the teller” (Silko *Yellow Woman* 148).

Our stories have power. Our scholarship is imbedded in these stories.

Here live the stories.

This text is a story among many stories; these stories are historical, theological, pedagogical, methodological and personal. These stories are interwoven in imagination

¹ As in the title of this work, I most often use the terms American Indian or Indian when referring to my heritage and scholarship. As most tribal people, I prefer to be known in that context—for me Wampanoag. At times, I will use Indian interchangeably with Native American, American Indian, Amerind, and Indigenous. It should be noted, however, that all of these terms are problematic, and imposed through Western concepts.

² Jace Weaver uses this term of John Joseph Matthews’ in *That the People Might Live*. Weaver suggests, “‘Amer-European’ connotes something very different [from Euro-American]. They are Europeans who happen to live in America. Mathew’s terminology reflects the difference in worldviews between the two people, Native and non-Native. Born and shaped by a different continent, Amer-Europeans will never truly be of this continent, never truly belong here no matter how many generations they may dwell here” (xiv) because of the worldview that separates them.

and theory; they are interconnected to each other and to the world. In a recorded interview, Gerald Vizenor speaks of the “word heart,” and how “stories hold us together and give us meaning” (Vizenor Interview). Here, are words from the heart; here I honor the stories in all their forms. What I attempt to do is present this text different from a traditional dissertation although it is in a colonizing language. At times, it draws on academic conventions, but its shape does not follow a linear progression. Rather, readers will find some repetitions and interruptions in the dialogue or a blending of stories in two or more voices. It moves the way storytelling might; stories are found within stories, within words. Reading it involves some trust. Here is a gathering of stories which, put together, create a larger whole. Here, too, are pictures, images, quotations, poetry, various features or even perhaps what one might call tangents to travel before circling back. Here the discourse breaks what might be called “academic style” and weaves a pattern of its own. My hope is that as you read, you will be tempted to weave yourself in and out of the stories, to engage in conversation with some of the authors present or even with others who might be immediately available. It invites imaginings; it invites readers to listen carefully to the stories around them.

Here live the stories.

The seal of the Mass Bay colony portrays a native with words put into his mouth which say, “Come over and help us.” As the English sailed into parts of Massachusetts in the 1600s with their zealous objective in place, Indian people watched from the shore later to sail themselves on the sea of the whiteman’s literacy. Within my own heritage, I

live with the paradox of ancestors who came to this place by ship, and those who stood the shores to watch the ship land. Of culture contact and culture wars. As Anglo, I struggle to understand my ancestors who would come to these lands for their own freedoms, yet impose their form of civilization upon others. I wrestle with the “privilege” being Anglo might give me. As Wampanoag, I understand how deeply I am rooted to my home, the landscape of southeastern Massachusetts from the Great Blue Hill to Cape Cod. I understand how my people resisted a history that would erase them from its pages. As a mixedblood Indian scholar,³ I move in what I will call Metis spaces—spaces where, after contact, people mixed (mixed in their interactions and inter-relationships) and found themselves existing in between cultures. Within these spaces they were (are) living with agitations, disturbances, and contradictions. In these Metis spaces, I move within and against the boundaries of the academy, carrying my word-heart, crossing borders, negotiating conflicts. Metis spaces acknowledge that conflict is ever-present. Gloria Anzaldúa in examining her mestiza consciousness explains the feelings, “living on borders and in margins, keeping intact one’s shifting and multiple identity and integrity is like trying to swim in a new element, an ‘alien’ element. There is an exhilaration in being a participant in the future evolution of humankind, in being ‘worked on’” (preface). I understand the movement, the multiple consciousness in my own struggle. As Greg Sarris says, “so many of us are a mixed-up lot, a chorus of intermingling voices and histories” (*Slug Woman* 12). We are caught in the conflicts of boundaries that are ours and not ours. My mixed-blood mind and heart must constantly negotiate the spaces I occupy and straddle the disconnects. The contact zone of the academy necessitates such straddling.

³ I am continually indebted to the Mixedblood Collective and my community of Indian scholars who have helped to shape this work.

On the one hand, I am engaged as a scholar, and believe higher education can provide pathways to follow. On the other hand, I challenge the space occupied by the academy and the ways in which it is exclusive. Taken together, I live shifting, defining and redefining the space around me.

The academy has been both a place of joy and a place of struggle for me, a place where I feel at home and alienated simultaneously. Like Anzaldúa, I feel that “books saved my sanity, knowledge opened the unlocked places in me and taught me first how to survive then how to soar” (preface). Initially, this place provided some control when so many parts of my life were uncontrollable; my studies provided a rudder to steer me through rough seas. Yet, trying to understand my sense of place in the academy comes from knowing who I am and where I come from. I identify as mixedblood—Anglo and Wampanoag. The complexities of being mixedblood reveal themselves daily. In his essay “Shared Blood” Louis Owens writes about his mixedblood heritage (Cherokee/ Choctaw/ Irish/Cajun). He says, “to be what is called mixedblood is never to rest. One may opt for this side or that but one is always balanced on a thin line between ways of knowing. A choice is there, in every day and moment” (Owens 198). My own ancestry is a mix of Irish/English/Wampanoag, and growing up has been tugging and pulling of the heart. As a child and because of a domineering father, my Irish heritage was outwardly privileged in part because of my mother’s adoration of my father; my English ancestry was discussed as a source of pride in having ancestors on the *Mayflower*. But as an undercurrent, there always would be the whispers--like soft rain on the rushing wind—of being Indian. I wandered outside daily even as a toddler, and my mother would often find me napping comfortably under bent-over branches on a thick bed of bear moss. The pull

is not easy to explain. I have never felt non-Indian, never felt completely white. Joy Harjo articulates this complex sense of self, “It’s not something I consciously chose; I mean I’m not full-blood, but *it was something that chose me, that lives in me*, and I cannot deny it” (*Spiral* 61) italics mine). There is a responsibility to this choice. There are always preconceptions from others to respond to. While it would be “easier” to pretend comfort in a society that privileges white, protestant, heterosexual, middle-class values, my Indian self will not let me simply “pass.” Arturo Aldama discusses these issues:

Border discourse is in the vanguard of cultural studies. It is ‘in’ to have multiple subjectivities, articulate multiple consciousness, and resist multiple marginalizations. However, living on the edge of any overculture is painful and violent. I feel myself most reflected in other mixed-bloods who are not in denial of their identity: those who negotiate the overculture’s gaze and resist the position of ‘I can pass so why bother?’ No matter how hard this gaze fixes and catalogues you into its own zones of comfort and discomfort, we will never fit. I’m glad.(158).

Yes, there is a choice, and there is always conflict. I won’t deny any of my origins, what is outside or inside of me—all make up my mestiza consciousness. I choose what “lives in me.” In my heart the whispers win out-- when I hear the drum beat at Pow Wow and dance the circle, when I remember/hear the stories of my mother, my grandmother, and my grandfather, when the rain comes to comfort me and the earth drinks, when I walk in the woods alone and my feet are pulled to the ground, I know I am Indian or more precisely Wampanoag. ⁴

Here live the stories.

⁴ The difficulties in discussing Indianess without universalizing or essentializing American Indians are constant. As mentioned throughout this text, there is much diversity among the indigenous peoples of these lands (and I include the Americas, the Caribbean, and Canada). The Wampanoag are different from the Mohawk or Navajo, as each of those groups are different from the Seminole, Cherokee, or Blackfeet; these differences occur linguistically and culturally. Yet there is a common history of contact, and thus, sometimes, a necessity to band together as Indigenous peoples. Here, I say, I know I am Wampanoag, but for a general understanding, I also use Indian.

The Wampanoag, who occupy southeastern New England and Cape Cod, are mostly known within the context of the Thanksgiving myth—a myth so pervasive as to allow a bulletin board in the 90’s to read “Come to Plimouth where the pilgrims once had the Indians for dinner.” Today, some may laugh at the semantic ambiguity of the Pilgrims as cannibals, but Native American people take issue with being over and over again the objects of such bizarre misrepresentations, of grand narratives that have swallowed the real stories. Currently, in Indians’ attempt to define themselves, they are placed against images like Disney’s Pocahontas, Cooper’s Last of the Mohicans, Cleveland’s Chief



Wahoo, or Longfellow’s Hiawatha. They have been told by others in images, in historical writings, in western movies, in new age fantasies, and in romance novels what an Indians is and what an Indian does. This misrepresentation omits that over 500 nations of peoples with over 2000 language varieties existed pre-contact each having different culture, structure, rituals, customs, and spirituality; all these have been reduced to a universal image of the Indian primarily as a relic of the past or modernized through a caricature or capitalism⁵. These stereotypes and ridicule have become overtly racist when, for example, one looks at the use of Indians as mascots. Politely put, misconstructions and

⁵ The effects of both are destructive. Today people see Indians as cartoons in comic strips and sports or in products like Jeep Cherokee, Dodge Dakota or Crazy Horse Malt Liquor.

re-constructions are common in viewing the Indian in literature, in history, in reality. As Gerald Vizenor points out, “[in absence of the tribal real] these histories are now the simulations of dominance, and the causes of the conditions that have become manifest manners in literature” (*Manifest* 4). In other words, the representations have become standard in the western imagination. However, the notion that “the only good Indian is a dead Indian” is now confronted by Indian cultures today which are alive and taking traditional ways and moving forward. These same peoples are *using* writing to challenge the stereotype.

To set the Thanksgiving story upright, the Wampanoag (People of the Dawn) first met Europeans on New England shores in the 1500’s. In this early period some Natives, including Wampanoag, Massachusett, and Abenaki, were captured as slaves for the Europeans. It is also when the image of the Indian first begins to be distorted. Some of the earliest observations of Indians depicted them as helpful, willing to share and trade, yet as acquisition of the land and its resources became the objective, these same peoples were found to be heathens who needed to be converted, savages who needed to be killed, or less-than human beings who could be sold. White American history is saturated with stories of removal, of erasure. At contact, there were 52 bands in the Wampanoag nation covering the southeastern portion of New England. Indian populations in New England have been estimated over 100,000.⁶ But, the Wampanoag and other Indians have been whitewashed in history books as their numbers dwindled through disease, war, education, movement from the area, and removal. In many cases, even when their communities were intact, tribes had been declared extinct.

⁶ There are various estimates of indigenous populations. See Calloway, Stannard and others.

Yet, we still live. Our ancestors survived; some only survived only by denying or hiding their Indian identity (see Calloway, Feinstein, Lepore). During the twentieth century, when it became “safe” to be Indian again, the stereotype was so deeply rooted in the monolithic image of the Plains style of dress; as a result, many New England Indians often adopted that image at PowWow⁷ to be considered authentic—an act of survivance (meaning acts of survival +resistance). Anishinabe scholar Gerald Vizenor theorizes the idea of the post- contact Indian in his book *Manifest Manners*:

The postindian warriors hover at last over the ruins of tribal representations and surmount the scriptures of manifest manners with new stories: these warriors counter the surveillance and literature of dominance with their own simulations of survivance. The postindian arises from the earlier inventions of the tribes only to contravene the absence of the real with theatrical performances; the theater of the tribal consciousness is the recreation of the real, not the absence of the real in the simulations of dominance. (5)

Vizenor uses the idea of the warrior in his theory, and his focus situates itself from the contact period: the moment Indian people became defined by Amer-Europeans and had to negotiate a new-found sense of self. He claims that following contact, Indian peoples could never be the same. They are now being described by the colonizers as an image (in the singular sense), a simulation. Yet, Indians repeatedly take that image and redefine it—as a simulation of survivance and become the absent presence. They are “post-Indian warriors” working in Metis spaces. Through this retaking and redefining, they counter the colonizing image using a trickster discourse to speak back to the simulations created by the colonizers. Indian people use tactics of survivance in their self-definition.

As mentioned earlier, after centuries of being forced to conform to the ways of the whiteman, in the early 1900’s Indian people in the United States were being encouraged

⁷ Today at PowWow, most New England Natives wear regalia which reflects their tribal traditions.

to take back their Indianess.⁸ Yet the image created by the whiteman still prevail. I have a picture taken around 1920 of my Grandfather in regalia, in full headdress, jacket and skins fashioned more to Plains style than eastern woodlands. While I also have pictures of my mother, my Grandmother and great Grandmother, it is the picture of Grandfather which always draws the attention “oh you’re an Indian?”—still today, that picture makes



me “authentic.” Malea Powell, a mixedblood Welsh/Shawnee/Miami, writes, “the rules of scholarly discourse—the legitimizing discourse of the discipline of rhetoric and composition—require us [as Indians] to write ourselves into this frontier story [or the Thanksgiving story] . . . (Powell “Blood and Scholarship” 3). The picture of my Grandfather, a simulation of survivance, “writes” me into that story. That picture may make me credible to others. But what I hear and know is imbedded in the history of the whispered story my mother passed to me from her Grandmother telling her *always hold onto that you are Indian; be proud of that and don’t forget.*

⁸ Indian peoples, after suffering great losses to tribal ways, languages, customs, religions were then told in the 1920’s and 1930’s, after Indian boarding schools such as Carlisle began to close, to take back their languages and ways. However, in the minds of the Amer-Europeans a perception of the “authentic” Indian remains.

Decolonizing the Academy

As other minority groups have encountered, the path to establishing American Indian scholarship in the Academy is a particularly rough road. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith discusses the struggles of conducting research for Indigenous peoples, noting how the prevailing views such as the Indian as a relic of the past hinder the work. Just getting heard is difficult as well as how well the scholarship is listened to. Tuhiwai Smith explains,

The development of theories by Indigenous scholars which attempt to explain our existences in contemporary society . . . has only just begun. Not all of the theories claim to be derived from some ‘pure’ sense of what it means to be Indigenous, nor do they claim to be theories which have developed in a vacuum separated from any association with civil and human rights movements, other national struggles or other theoretical approaches. What is claimed, however, is that new ways of theorizing by Indigenous scholars are grounded in a real sense of, and sensitivity towards, what it means to be an Indigenous person. (38)

Prevailing perceptions of what is and isn’t authentic, whose “word” can be trusted complicate the direction an Indian scholar takes in her scholarship. And, as Tuhiwai Smith reminds us, that “criticism is leveled by non-indigenous and indigenous communities. It positions indigenous intellectuals in some difficult spaces [in Metis spaces] both in terms of our relations with indigenous communities and within the Western academy” (14). As a graduate student working in and on Indian scholarship, I was constantly finding gates which open or shut depending on how I was willing to negotiate them. *Being* an Indian should position me to have some felt sense of indigenous theories. However, frustration stems from having to support my insights through the rules and authority of Anglo scholarship. Powell becomes quite agonistic in her continuing

argument and writes, “. . . these “rules” when applied to the study of indigenous peoples, end up what I call producing a second-wave genocide. . . the Academy becomes just another powerful agent of imperialism” (Powell “Blood and Scholarship” 4). Her strong words may offend, because the ideas are not ones that the dominant culture wants to face or accept; the words create disturbances in the status quo. However, what needs to be fully understood is the difficulty Indian people have in legitimizing their scholarship because the counter images loom so large. The grand narratives or simulations take over. For me, the game has included a professor asking me to “explain my Indianess,” as if one is expected to explain her womaness or whiteness or Anglo-ness. The game has included the academic stance of reducing memory to low-level thinking or stories to simple narrative. It includes feeling over and over again that I must justify each of the steps I am taking in my scholarship. Often, I inch forward, only to feel being pushed back. In these cases, it is it is the constant need to explain why the work is important, how it differs from “traditional” scholarship, or always having to retrace the steps of my research again and again just to move a few steps ahead. It includes explaining how Indian scholars move in the same spaces as other marginalized scholars who often feel ignored. It involves what Scott Richard Lyons defines as “rhetorical sovereignty,” which he says is “the inherent right and abilities of peoples to determine their own communicative needs and desires in this pursuit to decide for themselves the goals, modes, styles and languages of public discourse” (“Rhetorical Sovereignty” 449-50). To this end, it is also struggling with the insistence of the Academy in kowtowing to Amer-European scholars rather than valuing scholarship which comes out of Indigenous knowledge, or our being asked to support the Native scholars with Amer-Europeans. While I find Amer-European

scholarship useful to this work, I want to help give a fuller voice to the American Indian and other Indigenous intellectuals as well as other minority scholars who have worldviews which are not Eurocentric. In doing so, I answer the call of Victor Villanueva to recognize and use the valuable contributions of minority intellectuals. We must constantly remind the Academy that Other voices exist. As Lyons points out, “the voice of the Other is continually present in discourse” (“Captivity” 89). To some this reminder may seem obvious, but in truth an old guard still is in place which privileges a Eurocentric bias. Villanueva argues that the Academy is still “steeped in colonial discourse . . . despite our best efforts” (“Rhetorics of Racism” 668).

A Story of Indian Scholarship

. . . mixedbloods know both sides of the story; they are both sides of the story. They are the story. (Scott Richard Lyons).

My work within the field of rhetoric and composition explores literacies and American Indians historically through rhetorics of survivance. I seek to understand what constitutes literacy, and to challenge some assumptions that privileges the literacies of one group over others. To be blunt, the hegemonic posture of *white* literacy over vernacular and oral literacies has left little room for true diversity within the Academy. More students of color are entering the Academy and challenging our discipline to take a stand. Organizations such as NCTE⁹ bring scholars from underrepresented groups to the

⁹ The National Council of Teachers of English holds the Conference for College Composition and Communication each year. For the last thirteen years they have awarded ten annual Scholars for the Dream Travel Scholarships which seek to bring scholars from underrepresented groups to present at a national forum. I was awarded this honor in 1996, and currently, I chair the selection committee.

forefront at their national conference. As these marginalized scholars move into graduate programs, into teaching, and into public spaces they engage in a developing body of work that is increasingly difficult to ignore or silence.

My scholarship adds to this body of work by tracing indigenous rhetoricians in the Americas to New England Native rhetoricians, thereby following an existing tradition of contact-zone rhetoric, and more pointedly Metis-space survivance rhetoric. The impact of European rhetoric revival in the sixteenth century, according to Don Paul Abbot, is certainly evident in the Americas where “the arrival of rhetoric...remains one of the least studied aspects of the ancient discipline’s long history” (1). Abbott’s book contributes to my study as he explicates the influences of rhetoric on the indigenous peoples in colonial Spanish America (Garsilaso de la Vega, Guaman Pomo and Diego Valades). I draw upon Abbott’s work and offer some brief comparative studies within North America, particularly in New England with the impact of English colonization. Then, beginning with early examples of literacy acquisition among New England Natives—literacy in Massachusetts Algonquian—I point to instances of survivance rhetoric in these texts. Moving forward historically, I explore the boarding school literature written in English for similar acts of survivance.

By “claiming this past,” I come to better understand issues of power and pedagogy in how present students work at acquiring literacy in multiple Englishes and their uses of survivance rhetoric. The students I have been teaching for twelve years are United States born minorities, voluntary and involuntary immigrants, and come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds and from wide-ranging methods of literacy acquisition. Moreover, a great number of them are very familiar with oral traditions. Working with

these students reminds me over and over again of the conflicts and struggles of Indigenous peoples to define and represent themselves. This work also supports a growing body of work in American Indian rhetoric. Just as African American, Asian American, and Latino/a scholars have been struggling for space within the academy, so too American Indian scholars are establishing or, arguably, taking back their ground.

Here live the stories.

. . . language is culture, a resonant life form itself that acts on people and people on it. (Joy Harjo)

At the heart of this story is the cultural and personal power of language. Language is fluid, like water; and like water language has enormous power. Language evolves, like human beings; human beings create languages. Languages are products of human beings. Those claims alone are arguments for people's rights to their own languages and uses of those languages. However with colonization and imperialism, some human beings position their language above others. They would like to erase other languages, to keep languages in stasis, to standardize language, and in the United States adopt a (Standard, White) English-only regimen in arenas designed to allow/bar access to power and privilege; whether we recognize it or not, schooling is often an accomplice in this venture. As such one version of English has become a hegemonic language today.

Even as early as John Adams, we see foundations for such hegemony. As David Simpson in *The Politics of American English* points out, a 1780 letter of John Adams acknowledges "firm confidence in the ultimate hegemony of English as a worldwide

language” and in that confidence English’s “propensity to remove by ‘force’ whatever obstacles might be in its way” (qtd in Simpson 31). Adams’ prediction certainly has come true today. Inside and outside our classes we feel the pressure of the forces to promote the superiority of English. Although many English teachers attend conferences and workshops designed to address such issues in our teaching, we are also complicit in a system which privileges some and perpetuates a single-lens view of language and literacy. These attempts to harness the power of language have resulted in creating barriers which benefit some and deny others.

When outside a particular discourse, especially a dominant one, we should strive to gain knowledge of the workings of that discourse. At the same time, we must also preserve our own sense of being. However, the entry into and maintenance of a particular discourse, a particular language (especially English) is often fraught with hesitation and with tension. As Chinua Achebe states, “Is it right that a man should abandon his mother tongue for someone else’s? It looks like a dreadful betrayal and produces a guilty feeling. But for me there is no other choice. *I have been given the language and I intend to use it.* (qtd in Ngugi 7 emphasis mine). Achebe, like many who have had the languages of the colonizers forced upon them, has come to a reconciliation with said language. Joy Harjo understands it as follows, “my frustration with the language, particularly the English language, stems from anger with the colonization process in which the English language was a vicious tool” (*Spiral* 99).

But, she and other Indian writers, like Achebe, *use* English. As these writers take charge of the language—some by abandoning it for their mother tongues, some by integrating it with their original languages—we see an emergence of new forms and

functions of discourse(s) as language is meant to do. In her poem “We Must Call a Meeting,” Harjo creates an imagining of survivance as she articulates her views on language as a site for such creation:

I am an arrow, painted
 with lightning
to seek my way to the name of the enemy,
 but now the arrow has created
its own language. (9)

The arrow as an image becomes what Vizenor sees as the rhetorical strategy of the post-Indian warrior. No longer is the image a simulation, but is now the absent presence in its new form. Historical studies of languages, including English, will demonstrate such adaptations and creations. We learn, then, to take what the colonizer has forced on us and *use it* to our advantage. Sometimes the *use* of that language involves a newly created form, similar to what happens with pidgins and creoles.¹⁰ As teachers of writing, as facilitators in language and literacy acquisition, we must understand the place of language(s) within culture(s) and how we present ourselves through or with specific *uses* of literacy.

Past and current literacy practices of Americas’ Indigenous peoples are of particular interest to the study of rhetoric and composition as they demonstrate how primarily oral cultures came to *use* the instruments of Empire—paper and pen. Since contact between the white and American Indian world began, issues of cultural survival have been at stake.¹¹ And this is not just an Indian story. Other cultures in the world have

¹⁰ It is here I would suggest that English itself has evolved (and still does evolve) as a creole. When one studies the history of the language, one sees the changes as a result of linguistic influence and situations of dominance.

¹¹ Certainly this argument is true of all cultures coming into contact with one another. It is by no means intended to say one colonized group’s experience was any less devastating to the culture.

undergone similar processes and felt the impact of imperialism and colonialism. My use of African scholars such as Ngugi and Achebe is purposeful because of the parallels they construct to America's Indigenous. Many groups throughout the world also have been affected by colonists and their "vicious tools." However, space does not allow for creating such a broad study, and the focus here will center on North American Indian scholarship to both establish and maintain its tradition with hope that other groups will contribute to the dialogue.

As colonists took over the lands, tribes of indigenous people sought ways to respond. A specific set of literacy practices came to these primarily oral cultures, taking place first in original languages, and eventually the English language was forced upon them in schools. Consequently, taking on the language—"using it" as Achebe emphatically states--became a means by which to speak back to the dominant culture on Indian terms. As we will see, the writings of Native Americans, as with many other marginalized people, are often purposely multivalent—ambivalence itself becomes a survivance strategy of indigenous *uses* of writing. An historical study of these indigenous practices illustrates how similar practices are in effect today in the contact zones of schooling, particularly those which involve Indians, immigrants and minority students. These can occur particularly in Metis spaces, a concept which will be discussed in depth. In these spaces, the Bakhtinian concept of heteroglossia can be used in understanding what happens in these discursive exchanges. Scott Richard Lyons claims the following:

Each time we speak or write, the history of this contact is quietly (and sometimes not so quietly) stirring. There is a European in every Indian and an Indian in every 'white'—each relationship positioned differently—and the two are not together by choice. It is this kind of *contact heteroglossia* that has

been represented by educators and theorists for centuries, and that Indian students [writers, scholars] not only know, but use daily—we can all learn from them in that regard. (“Captivity” 89).

If I understand Lyons’ claim, I go back to my understanding the mixedblood consciousness—the constant border-crossing and the negotiating. In the process of contact, we cross borders, mix. Those borders capture and free us continually. As Indians, we have accepted that mixing, live with the conflicts in Metis spaces; however, we may not always be comfortable in the border-crossing. Tuhiwai Smith argues that in these spaces, theory is useful because it “enables us to deal with the contradictions and uncertainties” (38). Thus, we can work within the contradictions with flexibility, and to understand our place.

By knowing our languages and their uses, we come to know ourselves and our worlds. For this reason and others, many Indigenous are undertaking language renewal to waken languages which have been dormant, but whose traces and sounds and rhythms still beat in the hearts and minds of the people. In the beginnings of the Wompanoag language project, I was present at a traditional wedding at the Watuppa Reservation. All the prayers and blessings were spoken in Wompanaak. To describe our hearing original language spoken on original grounds cannot do justice to the emotions we felt. In *The Language of African Literature* Ngugi wa Thiong’o writes, “The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people’s definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe” (4). Denying someone the use of one’s own language denies one’s perception of oneself. Yet over and over again these things have happened and continues to happen world wide. For American Indian people, this denial meant having original languages stripped from

them under the guise of civilization and education. Denial of the mother language, even if that language is the best and most effective means of communication for the majority of people, takes power from those people. Yet, people are strong; as Louis Owens writes, “we humans have the ability to appropriate and liberate the other's discourse. Rather than merely reflecting back to him the master's own voice, we can, in James Baldwin's oft-quoted phrase, learn to make it bear the burden of our own experience” (“The Song” 2). As we re-appropriate a discourse, many times it is within the context of survivance rhetoric. Relationships among the users and their languages are some examples of those ever-present conflicts in Metis spaces.

The colonizer's language, especially in many places in the United States, is still recognized as the official, correct language for use in places of power. Even the dialects we speak are not necessarily valued in writing for the Academy. “Standards,” what I call Standard White English, have been and are enforced to keep people outside the gates. Tom Fox, in *Defending Access*, discusses standards as the “plural singular”: “In the plural singular sense of the word, standards are like morals or values, you either have them or you don't” (25). We hold assumptions about standards as we do of language, of intelligence. Tuhiwai Smith discusses her research in the field of education:

Discussions around the concept of intelligence, on discipline, or on factors that contribute to achievement depend heavily on notions about the Other. The organization of schooling, knowledge, the hidden curriculum and the representation of differences in texts and school practices all contain discourses which have serious implications for indigenous students as well as for other minority ethnic groups. (11)

And the American Academy, and here I mean the United States, with all its claims of invitation, of diversity, of multiculturalism—words that currently have been weakened in their meanings—is one of those sites of power and domination. Again, I recognize this

argument is not what some people want to hear. Often a reader thinks *I'm not part of that Academy of which she speaks*, but we need to open our eyes to the fact that although people talk about inviting in the Other, little change has been accomplished in response to opening the doors. In most disciplines, our curricula is steeped in Western ways of knowing, our classes are English only, and old models of literacy are valued. Much needs to be done. As I see it educators need not only discover ways for people to gain the language of power, but also must continue to find ways to open their eyes, ears, minds, and hearts to the languages and literacies of the peoples of this world. In other words, educators should work to radically change the system which still favors a single literacy.

Revisiting Rhetoric¹²—A Story

In *Rhetoric in the New World*, Don Paul Abbott provides analyses of in the histories of Renaissance Europe and the New World (as it is called by Amer-Europeans). Abbott relates how the art of rhetoric was brought to and transformed in this new venue by pointing out that the voyage of Columbus “coincided with the beginning of a revival of the ancient art of rhetoric” in Europe (1). It is important to mention here that the story of literacy in North America has been Anglo-centric, leaving out numerous historical accounts of Spanish and indigenous literacy. According to Jamie Candelaria Greene, “Written language was introduced into the present day United States by the year 1513 . . .

¹² Here I would like to honor Dr. Robert Connors who served on my committee before his sudden and tragic death. Much of this part comes from a paper for his seminar on the History of Rhetoric. His response encouraged me to push my work in Native American rhetoric.

In the America's, the Spanish were responsible for many literacy firsts"¹³ (237).

Francisco Pareja, a Catholic missionary, published one of the first books in an indigenous language in North America. Likewise, Abbott's book describes, "the work of a remarkable series of rhetorical theorists" of "Spain's American Empire" (xi). He begins the story with "Spanish rhetoricians [who] attempted to either alter or adjust ancient concepts to accommodate the New World" (3). He continues with the next generation of New World rhetoricians who are of mixedblood, claiming that mestizo Diego Valades in 1578 "wrote what can reasonably be called the first American rhetoric" (3). One of my first goals is to extend the trail of Abbott's work into the contact zones of the English and Indigenous of North America, and in particular into New England. Though there is a growing body of works which discuss the missionary efforts of the English in New England, the authors have not approached their subject through a lens which thoroughly engage contact zone and survivance theories. In other words, their focus is not on how Natives may have "altered" or "adjusted" this new literacy to accommodate their world turned upside down, but instead on the missionaries themselves. A second and related goal is to recuperate a tradition of indigenous rhetoric. My work with the missionary John Eliot's books and literacy in Massachusetts Algonquian is not to add to the "Anglocentric Bias" as Green's title suggests, but to help recover a tradition of Indigenous rhetoric by demonstrating the intellect of Native peoples immersed in this "new" literacy and how they *used* it to express their mestiza consciousness in response to the ethnocentrism of the English.

¹³ See Jamie Candelaria Greene's "Misperspectives on Literacies" for a detailed list of Spanish firsts in literacy in the Americas. Greene points to the ways the English colonialism and missionary work overshadowed work that had been done by the Spanish in colonial America.

What I seek to do is call into question some of the rhetorical practices, English language uses, and the definition of literacy that have been valued by the Academy, to counterpose them to other ways of knowing particularly from an Indigenous perspective. In part, the issue for me involves untangling the system which has valued Western ways of knowing over others.¹⁴ From the seventeenth-century ideals of scientific reasoning, shapers of thought removed the knower from the known. Objectivity and linear processes of explanation became the norm (see Semali and Kincheloe); the head/mind became separated from the body. As Semali and Kincheloe point out, “this Western modernist way of producing knowledge . . . known as Cartesian reductionism . . . [breaks down] problems into isolated components, examined separately from one another, and pronounced as ‘true.’ . . . Western science promotes a hierarchical and linear form of knowledge production” (28-29). In English studies, we witness a reluctance to let go of the five-paragraph essay model and teaching rhetorical modes which value say cause and effect or argument over narrative¹⁵. On the other hand, Indigenous knowledge exists in the arena of “subjugated knowledge,” which according to Michael Foucault are both “historical contents that have been buried and disguised in a functionalist coherence of formal sytemization,” and/or “have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated : naive knowledges located low down on the hierarchy . . .” (81-82). In their edited collection, *What Is Indigenous Knowledge*, Semali and Kincheloe

¹⁴ Again, I need to stress that there is a distinction to be considered here. You may not count yourself among those who “value Western ways of knowing over others,” but the institution of the Academy as a whole and many of our Institutions in the U.S. still do adhere strongly to these values at the expense and exploitation of Others.

¹⁵ While I realize that many in higher education have moved beyond these models, it is also true that these models are perpetuated in the institution of schooling. Many high schools still use the five-paragraph essay, and the SAT recently introduced a three-paragraph model to its standardized test. Additionally, many community colleges use this formulaic writing and teach through rhetorical modes especially in those classes which are called developmental or even in ESL programs.

argue for a “reconceptualized curriculum” where “indigenous/subjugated knowledge . . . becomes a living body of knowledge open to multiple interpretations” (32). In this way, “such subjugated knowledge contests dominant views of reality” (32). Sometimes the dominant culture does not wish to be challenged.

For Indigenous peoples, oral traditions still are the primary way of handing knowledge generation to generation among many cultures. Through oral tradition we have come to know our world, the world of our people. I am interested in evidence of this orality in written discourse as well as how we define and consider literacy (cies). According to Mahia Maurial, “Indigenous knowledge is peoples’ cognitive and wise legacy as a result of their interaction with nature in a common territory” (62). It is common knowledge that “nature is alive” (67) and nothing is separated from the whole. Indigenous knowledge does not separate itself into compartments –or departments. Maurial writes, “Ideas and practices are one,” (63). There are three bases to indigenous knowledge: local, holistic and agrapha. It is local because it takes place in people’s communities and their interactions with their lands. It is holistic because of its production and reproduction in relationships: human to human, human to nature. It is not written (agrpha) because this knowledge continues to take place in the complexities of oral traditions (see Maurial). In other words, Maurial claims, “its essence is alive” (63) within the culture. This “essence” surrounds our work as American Indian scholars—why we work communally, historically, and always with the “we” in mind.

And the “we” gets extended into our friends in other “minority” communities as we join in their struggle for scholars and students of color to be heard. One of the most important struggles is to honor minority scholarship—that is, in citing our own as Victor

Villeneuve has called upon us to do. American Indian scholars are still fighting to do so as their identities are still at risk. Repeating myself here, the grand narratives overshadow Amerind voices by staking claim on what is authentically Indian. As Vizenor points out these “simulations of the real” exist: Indians are mascots, cartoons, or wooden, or a picture of the past as depicted on coins, in movies and in Cooper and romance novels; more recently they are exploited in New Age phenomena. It is often a hard sell to transcend these images. In part, it is one of the conditions of Metis spaces where engagement with decolonization takes place. Our work is not easy.

In the contact zones of the Amer-Europeans and the Indigenous peoples of the Americas, literacy was used as a weapon of empire. Not only were the indigenous people viewed as less than human, but also because they had not developed what Europeans defined as a system of writing . However, it will be argued that they had developed forms of rhetoric comparable to that of classical rhetoric (aka Traditional Rhetoric). Breaking this collective perception is not a simple task. Malea Powell, a mixedblood scholar in composition and rhetoric and who I quote at length here, challenges our participation in this discipline while she simultaneously helps us claim our place as American Indian scholars:

...what has become clear to me as a participant in the discipline of composition and rhetoric is that ‘we’ are focusing on cultural and intellectual history or on pedagogical and institutional history, ‘we’ are still often doing so in regards to The Rhetorical Tradition. Typically the Tradition begins with the Greeks, goes to Rome, briefly sojourns in Italy, then shows up in England and Scotland, hops the ocean to American [sic] and settles in. (397-98).

In her critique of this Eurocentric focus, Powell does not intend to “demean the real work done by traditional scholars,” but rather to point out that “some of us read and listen from

a different space” (398). While the Art of Rhetoric has been primarily claimed by Western ways of knowing, recent scholarship has revealed the complexities of contact zone rhetoric, and there has been more attention paid to comparative rhetoric. Traditional scholar George Kennedy in his monograph on Comparative Rhetoric, yet it does not take into consideration the “different space.” Rather, Kennedy uses an evolutionary model much like the oral-to-literate model of Ong and Goody. The study begins with a discussion of animals and bird calls. Kennedy then uses many examples of Native oratory from the nineteenth century for Native American rhetoric, and then proceeds to follow a course of literacy development up to Greece and Rome. Like many, Kennedy sees only the oral culture that is set in the past¹⁶. However, putting the limitations aside, it is important to have traditional scholars like George Kennedy open the debate on comparative rhetoric.

Western culture has its foundation in Greek civilization, including the time that civilization was based on orality. It is there the art of rhetoric, as defined by Corax in the fifth century BCE, and the rhetoric of Western tradition was born. However, many other places in the world have been controlled by the dominant culture because their oral-based civilizations—in many cases as developed as the Greeks—were viewed as primitive. Some might argue we only know of these cultures because of writing, but that premise dismisses a multitude of indigenous cultures and traditions. Scholars have been re-examining the orality-literacy debate—the binary—and traditions of Western rhetoric; we as Indian scholars are now reimagining Native American rhetoric. In particular, we rethink ideas of tradition (in the Western sense) and juxtapose these ideas to American Indian ways of knowing keeping in mind the uses of language and literacy as an

¹⁶ For a fuller and more nuanced critique see Scott Richard Lyon’s article on “Rhetorical Sovereignty.”

operating basis for these claims. My intentions are to add more to this growing body of work.

The dialogue among scholars of color concerns how to establish ourselves in relationship to the Tradition. To continue with Powell's earlier quote,

Additions to the Tradition are rare, though the Tradition itself is often supplemented by writings from Other rhetorical traditions so that we wind up with a sort of smorgasbord of traditions distinct and whole unto themselves who nonetheless sometimes 'visit' the big house of Tradition for a night or two. . . . I don't see this 'additive' approach as more than a quick fix for a much more structurally embedded problem, that is, the Western Eurocentric focus of the American academy. (397-98).

These distinctions don't serve us well in our attempts to transform the Academy. In other words, how do marginalized groups present our scholarship so it gains a voice among the Amer-Europeans and not just be an additive? I agree with Powell, that there needs to be an examination of the structure of the Academy. By insisting that Western Eurocentric scholarship be used to support minority scholarship, the Academy does not allow the latter to come to voice. Jace Weaver, too, addresses the problems of whose scholarship "legitimizes" the work. He writes of his own perspective:

I agree that we must drink from our own wells and . . . first sink wells from which to drink. I nonetheless have been more willing . . . to engage White scholars, not because we should be put in the position (as we often are) of answering to Whites and thus allowing them to set an agenda of discourse but because I believe it is important to stake out our own territory contrapuntally to those non-Native voices that have often been heard almost exclusively heretofore. (xii).

In my scholarship, I also side with Weaver taking what is useful of the multiplicity of theories that exist and looking to reimagine them in the context of Native scholarship in holistic ways. Yet in doing so, I privilege Native scholars and minority scholars for their

views on the peoples they represent. It is not my intent to “buttress” Native scholarship with Amer-European or para/postcolonial or any other, but to *use* what I have been given.

An Indian Reimagining of Contact Zones

In 1991, Mary Louise Pratt’s “The Arts of the Contact Zone” was published in *Profession 91* and a storm of contact-zone-theory-based writings followed. Based on her speaking “as an MLA member working in the elite academy,” (33) Pratt gives details on “her thoughts on literacy and writing” (34) through a combination of modern stories and one that dates back to 17th century Peru. She provides a definition of the contact zone which is useful for my work:

I use this term [contact zones] to refer to social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today. (34)

Pratt builds upon Marxist and postcolonial theories. Following the publication of this MLA speech, her particular definition provided a frame for looking at power relations in the academy as well as other arenas. Contact zones became common speech for all types of encounters and a looming presence in many discussions of multicultural studies. There continues to be much discussion and reframing of the concept.

From a theoretical perspective, Bakhtin used the term “zones of contact” which he considers to be dialogically agitated spaces (see Bakhtin). Gregory Bateson, for another example, in his anthropological writings discusses culture contacts which result in “profound disturbances” (Sarris 43). Within her model, Pratt also brings into play two

related terms: first, transculturation, “the process whereby members of subordinate groups select and invert materials transmitted by their own culture” (36), and, second, autoethnography “in which peoples undertake to represent themselves in ways that engage with representations others have made of them” (M. L. Pratt 35). Language can be created and transformed by transculturation. In effect, transculturation is a resistant strategy used throughout the world to combat the linguistic and cultural assimilation desired by Amer-Europeans. Autoethnography is another survivance tactic used by minority writers. Toward the end of her essay, Pratt incorporates these terms into a discussion of the Literate Arts of the Contact Zone which includes various kinds of literacies including orality and storytelling.

As a key example of her presentation, she discusses the aftermath of the invasion of Peru by the Spaniards. Pratt uses the example of Guaman Poma, a mixedblood of an Andean mother and Spanish father, who writes a letter to King Philip of Spain:

Guaman Poma constructs his text by appropriating and adapting pieces of the representational repertoire of the invaders. He does not simply reproduce it; he selects and adapts it along Andean lines to express (bilingually mind you) Andean interests and aspirations. (36).

Poma *uses* language (and cultural values) in a way that mirrors the acts of the Spaniards in the New World. This mirroring is found throughout Indigenous texts as a way to overtly tell the colonizers of their misdeeds, and to critique the very lifeways which they attempt to impose upon the Other. Among Indigenous peoples this mirroring is a common rhetorical strategy, and one which I will point out in my analysis of New England Natives’ texts.

M. L. Pratt contends that Poma’s text had been largely ignored in Spain due to another mixedblood’s text, *The Royal Commentaries*; on the other hand, Don Paul Abbott

in *Rhetoric in the New World*, investigates this new world rhetorician El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the author of *Royal Commentaries*. Garcilaso de la Vega is also mixedblood—a Spanish father and Incan mother. Much like Poma, Garcilaso uses a “parallel structure” of Spanish and Inca cultures (87) thus he writes within the frames of contact-zone theory. Abbott explains, “Garcilaso, with a clear sense of duty, is determined to demonstrate the error of those Spanish who held the indigenes of the new World inferior to the Europeans or even altogether as subhuman” (83). Further, “Garcilaso invites his readers to compare the Incan Empire with the Roman” using a “Ciceronian vision of the civilizing power of discourse” (88). Both Poma and Garcilaso write bilingually and *use* the strategies of selecting and inventing.

However, writing even earlier than Poma and Garcilaso, was Diego Valades, a mixedblood of a famous conquistador father and an anonymous Tlaxcalan Indian mother. He published *Rhetorica Christiana* in 1579. According to Abbott, this book is “almost certainly the first book written by a native of Mexico to be published in Europe,” and it is “as much the memoirs of a man’s life as it is a rhetorical treatise” (42). While he positions himself to always see Indians as “other,” Valades metizo heritage is revealed in his claims much like Anzaldúa has suggested mestiza consciousness to work. “*Rhetorica Christiana* reflects the duality of his life” as the “oral world . . . is ever present” in his writing (Abbott 45). His theory “elevates and cultivates memory,” which “does not simply precede invention, it assumes many of the functions more typically assigned to invention” (53). For Valades, visual imagery is an effective part of memory and *Rhetorica Christiana* is “distinguished by Valades’ engravings” (46, 53). Moreover, he

also has written about indigenous life and Christianizing efforts, and argues for the teaching of indigenous peoples in their own languages.

These examples of Spanish colonial contact zones begin to help us to understand Indigenous rhetoric. More importantly, Indigenous rhetoric is seen to have a legacy with roots in a mixed-blood heritage. Currently, North American Indian scholars have also viewed contact zones in multiple ways. An argument espoused by Georges Sioui (Huron) is called autohistory. Sioui uses the term as a way for American Indian people to be self-defining, thus “repair[ing] the damage . . . caused to the integrity of the Amerind” (qtd in Weaver 164). To my understanding, Sioui is in line with Vizenor’s concept of the “post Indian warrior.” Sioui states that “Amerindian autohistory is an ethical approach to history” (Sioui 21). There are two premises which operate in his theory. He first claims that the cultural values of the Amerindians “have influenced the Euroamerican’s character more than the latter’s values have modified the Amerindian’s cultural code” (21). In this sense, it is the Euroamerican who is at risk here; I feel this is quite evident in the plethora of New Age movement which exploits American Indian spirituality. His second premise contains the idea that this persistence of Amerindian values “is more important in relation to the *social* nature of historical science than the frequent analyses of cultural transformations” (21). In a sense this premise is Sioui’s own critique of anthropologists, archeologists and the like. I suggest Sioui is reframing ideas of transculturation and autoethnography. Another Indian scholar, Louis Owens finds Pratt’s ideas well developed, but he prefers to think of contact zones as “frontier spaces” even if the word frontier is loaded. Owens argues as follows:

Because the term "frontier" carries with it the burden of colonial discourse it can only be conceived of as a space of extreme contestation. It is the zone of

the trickster a shimmering, always changing zone of multifaceted contact within which every utterance is challenged and interrogated, all referents are put into question (“Mapping” 26).

Frontier spaces and autohistory help define contact zones from an indigenous perspective.

My interests lie in the “grappling” which takes place in the contact zones. To add an Indigenous definition to contact zones and explore this grappling, I want to suggest the term Metis spaces¹⁷, also developed within the Native community, which takes into account Anzaldúa’s, M. L. Pratt’s, Sioui’s and Owen’s theories. We understand contact zones to occur—that’s a given. Owen insists that frontier can transcend its image; Sioui claims the influence is more of the Amerindian on the Euroamerican in a kind of trickster move. Since contact resulted in a mixing of cultures, Metis spaces, as a specific type of contact zone, include that mixing in such a way that brings and “keeps incompatible things together” (Lyons 1997 handout). Unlike frontier spaces, these Metis spaces are not just places of “extreme contestation,” but multiple-sided positions that Indigenous peoples find themselves and where they must negotiate the spaces. What’s more is that changing, defining and redefining, the oppositions are happening all at the same time—the “perpetual transition” (Anzaldúa 101). For M. L. Pratt, contact zone cultures meet in “safe houses” or “temporary protection from the legacies of oppression” (Pratt 40) where “conflict” and “healing” occur (Lyons 1997 handout). Yet, the move to safe houses is in part artificial because a common theme such as being in a classroom has brought people together. To some extent, the textual practices become a space to avoid or settle the conflict. The reality for Indigenous people is not usually found in a safe house for in Metis spaces, conflict is ever-present and lives inside them. Anzaldúa describes that with

¹⁷ I am indebted to Scott Lyons for his generous gift of allowing me to develop the term Metis Spaces as he has taken his scholarship in another direction.

mestiza consciousness, rather than engage in a “counterstance,” where one is “defiant,” we must “have the split somehow healed so we are on both shores at once” (100). There is a tolerance for contradictions and ambiguities; there is divergent thinking (101), yet, I would argue, that there are still places where one must remain defiant. Thus, “Metis spaces are pedagogical, discursive, social sites of negotiation: mixing and defining border crossing, and keeping incompatible things together. Metis spaces are where ‘conflict’ and the promise of ‘consensus’ are kept together” (Lyons 1997 handout). In this way, Metis spaces align with the frontier particularly in relationship with the trickster. Metis spaces allow for Indigenous people to “grapple” with the imposed identity (that of the singular, universalized image), subvert them, and articulate their own views of Indianess while working through the process of decolonization. In a continuous process, boundaries blur, simple binaries are undone and/or complicated, and the trickster dances within.

Drawing upon Gloria Anzaldúa’s perspective, Metis spaces are “in a state of perpetual transition,” a juncture (100). To my mixed-blood mind, it’s the site where decolonization can happen. As Tuhiwai Smith states, “decolonization . . . is about centering our concerns and worldviews and then coming to know and understand theory and research from our own perspective and for our own purposes” (39). Thus, the idea of Metis spaces complicates contact zones by demonstrating it is not always enough to explain the conflict, but rather to understand how the people themselves reimagine and *use* the spaces, and become comfortable living in contradictions. I see this idea to be along the lines of Jace Weaver’s communitism, which means community +activism, in that there is not always agreement, but we are always working toward understanding the

disagreements. Metis spaces allow me to see how these contacts play out, what happens in the grappling, in the agitation, and in the disturbances where the agreement can often result in and maintain disagreement. As such, the levels for understanding cultures within classrooms become multiple and complex.

As an example, when I look to my own Wampanoag ancestry, I am struck by the position taken by the indigenous people of New England engaged in vernacular literacy—writing in their own language--in the 1600s and 1700s. Legal document such as wills and deed, often embed subtle messages regarding the upheavals taking place in their world, and petitions often engage in border-crossing; that is, they “take on the colonizers’ language” as rhetorical strategies. While writing in Massachusett Algonquin, Indians mark pages of their Bibles and construct documents which can be read transculturally. We can witness the “perpetual transition” of Metis spaces in their uses of writing. Moreover, these are examples of resistant texts constructed in acts of survival; that is, these texts enact survivance rhetoric using strategies which simultaneously resist dominant impositions while continually finding ways to survive imperialism and colonialism. As Indians later are performing in the dominant language, their writing reveals the incompatibilities side by side, and demonstrates trickster language which, as Gerald Vizenor claims, “liberates the mind” (Interview). It is my intent to push the theoretical framework of contact zones into Metis spaces as rhetorics of survivance.

Acts of Survivance

Theorists continually build upon each other. Sometimes they develop an idea after

being influenced by someone, or they invent as resistance to an idea. At times the tugging and pulling results in phrases (or rephrases) like contact zones or in neologisms. The latter occurs when one word is not complete enough in its definition to articulate the full meaning of a new concept. Thus new words are invented by combining two or more words, or phrases are reinvented and developed to elucidate more fully the basis of the theory. One such word is survivance.

Survivance theory is critical to my work as I analyze multiple texts. Gerald Vizenor uses the term survivance to mean survival + resistance as manifested in post-contact writings by American Indians. *Survivance* as a French word means to outlive, and the inference is evident in Vizenor's choice of the word, because despite all attempts by Amer-Europeans to erase American Indian cultures, the cultures have outlived the assaults. They outlive themselves through resistance of the domination—a key piece of Vizenor's theory. Survivance is a trickster word that mirrors and inverts these acts of domination. As Indian people came into contact with missionaries and others who believed them to be uncivilized, various means to *educate* and *civilize* the *savages* were enacted. While Indigenous peoples participated in these measures, they did so with resistance—invertly or covertly.

In the introduction to his book, *Manifest Manners: Postindian Warriors of Survivance*, Vizenor provides an interpretation of Luther Standing Bear's autobiography, *My People the Sioux* as an example of "a postindian warrior" who "encounter[s] their enemies with the same courage in literature as their ancestors once did on horses, and they create their stories with a new sense of survivance" (Vizenor 4). Throughout Standing Bear's autobiography *My People the Sioux* are instances of this encounter. As a

young boy, Standing Bear is sent to Carlisle Indian Boarding School in 1879 to learn the ways of the whiteman. As Paula Gunn Allen writes, the chapter “First Days at Carlisle” “is all the more chilling for its reasonable, accepting tone. One wonders if the narrator comprehended the dynamics of his situation; evidently he did not” (*Voice* 111). However, when we look at Standing Bear’s writing through the lens of survivance, we consider this writing differently. Standing Bear writes, “Now after getting my hair cut, a new thought came into my head. I felt that I was no more Indian, but would be an imitation of a white man. And we are still imitations of white men, and the white men are imitations of the American” (qtd in Vizenor 4). Not only does Standing provide comment on the “civilizing process,” but he critiques the white man’s image of himself with an understanding of the simulation of the Indian and the American. It is this very kind of resistant writing, this rhetoric of survivance, that demonstrates an intellectual critique of the disturbances happening within American Indian ways of knowing.

Here live the stories.

Indian Writings can be seen exhibiting a rhetoric of survivance. That is, these writings consistently *use* tactics which involve survival + resistance and trickster discourse to articulate Indigenous experiences from their perspectives which interrogate the dominant perspective. An early New England Indian example is in Wampanoag Simon Papaneau’s Bible somewhere between 1724 and 1738, where several people contributed to the marginalia. One scribed onto the margin of 1 Kings 1:2-3 the following words:

ummatta nuttapenmin∞ kunn∞ tammannushon nohho
wuttch muttaohkit unniyoukaash
(I am not able to defend myself/from the happenings in the world)

The passage in the Bible is about King David becoming old and unable to get warm; a young nurse is brought in to tend to him. It is interesting that there is no mention of whether King David was directing the bringing of the young girl, or if others were deciding for him. Does King David comment on his aging, on being physically weak, on the young nurse? We can only speculate at those questions and on the Bible marginalia as well. Is Papaneau responding to King David's condition or his own? Papaneau's writing in the margin can also be seen as direct comment on the "profound disturbance" of contact. Perhaps this is an example of "perpetual transition" where the writing indicates empathy and resistance simultaneously. The Bible in discussion here is one of the Eliot Bibles, so named for John Eliot who is credited for translating the Bible into Massachusett Algonquian for purposes of converting a group of native people of southeastern New England. Bible marginalia are among the documents transcribed and translated by Ives Goddard and Kathleen Bragdon. These documents have been collected into two volumes and contain all the known writings in the Massachusett Algonquian dialect. As mentioned earlier, these writings are deeds, wills, petitions, and other legal-type documents along with Bible marginalia. These writings hold many stories, some of which have been reinvented in texts by Jill Lepore (a historian), Hillary Wyss, and others. I propose to reimagine Papaneau's writing and some other writings as employing survivance strategies existing in Metis spaces.

A Wampanoag's Vision

In this section, I have attempted to lay out the theoretical roots for my scholarship, to provide some resources, introduce rhetorical sovereignty, and explain the terms survivance and Metis spaces which are pivotal to my claims. Additionally the focus on Indigenous knowledge and decolonization provide a basis for the counter-hegemonic approach in this scholarship. Although the tone may lean toward anger at times (which may be deliberate), I attempt in this Metis space of contestation and healing to show why American Indian scholars need to provoke responses to be heard, and perhaps give reason for their often agonistic tenor. At the same time, I offer a perspective of Indian peoples as a presence.

Section II will further develop an understanding of the theories through a discussion of competing views of literacy in colonial New England and investigating Native texts for instances of survivance rhetorics. Within Section II, I offer a further discussion of literacy and orality by going back to the early Greeks and considering some contemporary perspectives. Additional resources for this section include the Eliot Tracts, Ives Goddard and Kathleen Bragdon's work, Jill Lepore, Henry Bowden, David Silverman, Gloria Anzaldúa, Brian Street, James Gee, and Deborah Brandt among many others. The heart of this section will be analyses of the early texts to show these rhetorical strategies at work. The section will conclude by briefly discussing other early New England education attempts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Moving from the eighteenth century forward, Section III will capture cultural moments in other texts written in English as the missionary schools expanded, off-

reservation boarding schools developed, and more Native peoples were writing their autoethnographic texts. Resources consist of Ruth Meyer Spack, Jon Reyhner, Margaret Connell Szasz, Francis Paul Prucha, Richard Henry Pratt, Genevieve Bell and David Wallace Adams. Texts for analyses will include writings by Luther Standing Bear, Nellie Robertson, Polingaysi Qoyawama, among others, and the Indian students who wrote letters and essays during their stays in various boarding schools including Carlisle Indian Industrial School. It is my claim that these writings reveal a number of survivance rhetorics and help us to further our investigations into what constitutes literacies and how we encourage and promote them.

Finally, Section IV will discuss the pedagogical implications for such work and briefly relate a new set of encounters occurring in various classroom setting involving students claiming their literacy(ies) and their rhetorical sovereignty. There are parallels of Indian literacy acquisition and that of minority and immigrant students in contemporary English classes. I intend to show how my inquiry of Metis spaces reveals itself in my classrooms as students work with the texts of the Indian students. Moreover, I offer my current pedagogy of classroom storytelling as Greg Sarris and Joy Harjo have taught me, and argue stories are a way to engage in critical discourse. In this way, as a mixedblood teacher, I work toward pedagogical sovereignty.

Taubotnee

This scholarship is not possible without the reimagining, without the stories. These stories include the people in my Indian community with whom I am honored to

work and, again, must give thanks to: Janice Gould, Malea Powell, Scott Lyons, Ginny Carney, and more recently, Resa Crane Bizzaro and Steve Brandon. The stories also include the many students who have participated in my classes over the years. As an American Indian teacher, I use the politics and histories of education in my classrooms, and advocate for social justice. Through these stories and the stories of my students, I seek to promote an awareness of the academic environment which will provoke changes in the institution. Working *with* my professors, mentors, students and other American Indian scholars has helped me to shape my thinking about the future of the Academy.

SECTION II

YOONOOSOOHQHOSSUEONK (THIS IS MY WRITING)

Indian words [are so long] one would think they had been growing since Babel.
Cotton Mather

Amongst men, some are accounted Civill, and more so the Socially and Religious, by use of letters and Writing, which others wanted are esteemed Brutish, Savage, and Barbarous.

Samuel Pruchas

Some of them [the Marshpee Indians] have lived abroad among the whites and have learned to read and write, with perhaps some small smattering of arithmetic. On returning to the tribe, they have taught others what they knew themselves

William Apess

From the outset, the goal of any Indian education by Amer-Europeans was to change the culture of the Indians. While different approaches and attitudes were taken by the colonists causing a great deal of controversy, the goal was fairly consistent. The earliest missionaries sought to convert the so-called savages from their heathen state to Christians who must also adopt a European lifestyle, and the goal continued to the development of organized schooling formed under the pretense of “helping” the Indians by “civilizing” them. More often than not, at the basis of this “help” was a desire to have the land. The northern Europeans believed the cultures of the Other to be far less-than their own. Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes in *Decolonizing Methodologies*, “According to Said, this process [of Othering, especially of Indigenous peoples,] has worked partly

because of the interchange between the scholarly and imaginative construction of ideas about the Orient. This corporate construction . . . is supported by a corporate institution. . .” (2). England formed its “institutions” through such organized colonies as the Virginia Colony of 1607 and Mass Bay Colony of 1630. As Tuhiwai Smith informs us, these “institutions” issue authorized views and even a language to describe these constructions, and are very powerful.¹⁸ Thus these colonies saw the Indigenous as heathens who had souls to save, yet lacked, according to the colonists, the ability to care for the land. Deeming their existence to be a gift of God’s providence, the colonizers firmly believed their culture was superior to any other. Bernd C. Peyer states, “Such institutionalized ethnocentrism left little intellectual room for the comprehension of, let alone sympathy for, ways of life that appeared to diverge so much from their own (4). For Indigenous peoples, issues of cultural survival have been at stake since contact with Amer-Europeans and their imperial agenda. Tuhiwai Smith writes, “Imperialism frames the indigenous experience” (19). With arrogance and a sense of privilege, Amer-Europeans arrived in America with the intent to keep coming, and wielded the double-edged sword of religion and literacy—their religion and literacy. In addition to seeing the Indigenous as heathens, they also saw them as illiterate. Included in their views is the assumption that (their Eurocentric) writing is far superior and separates the “Civill” from the “Savage.”

Various theories surround what constitutes writing and how it came about. Many argue that modern writing developed from the Phoenician alphabet around 900 BCE

¹⁸ The distinction of Northern European here is necessary because as immigration continued to so-called new world and later the United States, other European groups would be seen as uncultured and unrefined. Various writings on common schools and public schooling attest to these attitudes.

Also, for more understanding of “Other,” see *Orientalism* by Edward Said.

which was introduced to the Greeks and then the Romans who carried writing into the world (Cedarland). Others argue the Sumerians developed a cuneiform writing in 3100 BCE (Evolution Channel). Denise Schamandt-Besserat in *How Writing Came About* argues that early tokens from 8000 to 3000 BCE are the “immediate precursor of cuneiform script” (1). These tokens were for counting and keeping track of goods, a mathematical system which became more complex and eventually resulted in the “invention of numerals and pictography and phonetic writing.” She argues that these are the “result of abstract counting” (120-125). I argue many such systems existed, yet in the modern notion, writing became that which created hierarchies. Writing, as we know, has impacted cultures immensely. Walter Ong has written, “Writing was an intrusion, though a valuable intrusion, into the early human lifeworld, much as computers are today” (qtd. in Cushman 21). Yet, the pen became a weapon of empire because, as Dane Morrison informs us, “The seventeenth-century Europe's educated elite generally assumed that a people who lacked writing held no body of knowledge worth preserving . . .” (Morrison 47). Their pretentious attitudes caused them to overlook whole systems of what is now named writing or literacy (tokens, pictographs, wampum, quipas, markings, stories) which were in place for millennia. Yet, the “educated elite” could only identify with their own, limited perspective. In their minds, writing consisted of pen to paper, scribing the basic Latin alphabet, and detailing their perceptions of the Other. Clearly, this perspective contributed to their justification to steal lands and cultures from the Indigenous. In discussing this mindset, Morrison concludes, “Such presumptions were part of the heritage of the English colonial experience, especially from the ongoing conquest of Ireland” (Morrison 47).

Nevertheless, as this new way of writing came to primarily oral cultures particularly in the so-called new world, Indigenous peoples found ways to speak back, and *use* writing to provide representations of themselves and those who would dominate them. This section will attempt to shed light on and illustrate the complexities of literacy acquisition among North American Indians by highlighting examples of colonial interactions with literacy, and especially draw attention to the vernacular literacy of the New England natives in order to argue for their intellectual property. Jill Lepore in *The Name of War* argues, “. . . literacy is not an uncomplicated tool like the pen or printing press. Instead, literacy is bound, as it was for the New England Natives, by the conditions under which it was acquired” (27). In these cases, the conditions include literacy occurring in the Massachusett language into which religious texts were translated and conversion narratives performed. Under such conditions, literacy is a feature of the contact zones. The sites of language I use are Metis spaces where multiple factors are being played out. I attempt here to frame these sites philosophically and historically. Beginning with missionaries and Native peoples in the Northeast in the 1600s, I suggest there were early instances of bilingual literacy where the Massachusett, Nauset, and Wampanoag were being taught in their own language and English (albeit for purposes of changing the culture [religious conversion]). Beyond that period, I will assess other missionary and colonial efforts at schooling which not only taught English, but also classical languages and look at letters written in that Metis space. This section will culminate with a brief discussion of an early New England Native intellectual to establish a continuous heritage of a rich Indigenous rhetorical tradition. Using examples of writing by Indians, I will illustrate how Indians *use* their writing in this Metis space while

enacting a rhetoric of survivance. Keep in mind, it would be impossible to include all the instances here, thus my attempt is to provide a sampling of relevant cultural moments.

(Hi)Stories of Literacy and Orality

Literacy has typically been viewed as a yes-and-no matter, easily determined: one either reads and writes or one doesn't. John F. Szwed

Oratory: place of prayer, to persuade. This is a word we can work with.
Lee Maracle

Historically, Western ways of knowing have established dichotomies; in fact those tendencies have been valued, and are often so imbedded in our ways of thinking that it is difficult to move beyond them. The Orality/Literacy debate, whether the two are viewed as separate or as a continuum, is a prime example of one such dichotomy, which has not only separated them, but has promoted a hierarchy as we see in Samuel Purchas' statement of the "Literal Advantage" (Lepore xviii). Purchas lived in England, but collected accounts of people's travels; he wrote about the colonial encounters which occurred in Virginia and New England, and the book was published after his death in 1626 (see Ryken, Burrage). This idea of the "Literal Advantage" was used as a weapon of conquest. The claim for being a superior culture based on one's ability to "write" is disputed. In opposing Purchas's (and Enlightenment) beliefs, Matei Calinescu asserts that the "dichotomy. . . can be fallacious reasoning when it determines the basis for evolutionary schemes" (55), and he offers, instead, the idea of orality *in* literacy. In the previous section, we observed that Indigenous knowledge is holistic; all things are seen in

their interconnectedness and reciprocity. Tendencies toward dichotomies and hierarchies are reduced. Indigenous (and other minority) scholars today take great issue with the reduction of orality and memory to low-level thinking or a less valued way of knowing. As Stoh:lo scholar Lee Maracle states, “Words are not just objects to be wasted. They represent the accumulated knowledge, cultural values, the vision of an entire group of people or peoples” (*Oratory* 3). Thus, as we have learned from Paulo Freire, participants are actors in their knowledge and not passive repositories.

While it is true that not all see literacy in this way, there is still a predisposition toward that which favors the dominant culture. In *Literacy: A Critical Sourcebook*, Ellen Cushman et. al. write, “Unfortunately, the definition of literacy one finds is often simplified, even reductive: Literacy is the straightforward encoding or decoding of print. Literacy is a single thing measurable through a standard test” (2). While the editors of this *Sourcebook* try to address the rigidity by redefining literacy and inviting conversation about literacy, there is a history firmly in place which reveals the inclusive/exclusive uses of literacy. We must of necessity recognize these uses, to acknowledge the hierarchy before we can remedy the situation. One (predominately Anglo-Saxon Protestant¹⁹) culture’s view of literacy dominates and entrenches itself. To my mixedblood mind, the notions of literacy open within Metis spaces especially where evidences of orality continually are present in writing. In Metis spaces, the participants engage the conflicts, recognize the perpetual transitions, and acknowledge the discursiveness. Rather than set

¹⁹ While there were many missionaries of various denominations including Quakers, Catholics, and a variety of Protestant sects, the ideology of the conquest of America is rooted in Anglo-Saxon Protestant. In New England, those early Puritans, who came for their own religious freedom, were not tolerant of other beliefs.

up either/or positions, I position myself with those who see the ideas of literacy/orality as and/in/within/too which makes for all kinds of complexities.

Although contemporary dictionaries still limit the definition of literacy to the ability to read and write, many contemporary scholars including Shirley Brice Heath, Brian Street, James Gee, Lee Maracle, Matei Calinescu, and Deborah Brandt have been struggling with wider definitions, which incorporate oral traditions, various writing systems, and cultural values. For example, Brian Street tells us, “Where educationalists and psychologists have focused on discrete elements of reading and writing skills, anthropologists and sociolinguistics concentrate on literacies—the social practices and conceptions of reading and writing (“New Literacy” 430). Calinescu reminds us that “putting something in writing is obviously much slower than to say it” (64). He goes on to assert that when we are engaged in writing the “oral dimension . . . does not vanish. It remains hidden, as it were, in the spatial representation of language, from which it can be brought back at any moment by a live utterance, whether physical, audible, or merely mental”(66); orality is present *in* writing. In her work on literacy studies, Deborah Brandt concurs, “Reading and writing occur instrumentally as part of broader activities (for instance, working, worshipping, governing, teaching and learning, relaxing). It is these activities that give reading and writing their purpose and point” (Brandt, *American Lives* 3). Sociolinguist James Paul Gee theorizes on Discourse communities (making distinctions between **D**iscourse and **d**iscourse). We each belong to a Discourse which identifies us. He writes, “languages make no sense outside of Discourses and the same is true of literacy. There are many different ‘social languages’ connected in complex ways” (viii). In *Social Linguistics and Literacies: Ideology in Discourses*, Gee summarizes

much of the orality/literacy binary, and writes, “literacy has no effects—indeed no meaning—apart from particular cultural contexts in which it is used, and it has different effects in different contexts. Street, Calinescu, Brandt, and Gee and others contribute to the ways in which we are revisioning literacy today. However, that writing and speaking are separate from one another and other activities is contrary to how people interact in this world, a specific kind of writing—or the ability to read and write—became a superior notion in acts of colonization throughout the world. Linda Tuhiwai Smith, although acknowledging Street’s critiques, sees what follows: “Writing or literacy, in the very traditional sense of the word, has been used to determine the breaks between the past and the present, the beginning of history and the development of theory” (28). In that sense, it is how the colonists, for the most part, could “write” the Indigenous out of existence as a relic of the past,²⁰ and how the colonists could justify their policies of “civilizing.” Even with the existing pictographs and other symbols which marked rocks, ledges, trees and so on, the alphabetic literacy of the Amer-Europeans was reckoned by them to be advanced. And they would measure the Indigenous by the same standards. Purchas’s idea of a “Literall Advantage” still echoes as the superiority of a unitary literacy became more demanding in that this literacy was only valued in the colonizers’ languages (mainly Amer-European languages). Bearing in mind the time frame of the 1600s-1700s, this section will consider the mindset of the colonizers, in this case the English, who very much believed they possessed this advantage (as well as others) over the New England Indians and the Indigenous in general. However, I fully intend to demonstrate the

²⁰ While much of the writing of the early colonists was detrimental to the Indian cultures, there were instances of writing which tried to present somewhat more objective accounts. Although not entirely unbiased, two examples would be the observances of Thomas Morton in 1637 and William Wood in 1634.

contemporary views of literacy (a la Brandt, Street, Gee and others) are enacted by the natives engaged in their own literacy.



Even with its reverence for Greek culture, Amer-Europeans seemed to rewrite concepts of an oral culture especially during the Enlightenment. In *The Phaedrus* Plato expresses his apprehensions to writing believing it will destroy memory. Socrates provides a summary of the argument against writing:

For this discovery of yours will create forgetfulness in the learner’s souls, because they will not use their memories; they will trust to the external written characters and not remember of themselves. The specific which you have discovered is not an aid to memory, but to reminiscence, and you give your disciples not truth, but only the semblance of truth; they will be hearers of many things and they will have learned nothing; they will appear to be omniscient and will generally know nothing; they will be tiresome company, having the show of wisdom without the reality. (275b-c)

Socrates agrees with this assessment in his continued dialogue with Phaedrus:

I cannot help feeling, Phaedrus, that writing is unfortunately like painting; for the creations of the painter have the attitude of life, and yet if you ask them a question they preserve a solemn silence. And the same may be said of speeches. You would imagine that they had intelligence, but if you want to know anything and put a question to one of them, the speaker always gives one unvarying answer. And when they have been once written down they are tumbled about anywhere among those who may or may not understand them, and know not to whom they should reply, to whom not:

and, if they are maltreated or abused, they have no parent to protect them; and they cannot protect or defend themselves. (275e-f).

Socrates relates a “tradition of the ancients” in which a dialogue over letters occurs, similar to the dialogue between Socrates and Phaedrus. The core of the argument is whether letters will enhance or destroy memory. Memory is valued in an oral society, because memory helps internalize ideas. What I also take from Plato’s dialogue is the distrust of writing. But even more than that, Socrates desired the face-to-face interaction. For him, important issues were decided by talking, through dialogue, rather than by some paper “tumbled about anywhere.” He says through writing people will be “hearers of many things, but will have learned nothing”; they will not have the opportunity to question. Like Socrates, American Indians distrusted writing considering the number of written treaties that were broken by the Whiteman. However, that is another complex story. Nonetheless, it is important to look at Socrates here because we have writing—the new technology—being introduced to an oral culture. The key is if it will “enhance or destroy memory”; as the Native documents I bring here will show, these things are brought together. Orality and memory are present *in* the writing.

Although Ong argues that it is “fashionable” (“Writing” 22) to use *The Phadreus* argument, the fact is Ong, too, reveres writing as a superior tool, a high technology that literates have “interiorized . . . so deeply that without tremendous effort we cannot separate it from ourselves or even recognize its presence and influence” (“Writing” 19). Ong provides a cogent argument, yet in stating that it would be impossible to have an “intensive linear analysis” (22) he makes his belief clear that non-linear thought is inferior. He denies our heart to some extent. While it is true that writing is deeply a part of us now, I’m not sure I can agree that writing is so structured in such away unless it is,

perhaps, after revision to purposely construct a linear analysis. This argument stems from the western Tradition, and leaves little room for negotiating the conflicts as takes place in Metis spaces. Ong also asserts, “orality needs to produce writing” (*Orality* 15). His claim includes that “a person rooted in primary oracy” must “leave behind much that is exciting and deeply loved in the earlier oral world” to be part of the “exciting world of literacy” (15). As such, he creates a huge divide between the oral and written word. Although Ong’s work is important, he has been repeatedly challenged and interrogated. Consider Calinescu, who states “there are questions Ong does not address,” and suggests that writing would have a double origin. It could have used both oral patterns/formulas and visually shapes (ultimately letters) as memory props” (55). This view takes into account that writing supports orality.

From an American Indian perspective, I would argue that integration of orality and writing takes place, and, as in most areas, things are not separated from the whole. Although Indigenous knowledge has an agraphic base (in the traditional sense), within Metis Spaces systems of writing (inclusive of pictographs, carvings, and the like) oral traditions are still honored; traditional literacy developed as a support system. Abbott’s extensive exploration of early Indigenous rhetoric in South and Central America, particularly Valades’ *Rhetorica Christiana*, indicates that orality is highly valued, and memory is focused upon. Similarly, in the writings in Massachuset Algonquian, there is clear evidence that orality supported the writing. Moreover, in letters, stories, in what is now called boarding school literature,²¹ and other writing by American Indians, oral traditions are embodied in the text. And contemporary writer, Leslie Marmon Silko

²¹ Janice Gould uses this term to refer to a body of works that comes out of the Indian Boarding School experience.

(Laguna Pueblo) purposely produces texts such as *Storyteller* in such a way to bring to mind oral tradition, and reminds us of the power of stories in her novel *Ceremony*. What develop are more than hybrid texts featuring what Calinescu names “orality in literacy” (see Calinescu, Dickinson).

Competing Stories of Literacy in Colonial New England

The language is hard to learn, few of the English being able to speak any of it, or capable of the right pronunciation which is the chief grace of their tongue. William Wood 1634

I diligently marked the difference of their Grammar from ours: when I found the way of them, I would pursue a Word, a Noun, a verb, through all the variations I could think of. John Eliot 1666

Solomon omppan yu noosooquohamoonk (Solomon Omppan, this is my writing).

Marginalia Massachusetts Psalter 1663

In order to develop understanding of how Indians *used* writing in colonial New England, it's necessary to establish background for this bilingual literacy. Speakers of Massachusetts Algonquian lived (and continue to live²²) in now-called southern New England which ranged “from the Merrimac River south to Narragansett Bay, including Cape Cod, Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket” (Goddard and Bragdon 1). They are comprised of the Massachusetts, Nausets, and Pokanokets or Wampanoag. These are the same people who had early contact with the English. The 1660's to the 1750's encompass a turbulent period in native New England history in which competing views of literacy contribute to the voicing and silencing of New England tribes. Most of the

²² Although colonists' histories have written that the Indian vanished from New England, the Indian has remained. Today, many Native people use the phrase “We Still Live” to establish that we never were extinguished. As well, the Wampanoag, as other tribes, are actively involved in language reclamation.

published writing came from the Englishmen who foresaw their historic significance. Other writings were produced, but for much smaller audiences or in private spheres. The accounts of interactions with and opinions of the Indigenous peoples came largely from the Amer-Europeans. In *Missionary Conquest* George Tinker states, “The privilege and thoroughly entrenched notions that fueled all European notions toward the Indian was one of pronounced cultural and intellectual superiority (8). Many Natives had been devastated by disease and found their communities fragmented. Some had their own agenda and found ways to adapt. Dane Morrison claims, “most Massachusett acted primarily to flee the perceived instability of the collapsing culture; few were convinced they should fully abandon the familiar and comfortable ways of their ancestors” (Morrison 198). Most missionaries and others saw godless, uncivilized people whom it was their duty to change. As such, they engaged in efforts to convert the Indians. Some missionaries learned new languages in order to bring their Christian ideals to the Natives. Books were printed in the Indian languages, and documents were produced. Therefore, in these Metis spaces, bilingual education, cross translations of texts, interpreters, stories, and speaking and writing in Indian languages are all players juxtaposed to the colonists’ views of the Indians.

Still, there are these metanarratives which still control the ideology of America. In her article, “Blood and Scholarship: One Mixed-Blood’s Story,” Malea Powell urges “we must recognize the narratives of Indians and the Academy are always a part of an even larger story—the narrative that constructs America and Americanness . . . The stories that write this American narrative are familiar ones: Christopher Columbus and the discovery . . .” (3). Indian scholars must work against such narratives as the Pilgrims landing at

Plymouth. They were surprised with Samoset's broken English greeting, "Welcome, Engis! (Welcome English)," as they couldn't believe a "savage" would know them much less their language. A few visits later Samoset introduces Squanto, a more fluent speaker of English, to the new settlers. Contrary to the metanarrative, Bernd C. Peyer informs us that by the time the Pilgrims landed in Massachusetts in 1620 perhaps as many as two thousand Indians had already traveled to the 'Old World,'" captured at various times since 1500 (14). According to the Squanto story, he had been kidnapped and taken into slavery in 1614 by Thomas Hunt, brought to Spain and then to England where he managed to make his way back to Massachusetts. During his captivity, he learned English, thus he was instrumental in the survival of the colonists at Plymouth and was an ally to them. To some Natives Squanto is considered a traitor in part because of his ability with the Whiteman's language and his disproportionate willingness to help them. Nor was this story distinctive in that many Indigenous were captured, learned additional languages, and returned as interpreters or cultural brokers (Peyer, Lepore, Szasz). The Native population offered sustenance to the English at Plymouth helping them adapt and understand this new (for them) land. Of course, the grand narrative goes on about the first Thanksgiving where the Indians were invited to feast with the colonists. From this point, the Indians of New England begin to "disappear" from whitewashed history. Many tribes were actually declared extinct and written away by colonists when, in fact, whole communities were intact and living in the areas. Today, as Indian (particularly the Wampanoag at Plymouth) voices are participating in rewriting the history, new stories have emerged and merged with the older one. As a result, we see the real stories are more multifaceted.

In 1630, following the 1620 landing of the Mayflower, another boat arrives with a group of Puritans who establish the Mass Bay Colony. In Southampton, England prior to their departure, the passengers of the *Arabella* listened to a sermon by John Cotton Sr. later published and called *The Divine Right to Occupy the Land*, this sermon outlined reasons for the Puritans having this “right”:

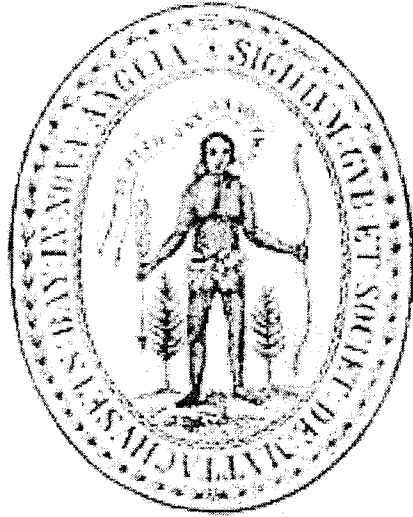
Now, God makes room for a people three ways:

First when He casts out the enemies of a people before them by lawful war with the inhabitants, which God calls them unto, as in Ps. 44:2: "Thou didst drive out the heathen before them." But this course of warring against others and driving them out without provocation depends upon special commission from God, or else it is not imitable.

Second, when He gives a foreign people favor in the eyes of any native people to come and sit down with them, either by way of purchase, as Abraham did obtain the field of Machpelah; or else when they give it in courtesy, as Pharaoh did the land of Goshen unto the sons of Jacob.

Third, when He makes a country, though not altogether void of inhabitants, yet void in the place where they reside. Where there is a vacant place, there is liberty for the sons of Adam or Noah to come and inhabit, though they neither buy it nor ask their leaves. So that it is free from that common grant for any to take possession of vacant countries. Indeed, no nation is to drive out another without special commission from Heaven, such as the Israelites had, and will not recompense the wrongs done in a peaceable way. And then they may right themselves by lawful war and subdue the country unto themselves (Cotton 1630)

Cotton’s sermon laid out the taking of land from the original inhabitants. The Puritans saw the future in this sermon. Certainly, they enacted this “Divine Right” by naming the Indigenous as “heathen,” and calling the lands “vacant.” They also were contracted to bring the Gospel to the heathens and convert them. Under the leadership of John Winthrop, the Massachusetts Bay Colony created a seal which depicts an Indian surrounded by Latin words, and literally places those words in his mouth: “Come over and help us.”



Seal of the Mass Bay Colony

The Biblical reference to *Acts* of the Christian Bible reads, “And a vision appeared to Paul in the night; There stood a man of Macedonia, and prayed him, saying, Come over into Macedonia, and help us” (*Acts* 16:9). Just as the indigenous of the so-called new world would be viewed by their colonizers, so too the Macedonians were seen as heathens needing salvation by the Christians. Many missionaries throughout the world have used *Acts 16:9*, as well other Bible verses, as evidence that their Christian mission is justified. The irony of the verse from *Acts* is further complicated when one sees, as Jill Lepore points out, the sons of Massasoit were named Alexander and Philip by the colonists when the two Natives appeared at the Plymouth Court in 1660 sealing the connection to the Puritan mission (29). In these ways, according to the authors of *Native American Theology*, “the Gospel that reached the Native people of North America was interpreted by scholars who were products of their own intellectual traditions of Western Europe” (Kidwell 22). In other words, the Puritans believed they were chosen to propagate the Gospel to those who were not their equals. Dane Morrison in *A Praying People*, indicates that the English colonists had “. . . [t]heir own perception of a

degenerate “heathen,” crafted through centuries of contact and domination of Africa and Irish peoples and extrapolated onto North American societies” (27). However, even with the interpretations and even though the words were put in their mouths and even when they were not perceived as equals, the Natives were, as Lepore argues, “neither as silent as the colonists had hoped nor as inarticulate as most historians have assumed” (xxi). If we listen carefully, their stories speak through the texts they constructed.

“Help” Arrives

Taking this biblical “plea” to task, missionaries such as Richard Bourne, John Cotton Jr., Experience Mayhew, Thomas Mayhew Jr. and Sr., Peter Folger, and John Eliot, among others, labored at converting the Indians, to save their “wretched” souls. To facilitate their efforts, some learned Indian languages. Other colonists also had been interested in Indian languages as a way toward more effective communication. For example, Roger Williams wrote *The Key to the Languages of America* in 1643 to develop, from his perspective, understanding between Amer-Europeans and the Native populations. Williams’ text focuses on the Narragansett language, a dialect close to Massachusetts. However, underlying Williams’ intentions was the fact that he was “convinced that the cultural differences were such that one could do nothing with Indians and that any attempt to convert them was destined to fail” (Tinker 24). Like many of the Mass Bay Colony, Williams used his ability to communicate with the Indians to his own political advantage. Other colonists like Thomas Morton and William Wood wrote more empathetic observations about the Native populations, and some supported Indians in

their complaints against the colonists. Those who did write with some understanding of Indigenous people were most often compromised in colonial English society to the extent of having their own lives threatened. Still, if these groups were to co-exist in any way, there existed a need for communication between the Native peoples and English colonists.

The earliest known missionary program in New England was initialized by Thomas Mayhew Jr. in 1642 on Martha's Vineyard. The younger Mayhew conversed with the natives in their own language discussing religious matters (see Bowden). Mayhew was preaching to some newly-arrived colonists, but he entered into a friendship with Hiacoomes, a Wampanoag who was being shunned by his people. Mayhew and Hiacoomes tutored each other, one learning the Wampanoag language and the other becoming familiar with Christianity. Hiacoomes became one of Mayhew's early converts (see Silverman 3). Mayhew had more successes in converting the natives and eventually set up ten Christian Indian communities by 1657. He collected the mission into a text called *Indian Converts* in that same year. Mayhew died shortly after when his ship was lost at sea, and his father, Thomas Sr., took over the missionary efforts followed by four more generations of the Mayhew family (see Peyer, Bowden, Szasz). The Mayhews did not necessarily look to rid the Wampanoags of their culture. A belief in God and questions of theology drove their ministry. Tribal women were treated more equitably than on the mainland, and many Indians became preachers themselves (Peyer 28-29). John Cotton, Jr. also spent time on Martha's Vineyard when, between 1665-1667, he kept a journal of the questions posed by the Wampanoags (see Silverman 2). In "Indians, Missionaries and Religious Translation," David J. Silverman theorizes that the

Indians of Martha's Vineyard engaged in what he calls "religious translation," a process whereby they "filtered Christian teachings through Wampanoag religious ideas and terminology" (5). These Wampanoag asked many deep and thoughtful questions of the missionaries, and took the points which coincided with their own spiritual beliefs and were able to amalgamate the two (see Silverman). Hiacoomes eventually became a minister himself.

On the mainland, few others entered into missions to convert the Indians although it was a large part of the Massachusetts Bay Charter. Some thought the colony was temporary, that setting up the colony was demanding, and mostly that the Massachusetts language was strange and difficult to learn. Because, a minister had to have an established parish to maintain his clerical position, many believed preaching to the Indians took them from their pastoral duties to the whites. Yet, mostly it was the elitism of the Puritans which kept them from associating with the Natives (see Bowden, Tinker, and Morrison). However, the perceived success of their colony depended in part on their missionary efforts. George Tinker explains, "it is crucial to note that the mission endeavor finally began in Massachusetts as the result of a political decision made to improve the colony's public image in England, especially with Parliament" (*Missionary* 28). In other words, around 1646 the Puritan leaders realized they were being pressured by England to act in accordance of one of the goals of the colony. Thus, the government of the Mass Bay colony "fully realized the ramifications for their colony" (28) and moved forward with their proselytizing. But with politics what they are, there is evidence that Governor John Winthrop falsified some of John Eliot's documents to reflect an earlier

start date for his preach to the Indians (see Gookin, Bowden, Tinker) in order to make a stronger case for the colonies missionary efforts..

John Eliot's Mission to the Indians

'In the beginning was the Word.' . . . Now what do you suppose old John meant by that? . . . well, you know how it is with preachers; he had something big on his mind. And in his hurry he said too much. . . . It was the Truth all right, but it was more than the Truth. . . . Old John see he got up one morning and caught sight of the Truth. It must have been like a bolt of lightning, and the sight of it made him blind. . . . And he said 'In the beginning was the Word' And man right then he should have stopped. (Momaday "Sermon of the Sun Priest" 92-93).

Although the "John" of the Sun Priest in N. Scott Momaday's *House Made of Dawn* is one of the original apostles in the Bible, the writer of *The Gospel of John*, we might liken this persona and passage to John Eliot who was known as the "Indian Apostle."

John Eliot is likely the most well-known figure among the Indian missionaries in New England, and because of that, it is necessary to provide a more detailed look at his life. Eliot sailed aboard *The Lyon*, and arrived in New England in 1631; he served as a teacher in a Boston church before becoming a minister in Roxbury in 1632. Perspectives on Eliot, his mission and motives vary. Most accounts, written by colonists and even later some Natives, portray him as sympathetic to the Indians, and to an extent this is true (Bowden, Szasz). In the afterword of *Indian Grammar Begun*, he writes, "God first put into my heart a compassion over their poor Souls" (66). On the other hand, we cannot ignore the political implications which prompted the missionary activities. George

Tinker claims these are twofold: “the initial impetus for the outreach effort” and that “Eliot . . . was merely a government functionary using religion as a device to subjugate Indian peoples” (27). Whatever drove his life’s work, he emerged from history as the Apostle to the Indian, a term used by EuroAmericans and Indians alike. According to the stories, Eliot first became aware of the Indians’ plight during the Pequot War (1636-37) where the English, under Captain Mason, brutally decimated the population by attacking the elders, women and children; however, it would be six years later when Eliot began to learn the Massachuset language (see Bowden, Peyer).

During the time Thomas Mayhew was already ministering among the Natives on Martha’s Vineyard and making use of Massachusett Algonkian, Eliot, “in the comfort of his own study,” (Peyer 35) was studying the Indian language to prepare himself to preach. He took three years to learn the language mainly by using Native interpreters (Clark, Bowden). In the afterword of *Indian Grammar Begun*, Eliot writes,

I found (by God’s wise providence) a pregnant-witted young man who had been a servant in an English house, who pretty well understood our language better than he could speak it, and well understood his own language and a hath clear pronunciation. Him I made my interpreter. By his help I translated the Commandments, the Lord’s Prayer, and many Texts of Scripture: also I compiled both Exhortations and Prayers by his help. (Eliot Grammar 66 italics in original).

That young man whom scholars now believe to be Cockenoe-de-Long Island, assisted Eliot in compiling his grammar. Cockenoe was likely taken as a captive during the Pequot war and had been serving in the house of Richard Callicot in Dorchester. William Wallace Tooker wrote a biography of Cockenoe-de-Long Island and quotes from Eliot’s writings about the young man: “This Indian is ingenious, can read, and I taught him to write, which he quickly learnt He was the first that I made use to teach me words

and be my interpreter” (Tooker 12). As Tooker determines through his research, Cockenoe spent several years with Eliot and left in the end of 1646 after Eliot had successfully preached in Massachusetts at Nonantum (Newton). Cockenoe then went to work among the Long Island Indians serving as a surveyor and interpreter for them until 1687 as evidenced by signings on various documents (although with varied spellings: Cheekonov, Chickino, Chekkonnow, and Cuckoo) and some other petitions written by him. Creating these land agreements and petitions were, as Peyer points out, a “main venue for Indian literacy” (45). An account in 1648 states, “This Indian was sufficiently learned to speak English, and so intelligent as to act as interpreter” (Tooker 20); Cockenoe survived as a cultural broker an activity not unusual for a bilingual, literate Indian in those days. Tooker’s short text gives reasonable evidence to determine that the Indian man Cockenoe is certainly the same man who was Eliot’s first interpreter and the signer of these documents. Tooker offers several observations by others of the young man’s abilities and facilities with literacy and interpreting. I might even argue he is an early instance of an Indian intellectual. Interestingly, the various presentations of Cockenoe’s name translate into “he who interprets (says what I say),” “he marks,” “a teacher,” or “a scholar” (Tooker 21). Each of these interpretations and Eliot’s own assessment of Cockenoe create a far different picture of the Indian from the colonists’ perception.

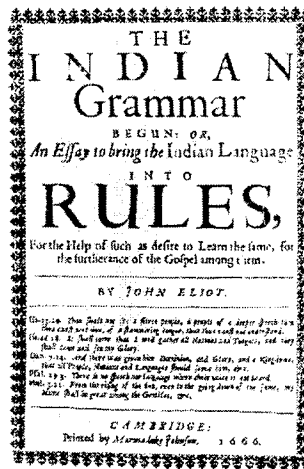
Other Indians worked with Eliot on his library. A second interpreter of Eliot’s was a man named Job Nesutan whom Daniel Gookin admires: “he was a very good linguist in the English tongue and was Mr. Eliot’s assistant and interpreter in his translations of the Bible, and other books of the Indian language” (Gookin 441). Peyer’s

research indicates that in three years Nesuton “learned to read and write English and Algonquian sufficiently well,” and at one point he was a schoolmaster prior to working for Eliot (45-46). A third interpreter was Wowaus who later became known as James Printer. He helped produce two editions of the Eliot Bible and later the primer. His abilities, according to Eliot, included being able to “compose & correct the press with understanding” (qtd. in Peyer 47). John Eliot gets the credit for translations of the Bible and other texts, even above the involvement of other missionaries. However, these Native interpreters contributed significantly to Eliot’s language learning and production of his library.

Eliot’s position was that “true conversion was not possible unless the Gospel was accessible to the Indians” (Goddard and Bragdon 13). Believing that conversion would be an easier task if language were less of a barrier, Eliot continued to work at learning the language of the Natives and, with their assistance, created a written form of the language using the alphabet of the Europeans. With the help of Cockenoe, Job Nesuton John Sassomon, and later James Printer, Eliot worked at creating a written Massachusett based on their analysis of the sound system, and using 27 characters including ∞ for an ōō sound. He taught this system to native students, and it became the “foundation for all subsequent translations into Massachusett” (Goddard and Bragdon 13). The first printing of a text in the Massachusett language was a Catechism and *The Lord’s Prayer*.

Following those books, even the Bible was translated into Massachusett Algonquian largely with the help of Indian interpreters. In fact, the first Bible to be printed in any language in what would become the United States was the Massachusett Bible in 1661. Two more editions would follow in 1663 and 1685. In addition, Eliot created an Indian

grammar: *Indian Grammar Begun: or, an Essay to bring the Indian Language into Rules, For the help of such as a desire to Learn the same, for the furtherance of the Gospel among them* (Clark).



This book was written to set “rules” to the language—a noteworthy albeit self-serving task. Eliot sees written language as the key, but his writing reveals much more than he probably realized. According to Wyss, “Eliot erases the differences between written and spoken and acknowledges that Massachusetts already contains its own rules since it functions effectively as a spoken language” (Wyss 23). In setting down his rules, he wants to “impose order” but to do that must “acknowledge a pre-existing order (23). That Eliot did not work alone is evident in the materials presented. The often shifting perspective in the introductory material suggests the writing and message are not Eliot’s alone. When the first person is used, the text takes on a superior tone: “I therefore use the same characters which are most in our English books” (2). The following page shifts the perspective to we: “We Massachuset pronounce the *n*.” and “We use only two accents, and but *sometime*” (3). Throughout the introduction, the perspective moves back and forth shifting in tone and style. Wyss claims that the “we” comes from Eliot’s aligning

himself with the Algonquians “whose language he has come to see as his own” (26); my argument is that the text is a product of the interpreters who would work communally *and* Eliot. Once the *Grammar* moves into individual rules, the *I* takes over. The so-called Eliot library, we can argue, is highly indebted to the work of Cockenoe, Nesuton, Sassomon, and Printer (see Wyss, Lepore, Peyer).

Despite his work with this Indian language, Eliot’s enigmatic nature did not let go of his class and racial superiority notions while it nonetheless helped him carried out what I see as a bilingual education program for the Indians (as well as himself and other missionaries) using Massachusetts Algonquian. The basis of Eliot’s program is conversion or salvation for these “very Ruines of Mankinde,” (Eliot *Indian Grammar* preface) a program many believe should also be equally credited to Mayhew (Bowden, Peyer). Although these missionaries were doing work few others were willing to do, we know they were bound politically; as previously mentioned, propagating the Gospel was part of the Puritans duties. But Eliot differed in some respects. “While he [Eliot] would not have conceded that a conflict of interest clouded his proclamation of the Gospel, it becomes clear with modern hindsight that he did intend the subjugation of the Indian peoples under Puritan political control” (Tinker 29). He saw the Indians as “pregnant witted,” and as “having understanding.” However, Eliot worked for the Puritans, and through them gained his distinction.

Eliot’s work was part of the oldest English Protestant missionary organization: the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England later to become known as the New England Company. Following his studies of the language, Eliot preached his

first sermon in Massachuset in July or September of 1646²³ to the Natives under the Sachem Cutshuhoquin who derided the efforts. Even with his interpreter, Eliot was not successful. Later that year as pressure mounted for the Mass Bay Colony, the General Court passed legislation to commit the entire colony to the missionary efforts, and all traditional Native religious practices were outlawed under an anti-blasphemy ordinance (Tinker 29). When Eliot preached the second time, he bypassed Cutshuhoquin and went instead to Nonantum and set up Waban as the mediator, and this time with the ordinance in place and his heckler quieted, Eliot successfully preached his sermon for over an hour to the Indians in their tongue (Bowden, Clark, Tinker). Yet, further examination shows that Eliot used Waban toward his own ends. As a reward for his “desire to learn more about Christianity, Waban, who formerly held no position in his tribe, was appointed Chief Minister of Justice when Eliot set up the praying town of Natick. The tactic of “making promises of positions” was used over and over again by Eliot to “obtain additional converts” (Peyer 35 also see Morrison, Tinker).

According to Eliot’s beliefs, if anything was to be done with these “wretched souls” they must first be civilized and lead submissive and humble lives. The state in which the Indians existed was seen as closer to the lower animals, a state unacceptable for Christians; Eliot sought to change that state by using “the notions of sin and salvation to create an association between guilt and traditional ways of life” (Peyer 35). As Hillary E. Wyss in *Writing Indians* claims, “the links were clear: Christianity was central to civility, which was essential to humanity. In the English view, Eliot’s task, then, was to make the Natives more human by introducing them to English manners and customs” (20). As such, the mindset was to move them into settlements where they could take on

²³ This is one of the discrepancies which points to Winthrop having altered documents (see Tinker).

the habits of the “civilized.” Together, their efforts were “inextricably tied to the development of Christian Indian communities in southern New England known as plantations or praying towns, and to the growth of vernacular literacy in New England” (Goddard and Bragdon 4). Eliot was actively involved in this work for about fifty years “emphasizing literacy as the core of conversion” (Wyss 21). Eliot also recorded and published conversion narratives; however, they are “suspect” because they had to be approved by the Puritan elite (see Silverman). In 1651, legislation was passed to allow for the establishing of the Indian plantations with the first recognized as Natick. However, it would be six years later that the Praying Indians would be allowed to plant a church there following an examination by Puritan ministers (see Tinker, Morrison). On the mainland, fourteen Praying Towns eventually would exist preceding King Philip’s War (1675-76) although there were numerous other Christian Indian communities scattered around New England. After King Philip’s War, the number of the Praying Towns was reduced to three: Natick, Punkapog, and Wamesit.

The communities were set up initially to emulate the lifestyles of the Europeans. Eliot set rules for these towns where the people live in solid English houses rather than the *wetu*. They would wear English style clothing and be fined for keeping long hair or using bear grease or biting lice. Fines would also be imposed for *pawowwing* or using a traditional healer. English style farming was the rule. They would be subject to scripturally learned laws and not government by consensus (Morrison, Lepore, Wyss, Gookin, Goddard and Bragdon and others). Since the Indians were considered one of the lost tribes of Israel, Eliot’s suggested that the Natick “government was based on biblical descriptions of the organization of the tribes of Israel . . . [thus] Waban became ruler of 50

at Natick” (Goddard and Bragdon 10). Eventually, Indian teachers and ministers were established in these praying towns, and thus integrating the community more fully into Christianity. Eliot, of course, was hoping for complete assimilation, yet for all the English-style rules, he insisted these communities be kept a physical distance from the English (Wyss, Goddard and Bragdon).

Some believe it was the praying Indians themselves who wished to remain distanced from the colonists; in that way, the Indians could maintain their culture and lifeways (see Morrison, Bowden, Peyer). In his book, *The Tutor'd Mind*, Bernd Peyer suggests that little has been written about the “similarities between Coastal Algonquian religious traditions and the adopted way of the Praying Indians” (39). These similarities he contends include the “integration of the spiritual and secular life” (39) which is natural in Native worldviews. Both Bowden and Silverman indicate that there were parallels in Christianity and the beliefs of the Indians of these towns. The New England Indians had a belief in spiritual force that influenced all life. The Natives called this power Manitou and saw the correlation to the Christian god, although one is not a substitute for the other. There were also two other spirits for the Natives, Kiehtan and Cheepi who balanced each other. Cheepi was the god of the underworld, whom the Puritans equated with Satan (Bowden, Silverman). There were differences as well, especially in the understanding of original sin. Although they understood good and evil, “the Indians did not see humans as congenitally evil” (Bowden 120). Even though differences existed, some Indians took on Christian ways. Praying towns gave opportunity to some Natives whose tribes had been decimated by disease to band together and keep hold of being Indian. Silverman describes what he sees as elements of religious transference:

The Praying Indians . . .refashioned Christianity into something familiar by placing their standing elite in church offices, using Christian holidays and charity to express Indian communal values, adding Indian oratory and music to Christian rituals, and even reinforcing certain traditional gender roles with appeals to Christian teachings. (4).

It is of little surprise in light of the tendency toward straddling cultures and the divergent thinking that occurs within Metis spaces that such lifeways would have been the case for the Praying Indians.

During this time period, there were other efforts toward Indian education had begun, but we must always question the motives. For example, an Indian school complete with its own building, was established at Harvard in 1665. In fact, a portion of Harvard's initial funding was dependant on its mission to educate the Natives. However, the school "was turned over to English students within a year of construction" and "torn down in 1698" (Morrison 183). Harvard's Indian College has a contested history as Harvard claims to have had the longest continuing Indian education most recently celebrating the 350th anniversary of its Indian College, and dedicating a plaque to the school. However, like William and Mary and Dartmouth, Harvard boasts about its commitment to Indians when the truth is that Whites were favored over Indians. They bring up their Indian education roots to look for their public image. None of these colleges currently has a real commitment to a full American Indian Studies program.²⁴ These schools are literally built of and on the blood and bones of American Indians. There were three known Indian students; one, Caleb Cheeshateaumuck graduated in 1666 only to die of consumption a

²⁴ Although these schools do have what they call Native Studies and have some experts in Native American history, culture and literature, these programs are pieced together by the students themselves so they get credit for such a program. However, a full Native Studies Program as are available at the University of Arizona, for example, does not exist in the east.

year later (see Peyer, DeJong). In her book *Roofwalker*, Susan Power pays tribute to Cheeshateaumuck:

As I head for class each morning, I find myself going out of my way wandering behind Matthew's Hall to that spot where the Indian College once stood . . . I am looking for Caleb Cheeshateaumuck. . . . I am haunted by this young man who has been dead for over three hundred years. I was taught to believe that time was not a linear stream, but a hoop spinning forward like a wheel, where everything is connected and everything is eternal. In this cosmology, I am here because Caleb came before me and he was here in anticipation of me. We are bonded together across time. . . . (126-27).

Ironically this Indian College became the printing house in not only to print the Massachuset Bibles, but to later print the captivity narratives which were widely read instruments of empire. Eliot also had ties with Harvard because of the printing house, and because he funded an Indian student's education (Clark, Peyer).

While the Indians in the praying towns were being taught in their language, the ultimate goal was to move them toward literacy in English. Even so, with the promise of salvation and living harmoniously in this turned-over world, Indians would have new struggles to face as literate people. As happened in many communities who assimilated in American history, the literate Indians were viewed with suspicion from both Indians and colonizers. According to Jill Lepore, "literacy . . . was a special kind of marker, one that branded its possessor , perhaps mostly in his own eyes, as an Indian who had spent years with the English and whose very 'Indianess' was called into question" (Lepore 43). As such, the violence of literacy is present (Lepore, Stuckey). Lepore's story of John Sassamon, a literate Indian, in *The Name of War* shows the violence of literacy as he could likely have been killed for his literate acts. His murder resulted in the first civil war in America, King Phillip's War, which took place in New England from 1675-76.

During King Philip's War, Indians of the Praying Towns were subject to abuses by the colonizers. Even with their assimilation and their literacy, once King Philip's War broke out in New England the Indian people were secured in five of the Praying Towns, and in October 1675 interred on Deer Island in Boston Harbor left to starve through the brutal winter or sold into slavery (Bowden 132). Eliot's wish for complete assimilation would not occur.

From about 1660 to 1750, many southeastern New England Indians learned to read and write in their mother tongue, and even became teachers of and preachers in their native tongue. Goddard and Bragdon remind us, "The significance of the Massachusetts literacy lies not only in its relatively early occurrence, but in its longevity as well" (18). Yet what were the consequences and uses of such vernacular literacy? And who was in charge of this literacy? Read closely, these Massachusetts texts give voice to how Indians *used* writing.

A Reading of Early Metis Space Writing

As Malea Powell has said, "the turn to native peoples' writing is still in odd project in composition and rhetoric" (Powell "Rhetorics" 397). Many American Indian writings have been recovered in recent years. Much has been said about these writings as literature, but studying them within composition and rhetoric is a current trend. The documents that follow are but a few samples of those found in the Goddard and Bragdon collection *Native Writings in Massachusetts*. When I came across these texts in the library, I was astonished and in awe. Although I knew a few phrases of my ancestral language, I was unaware such an extensive collection of writing existed. Taken

collectively, these documents provide a new story, a story of survivance. My attempt here is to engage in a close reading of the texts they have been translated by Goddard and Bragdon²⁵ and, as Powell, “pay close attention to the language of survivance. . . that they [American Indians] use in order to reimagine and, literally, refigure “ the Indian” and in these cases Indian literacy (Powell “Rhetorics” 400).

Vernacular literacy grew among the New England Indians. We find that, “by 1698, a committee appointed by the New England Company found that each native community had a number of literate members, and that many more were being instructed. . . . [and] by the beginning of the eighteenth century almost 30% of the native population could read” a figure that compares equally or higher with the English at that period (Goddard and Bragdon 14). The texts themselves also reveal a strong oral/written connection. Whether they be within the texts wills, petitions, or marginalia, the writing within the texts often makes a direct connection to listeners, for example words such as *wah too oge* --know this-- are used to secure an agreement; yet, it is not just a command, but also a way to evoke memory. As well, there are references those present as the writing is *heard*: *imen-uh ke-tau su kah magun ut ana quabt titt* --it is confirmed and given in their presence-- illustrating that whatever transaction is an act of community as well as a marker of orality. As a way to remind us of the commitment to community, we have *pom-mon-tam miche-me yeu nis-sin en wa-me ken-nau ne-ma-tog wee-chi-yeu-mun-nog ut um-mis-sa tup-poo onk* --I live always. I say this to all of you my brothers and my sisters-- showing the worldview of ancestors being present with us always (nonlinear time), and the demonstration of a temporal continuum (Goddard and Bragdon

²⁵ Of course my great desire would be to read the texts in the original language, using that as a basis for my listening. However, at this point in time I am not studied enough in my ancestral language and thus cannot do honor to the words. I do use phrases and look for distinctions where I am able.

356-7 Document138). This last phrase acts as well as a survivance statement despite the attempts to erase Indian culture; they demonstrate straddling the cultures. Goddard and Bragdon have noted that “few documents are singularly written,” and many “speak for more than one person” (20). Often the transactions recorded included direct quotations of verbal deals and as Goddard and Bragdon point out, “demonstrate continued validity of verbal agreements after the adoption of literacy” (14). Early writings serve more as “an aid to memory rather than as independent forms of communication” (19). As such orality then is used to support the literacy.

Indian words were used in legal documents to denote them as particularly Native. The town records in existence all come from Natick, and they contain phrases which reflect Native understandings: *na-nau-wun-nua-cheg* –magistrate-- comes from the stem meaning to order, or *ne-con-shae-nin* is drawn from elements meaning --the man who goes in front-- for examples. Yet, even while these hierarchies were set up, “the Indians did not abandon their tendency to view their social group as an on-going institution whose members were bound by ties of loyalty as well as kinship to those of the past and future” (6). We see evidence of sustaining the contradictions.

While reading these texts, I think about the “conditions” under which they have been written. My scholarship has taken me on many paths, and I hope to do honor to these texts. Before I go further, I will apologize here to my ancestors and elders for any mistakes I may make. My attempt is to listen carefully while I investigate the sites and acts of this literacy. Although there are many, I have tried to choose texts which provide examples of the depth and breadth of the literacy and the conditions. Please note, I have also used Goddard and Bragdon’s number system of the documents for ease of reference;

for the Bible Marginalia, I use the Bible number and the page location in the Goddard and Bragdon work. I elected to analyze the petitions first because they show how the Natives mimicked the dominant discourse to address their problems. Next, I selected among some land exchanges to suggest the connections to land and community. Finally, I work with the Bible Marginalia because I find them to exemplify some of the practices of writing we in the field of Composition see. All the texts I have selected, and the majority I left out, reveal survivance rhetoric.

This document is a 1752 petition of the Mashpee Indians. For ease in reading, I use a table format for document and my analysis (left and right respectively). Document 154 or the petition of the Mashpee Indians is, to a large extent, a traditional rhetorical appeal to the English which addresses the treatment of the Indians by the English. While the traditional form is present and the content seemingly obvious, there are a number of rhetorical moves where the Indians use this form to both mimic the petition form and to say even more to bring the governing body to awareness.²⁶ In ““Emphaticall Speech and Great Action,”” Kathleen Bragdon informs us that, “the petition . . . incorporates several standard phrases that appear to have been part of the traditional Massachuset oral petition” (103). The document here has several markers which “reinforce community and solidarity” (108).

²⁶ For purposes of comparison, I have included a plea from an English Baptist minister in 1774 in the appendices.

Document 154

<p>Petition of the MashpeeBarnstable, June 11, 1752</p> <p>Oh! Our honorable gentlemen and kind gentlemen in Boston in Massachusetts By, here in New England, the great ones who oversee the colony in Boston, gentlemen. Oh!, Oh!, gentlemen, hear us now, Oh! Ye, us poor Indians. We do not clearly have thorough understanding and wisdom. Therefore we now beseech you, Oh!, Boston gentlemen.</p> <p>Oh! Hear our weeping, and hear our beseeching of you, Oh!, and answer this beseeching of you by us, Oh!, gentlemen of Boston, us poor Indians in Mashpee <u>in Barnstable County</u></p>	<p>A traditional rhetorical appeal:</p> <p>Here is the salutation “Oh! Honorable gentlemen and kind . . . , in a way which signifies respect and honor.</p> <p>There is the appeal to the audience with the repetition of “Oh!” and an invitation to participate, to “Hear our weeping, and hear our beseeching.”</p> <p>Moreover, the ethos is established in that the Indians refer to themselves as “us poor Indians in Mashpee.” Use of this term repeatedly in the writing suggests a defining of border crossing as occurs in Metis spaces—the colonists want to see us this way, so we we be this way, for now.</p>
<p>Now we beseech you, what can we do with regard to our land, which was conveyed to you by these former sachems of ours. What they conveyed to you(?) was this piece of land (land). This was conveyed to us by Indian sachems.</p> <p>Our former Indian sachems were called Sachem Wuttammohkin and Sachem Quettatsett, in Barnstable County, the Mashpee Indian place. This Indian land, this was conveyed to us by these former sachems of ours. We shall not give it away, nor shall it be sold, nor shall it be lent, but we shall always use it as long as we live, we together with all our children, and our children’s children, and our descendants, and together with all their descendants. They shall always use it as long as Christian Indians live.</p>	<p>In the narratio, the problem is addressed: “what can we do with regard to our land” and the acknowledgement of the land being “conveyed” by those in power (the Sachems).</p> <p>Here they establish a continuum.</p> <p>In the dispositio and refutatio, the conveyance of the land is made clear, and that this land will be used generation after generation. The community is instilled as a negotiator in the land claim demonstrating a belief system which looks to the generations past and future—a temporal continuum (Bragdon 108).</p>

<p>We shall use it forever and ever. Unless we all peacefully agree to give it away or to sell it. But as of now not one of all of us Indians has yet agreed to give away, or sell, or lend this Indian land, or marsh, or wood. Fairly, then it is this: we state frankly we have never conveyed them away.</p>	<p>Here, too, is the mention of the Indians as “Christians,” a tactical move to have the audience see the “neighbors” are not acting in a “Christian” way. Here the move to recognize the incompatibility of the groups. The claim is made for both the land and that the land will remain as Indian land.</p>
<p>But now clearly we Indians say this to all you gentlemen of ours in Boston: We poor Indians in Mashpee, <u>in Barnstable County</u>, we truly are much troubled by these English neighbors of ours being on this land of ours, and in our marsh and trees. Against our will these Englishmen take away from us {these} what was our land. They parcel it out to each other, and the marsh along with it, against our will. And as for our streams, they do not allow us peacefully to be when we peacefully go fishing. They beat us greatly, and they have houses on our land against our will. Truly we think it is this: We poor Indians soon shall not have any place to reside, together with our poor children, because these Englishmen trouble us very much in this place of ours in Mashpee, Barnstable County.</p>	<p>Following there is another problem addressed: being “troubled by these English neighbors.” Here is the claim that Indian land is being taken, and that the English neighbors “beat them greatly” and “take away” their land. Furthermore, the want to be treated humanely is invoked. Again the incompatibility of the groups is shown, but the Indians claim is they try to be peaceful. As Jace Weaver points out in his discussion of other documents, “They hoped that their pose would make their white audiences recognize Indians’ humanity as a people and the significance of their tribal culture and history” (49).</p>
<p>Therefore, now, Oh! You kind gentlemen in Boston, in Massachusetts Bay, now we beseech you: defend us, and they would not trouble us anymore on our land.</p>	<p>In the conclusio, the petition requests the “gentlemen of Boston” to “defend” the Indians.</p>

There are no signatures to Document 154, and Goddard and Bragdon concur that this “may reflect the form of aboriginal oral petitions presented to sachems, which would not have and end with a listing of names” (22). As such the document is a hybrid text taking conventions from both the English and Natives.

Document 154 is one of four known surviving petitions. Document 49, a petition from the Gayhead Indians, was written earlier on September 5, 1749. The Christian

Indians were being encouraged to settle and become farmers like the English. These Indians also use the English notions of being farmers and livestock owners to address wrongs committed against them. It is addressed to the “Commissioners of Boston, and also the General Court” and asks to release the Indians from a law passed two years prior which requires them to lease out their land to their “Guardians.”

Document 45

Petition of the Gayhead Indians September the 5, 1749

At Gayhead the poor Indians met together, we who are the proprietors. They made a humble petition, by vote, to you, the honorable Commissioners in Boston, and also to the General Court. Humbly, we beseech you, we the poor Indians who are the proprietors of Gayhead: defend us much more regarding our land at Gayhead.

We need what (will) be better (“for us”) other years that (will) come. We would plant our gardens on (the land) that the Guardians have leased out for six years, from when it was first leased out on October the 20, 1747. And we have become poorer and poorer, from that time until today. No longer do we have pasturage freely where our animals can feed, except if we rent (buy or hire) pasturage, to this day.

Previously it was not so. Before this new law came we had at all times enough pasturage and also gardens.

Another traditional rhetorical appeal:

Although there is no formal salutation, there is a plea to be heard. The tone is respectful.

The ethos is established in not only saying we are the “proprietors, but by utilizing a self-effacing strategy: “the poor Indians met together and “they made a humble petition”

Thus, it appeals on two levels, and it has become a Metis space as a site of social negotiation.

The declaration is direct: “defend us” making themselves as “proprietors” a presence.

The narratio lays out the situation:

They discuss the terms of the “lease” that has made them “poorer and poorer.” They dispute the right of the “Guardians.” While they argue on current use of the land, they demonstrate both a communal owning of the land “we would plant our gardens,” and the temporal continuum “other years (that) will come.”

They point out differences in the concept of ownership; because of this “lease,” “no longer do we have pasturage freely where our animals can feed.” However, this statement also points to the similar

existence of the two cultures—raising animals—which counters the European view of the “savages.” This clever straddling of the two cultures, a trickster discourse, is true survivance strategy.

Once more a temporal continuum is used: “at all times.”

Therefore we humbly
pray that there may be released to us our
land
that has been leased out. We say we are
weary of renting (“hiring”) more pasturage.
and this year we (shall) use everything they
do not lease out,
and another year the poor Indians will not
have gardens.

Therefore we humbly pray that this new
law may be taken away
from us, because this new law came
when these Englishmen were unable (“had
not the power”) to treat us
as they pleased [[*noh* before this new law
came
these Englishmen were unable then ? to use
our land.]]
on this land of ours. Therefore we say (we)
would (have) only the law of our King
George used for us on this land of ours at
Gayhead.

and we also say regarding this land of ours
at Gayhead that has been leased out by

In the *dispositio* and the *refutatio*, they use
repetition indicating orality in the written.
As well, they use the tone of humility
which would have been favored by the
Commissioners.
Again, they point to current “use” of land.

Now they make a shift to dispute “the
power” that the “new law” granted the
Englishmen. They are critical of this
imposed law.

Now they shift again to a highly
sophisticated rhetorical strategy in evoking
a higher authority, one that the Englishmen
themselves must listen to.
Jenny Hale Pulpipher sees this type of
interaction as “a seventeenth-century world
of interconnected English and Indian
power, where one culture could, and did,
use the other to bolster its own quest for
power in a struggle” (5). It is a marker of
survivance, and an example of trickster
discourse.

They further their cause by writing of the
sins of the Guardians: “we are being

the Guardians, that we are deceived regarding the money that comes (from it). Every year there comes four hundred and sixty-five pounds. And also we have other meadows and there is a part of that they have also leased out for only £2-0-0. And also one other thing: the island meadow at Menemsha the English took away from us. and all the money that comes, few men and also women and children have a share. This one year that has come each one, man, woman, and children, had for the half year only £0-15-0, and also for the other half year each one has £0-14-0.

And many people, men and also women and children, were not given a share from the money that came.

and all the Indian souls at Gayhead, man, woman, and children, number about 165.

And all the animals of us Indians at Gayhead number about 400— if the sheep could be counted that is how many would be counted. These have no foddering place freely, except if we rent (“buy”) pasturage for our animals, from that time when the law came until today.

And this year the poor Indians of Gayhead have been given no money to this day and already for a long time. Many are starving (“suffering for want”). they have no food. And many times they go to the Guardians (and) seek money, (but) they are not given money or anything. And since (?) this new law came to us we are even poorer.

Therefore humbly we pray that this new law may be taken away.
[[Mr. Elisha Tupper, we beseech you,

deceived,” and they list their grievances.

Community and solidarity is echoed throughout with the consistent use of “we,” “us,” and “our.”

They bring in a further injustice “the English took the land” and all the income from it. They demonstrate their record-keeping, which shows their ability to take on strategies from the dominant culture.

Here they remind them of “Indian souls” evoking a Christian appeal. Using the church as a political forum, they could charge the English with failing to practice what they preach (see Silverman). Other Indian writers such as Occom and Apess would also charge the colonists with those failures.

By showing the “souls” as “starving” and “suffering for want” they again appeal to the Christian sensibilities of the Commission. Both subverted and overt survivance strategies are at play.

In the conclusion, they again become “humble” asking the “law be taken away.” Interestingly, they “beseech one man in

defend us about this.]]
thirty one signatures Proprietors
Zachary Hossueit, clerk at Gayhead
A true petition.

particular. They make a point of this being
a “true petition” and use “Proprietors”
again.
Then thirty one people sign (not included
here).

In “The Church in New England Indian Community Life,” David J. Silverman claims that this petition was likely written in the community church, which “had become a central Wampanoag political institution” (275). His evidence comes from the order of the signatures which were “clustered by sex, like the gendered seating in the church” (275). Moreover, we know from records that Zachary Hossueit is also the Indian minister, and Sunday worship “offered a place where they could discuss common problems” (276, see also Goddard and Bragdon). As a result of this petition, the Commission investigated and replaced these Guardians with three others (see Silverman). It’s worth noting, too, that the threat to bring complaints directly to the King is not an idle one. In 1760, Reuben Cogenaw was sent by the Wampanoag to King George. The charges were also against the “Guardians” who had been forced upon the Indian peoples at Mashpee, Aquinnah (Gay Head) and other smaller settlements. After a circuitous route where he was almost sold as a slave, Cogenaw brought the complaints before King George (see Mandell and Silverman) because the Commissioners in Boston were not responding to the problems. The New England Natives were *using* their writing to “rule themselves” (Mandell 303). It served them as a survivance strategy.

The two other petitions each regard people of their respective communities. Document 50 from Mashpee, is a plea to help their minister pay a debt so he can be at peace to preach, and to let the Commissioners know that the “English schoolmaster” is not needed at this time. Since the minister is a Native person, it may be the community

does not want the outside influence of a non-Native schoolmaster. Lastly, from Gayhead, Document 65 is written in protest of a judge appointed to them. They point out that the person chosen, Elisha Amos, a Native influenced by Whites, has “robbed us of our gardens and also our fresh meadows and our land.” The most obvious strategy included is to end with a reference to a Bible verse Job 34:30. There is only the number, but the verse itself reads *let not the hypocrite rule*. By using this Bible verse, the petitioners have engaged in Metis space trickster discourse using the English way of referring to Scripture against them.

Transactions, especially involving land, are more numerous among the documents or at least the most among the documents that have survived. Unlike early English documents (especially wills and land transfers) which inventory belongings and place restrictions on transactions, these Massachusetts documents have various purposes, and hold stories of the ways Indians *used* writing. While there are some land transactions and wills which follow the form of the English, many refer differently to the land itself and the people’s relationship with it. Some may be a relatively simple exchange or agreement. Other documents may be confirmations of transactions “to protect or confirm ownership rights” (Goddard and Bragdon 15). There are also documents that record transactions which took place in the past; these contain “a transcription, including direct quotations, of a verbal transaction” (14).

Document 72

Land Conveyance

I Nekanoosoo and I Wawenut, we convey to Jacob Woshamun land, freely,	Here is a demonstration of communal understanding. The land is not owned in
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<p>seventeen acres at the top (?) of the oldfield, as far as the pond goes, <u>ue</u> westwards, and <u>uessuh</u> towards the sea as far as the oldfield extends (?) and where the house of Jacob Washamun is.</p>	<p>the same way as the English perceived ownership. Even though it is a land transfer, it is not for money as it is given “freely.”</p> <p>We see the people as “tied to the landscape” and “landscape features serving as mnemonic devices (Bragdon 108).</p>
<p>We thus convey it to him for him also to have it regarding all of it (?), while he lives, Jacob Washam [un], and all his posterity, and for him to own it all by right</p>	<p>Again, the land is given freely, a gift it seems as there is no mention of monetary compensation</p>
<p>Trouble (shall) not come to him regarding this land.</p>	<p>A word is a bond—no broken treaty</p>
<p>I Nekanoosoo, this is my rightful property, therefore (?) I say it, and Wawenut. This, Ja[cob], if (?) he does not sell it, he owns it, Jacob and h[is] [pos]terity.</p>	<p>It is given free and clear.</p>
<p>I nekanoosoo and I wawe[nut], this is our hand, this 6th of the 12th month (February), 1679, (X). Witnesses: Wunnachnattoun, Tatakommawk.</p>	<p>The “I” “we” constructions in this document, especially at the beginning and end, are of interest demonstrating not only the importance of identification, perhaps a mimicking of the English form, but also to emphasize the collaboration as a communal activity. It also points back to what Anzaldúa calls the Mestiza consciousness. In the end are two witnesses an important determiner of how orality is supported.</p>

In other such documents we can read some fascinating commentary to especially demonstrate the communal perspectives. Arguably, these communal decisions represent the “divergent thinking of Metis spaces, which is “characterized by movement away from set patterns and goals toward a more whole perspective, one that includes rather than excludes” (Anzaldúa 101). For example, Document 67 discusses a “bargaining” for the

land with several witnesses—six in all. The document ends with “I have made this for all of you” and is dated. Another record of land assignments is from Natick town records. Document 108 “describes the division of the meadow Wunnetoemaug” (Goddard and Bragdon 304). Each share is distributed, yet the last is singled out: “When she dies then the land and the apple trees return to Peter Ephriam. This is done in regard to those things.” The “land and the apple trees” could be both a tie to the landscape, or serve as a mnemonic device “to trigger more extensive memories for the Native clerk” (Bragdon 107). A further example is found in Document 133 which emphasizes ties to the landscape. When describing the parcel, the markers are “a young cedar tree . . . the shore of a pond” to “a pine tree—I Apoteauh have marked.” The land then follows the water, and “there stands a big, white oak. These markers are just that until we read the end: “I convey to him everything—land, trees, and everything that grows there . . . [We shall] not meddle with it as long as the earth exists.” Often these landscape features marked places of significance for the people, that is, places that held stories, and they act as mnemonic devices. As Clara Sue Kidwell and others explain, “the land and spatiality constitute the basic metaphor for existence and determine much of a community’s life” (46). Thinking in terms of the earth’s continuance, “as long as the earth exists,” we note a particularly Native belief of being “oriented to the repetition of events” (cyclic) in contrast to the Christian notion of “an ultimate end” (linear) (Kidwell 13). In Document 1, a will, we have the same phrase occurring when Quateatashshit “do[es] not sell this, but I bequeath this island Mashshinneah, entirely, everything of land, and all the grass . . . as long as the earth exists. . . .”

Document 81

Testimony

<p>I James Momog have written it. This was said to me by the late (?) Soosooohquoh, (also called) Chaptan (“Jeptha”), Sachem at Nantucket, at a meeting there of</p> <p>All his chief men and his brother.</p>	<p>A demonstration of memory. Here is a recollection and a definition of community</p> <p>The social group is an ongoing institution.</p>
<p>They considered what people should have a common in this town (“township”) of Soosooahquah’s (“Jep<t>has”). And they had agreed that James Momog had two commons, because Soosooohquah (“Jeptha”), the sachem, and Josep Momog (“Joseph Mamuk”), these two were brothers. And I, James Momog (“Mamuk”), am the son of Josep Mamog (“Joseph Mamuck”) (who was) the brother of Soosooahquah (“Jeptha”), and therefore he approved of it. And the sachem Soosooahquoh said to me, “You James Momog (“Mamak”) have two commons in this town of mine.”</p>	<p>Communal act. Writing doesn’t happen alone</p> <p>Commons are communal grazing lands.</p> <p>Here is the notion of kinship. As well, we can note the orality here—with the literacy supporting it.</p> <p>Note the naming of the participants and the use of direct quotations. According to Kathleen Bragdon, this “documents actual speech events . . . and are clearly faithful representation of form and speech” (102).</p> <p>These quotations also “validate the document” (Goddard and Bragdon 21).</p>
<p>And the sachem Soosooahquoh said to me, “You James Momog (“Mamak”) have two commons in this town of mine.” Clearly (these) men know that this is the truth. One (is): “I, Daniel Spatsoo, clearly formerly heard Soosooahquah, Chaptan (“Jeptha”), say, I conveyed to James Momog (“Mamuk”) two commons.” And one (is) Masquat: “I know it to be thus. This is my mark.” (X) And one is Davit Weyapation (“David Yopawshan”): “I know it to be thus; (this is) my hand.”</p>	<p>Further demonstration of memory. Writing supports orality. We can again note the kinship, and see that the writing doesn’t happen alone.</p> <p>The “social status is emphasized” (Bragdon 104) with the Sachem speaking first and each following in turn.</p> <p>Other writings (like the petitions) indicate that the commons were often places of contention between the English and the Natives. This document serves to be clear about ownership.</p> <p>Again, here is support of the speech acts.</p>

<p>And now Ban Abal (“Ben Abel”) is sahem succeeding his father and his grandfather, Chaptan (“Jeptha”), and Ban Abell (“Ben Abel”), the sachem, approves of it that way, that consequently it be done the way his grandfather set it up, (and) that consequently James Momog (“Mamak”) have two commons in this town of his.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">I, Ban Abal (“Ben Abel”), my <u>mark (X).</u></p>	<p>Here is the temporal continuum and genealogical evidence. This also serves to honor the elders.</p> <p>A repetition to again let it be known this is approved by the leader (sachem), and be respectful to “his grandfather.”</p>
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Document 81 not only serves to testify, but represents the gift of memory of the people. As Bragdon points out, “They were able to repeat conversations verbatim between individuals long dead” (107). She continues by telling us that “repetitions of these exchanges as well as genealogical relationships, was a part of a formal address that served in the absence of writing” (107). Here we have seen *how* writing is *used* to support the orality in this document.

Following are some examples from the Bible marginalia most of which occurs on pages of the Eliot bibles. The marginalia is fascinating because it runs both to and counter to the verses where it occurs in its content and its positioning on the page. I would argue this writing in the margins contributes to the divergent thinking and tolerance for contradictions occurring in Metis spaces. Hillary Wyss writes, “As these individuals use writing to record their thoughts . . . they participate in colonial society. At the same time they use their Bibles to both mark the profound and the mundane which departs from the Anglo-American norm” (31). A great many of the Bibles were cut down and marginalia lost; however, what remains is often practice of letters, numbers, and words

demonstrating a desire to be literate. There are also indications of life events where journeys, places, deaths or other events are marked. There are references to Scripture, indicating perhaps the writer is a minister, alongside comments about the Native people's names or even their feelings. These markings give insight to the ways in which the Natives used writing to deal with the "happenings in the world."

What particularly intrigues me is the community representation in the marginalia like in some of the land grants above. For example, a Bible would seem to belong to one person, and the writing specifies the ownership: (*nen Nnanahdinno yu noo sooh quah honk*) "I Nannahdinno, this is my book" (B 16). However, it's clear (on the originals) that others wrote on the pages, indicating the books are shared as in Bible 45, "I Simon Papeneau, this is my book," and later on the page, "This is Papeneau's book, I am looking after it" (417). Goddard and Bragdon's detailed attention to the documents provides evidence by noting the multiple handwriting and the varying colors of ink. At some points the writer states that the Bible was given to someone else to use or even shared: I am Anannahdino, you are Conohonuma (B16, 393). While the colonists are promoting ownership and individualism, the Natives own the texts for the purpose of sharing with the community moving outside the rigid boundaries of the colonists. Not only are they maintaining their communal activities, they are using the weapon of empire to document their resistance. They write about and to each other in the margins.

The marginalia, like the other documents, provides information on daily life, yet differs in the sense that there is more of what I might call free writing or free expression. For example in the 1 Kings, the annotation mentioned in Section I, "I am not able to defend myself from the happenings in the world," begs for interpretation. When read in

one way, there could be some determinations that the converts were succumbing to what Ngugi Wa Thiong'o calls the cultural bomb. However in listening to the text, I would argue differently to say that the writing is an act of survivance. My reading here listens to a direct response to the colonial situation. What would appear on the surface to be an admission of defeat or helplessness, as an abstraction, an act of survivance it does not indicate defeat, but one where the writer states, I will accept am who I am regardless of this change around me. In a sense it is like the annotation which is more direct and reads "I am a person" (B 45, 419), which can be a straightforward response to being seen as less than human. A further example is in Bible 46: "Know ye all people, there is going to be a new storm" (B 46, 457). While the writer can certainly be commenting on the "final storm" of *Revelations*, I can't help but wonder about the metaphor of the underlying sense of chaos or disruption going on in the Native world. In these cases, Indian writers are *using* the tools given to them to state their positions. They write with a Metis space consciousness, straddling the worlds, yet not in a defiant sense. We see the resistance cleverly holding together the differences between the cultures.

At other times we find direct statements about the relationship to Christianity. On one page it is stated, "Many have read this book. I saw it" (B45, 433) demonstrating that this writer has probably had experience with a Christian community, or more than one, or is perhaps a minister or teacher. Another reads, "Remember you people, this book is right . . ." (B45, 419), and a further accepting statement is philosophical: "There is much of this word of God, this bible, and Lord Jesus Christ, and the one who believes in him shall find eternal life (B45, 433). To my understanding these statements demonstrate intellectual thought as the writers become more comfortable with the pen. Of course we

have the reminders of how to practice the new religion in “I Simon Papeneau say this to all my friends, all of you pray hard” (B45, 437).

In contrast, there are also some indirect statements about Christianity. An annotation in *Acts* is worth noting: “My brothers, remember love for God and all people, always” (B 45, 417). The chapter *Acts* begins with the day of Pentecost where all nations have come together and are speaking in tongues, yet all could understand. It seems this writer is using a survivance strategy by marking this passage and passing on the reminder to not only “love” God, but “all peoples.” This heteroglossic statement reveals, I would argue, an understanding of the passage beyond the bounds of any religion. Other statements indicate resistance such as “I am forever a pitiful person in the world. I am not able clearly to read this, this book” (B45, 423) and “I do not like very much to read many writings . . .” (B45, 423). These two writers state their issues indicating their dissatisfaction with things. There are also ambiguous statements like “I Samuel say this Papeneau: If you pray hard to your God . . .” and later “Your God will bless you” (B45 423). Now, is Samuel answering to Papeneau’s advice to “pray hard”? Moreover why do the writers use “your God”? Again the subtle shift in pronoun can be read as survivance rhetoric and indicate a tolerance for the ambiguity in the events surrounding them.

As I think back to the sermon of the Sun Priest and read the Bible marginalia, I am reminded of Gerald Vizenor’s discussion of the trickster which he calls, a “brilliant act” (Interview). The trickster is the “figure in the story who liberates the mind. . . can do anything . . . but comes to nothing in the end” (Interview). However this trickster discourse has a purpose which works to turn things around. The stories in the Bible

writes, “by 1700, Indian missions were a familiar enterprise” (134). Missionaries were by now all over the continent setting up communities with schools and churches.

In New England, there were a number of missionaries who still sought to save Native souls. John Sergeant moved to Stockbridge in 1735 and set up an Indian community with a meeting house and school among the Muhhekaneew. Like Eliot, Sergeant learned to speak the dialect of his pupils. He “translated prayers, Bible lessons and an elementary catechism” (137) into the Mahican language. However, he sought, as he wrote in 1743, to eventually, “introduce the *English* Language among them instead of their own imperfect and barbarous *Dialect*” (qtd. in Reyhner 29). Sergeant served as missionary for fourteen years until his death upon which Jonathan Edwards took over, however, it was the younger Edwards who interacted with the Indians. In his book, *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*, Edwards relates how he was six years old when his family moved to Stockbridge among approximately twelve Anglo families and one hundred fifty Indian families. Because he lived closer to the Indian families, he “constantly associated with them; their boys [his] daily school-mates and play-fellows” (Edwards 9). Being immersed in their language, young Edwards learned to speak fluently, and “it became more familiar . . . than [his] mother tongue” (9). Because of his language immersion, “even all my thoughts ran in Indian” (9). While Edwards discusses missionary work, he is more focused on a concise and comparative analysis of the Mahican language. In his later years, Edwards decides to compile his observations of the language. Once he had them on paper, he “carried them to Stockbridge, and read them to Capt. Yōghum, a principle chief of the tribe, who is well-versed in his own language and tolerably informed concerning the English” (9-10). Edwards sought the help of

Yōghum to be more accurate; he says, “I availed myself of his remarks and corrections” (10). This interesting exchange marks a rare occurrence in colonial relations.

In Connecticut, there were other missionary actions taking place. In 1671, Reverend James Fitch was in Norwich among the Mohegans, and later Mathew Mayhew came from Chilmark in 1713 and 1714 (Love 24). According to W. DeLoss Love in his book *Samson Occom and the Christian Indians in New England* in 1723,

Captain John Mason, the guardian of the Mohegans, who had some acquaintance with their language, received permission from the General Assembly to live among them, and it was recommended that he set up a school and acquaint the Indians with the Christian religion. (27)

Just as the missionaries in New England, Mason had the assistance of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. After teaching in his own dwelling for the first years, “in 1727, a schoolhouse was built and he was established as schoolmaster” (27). Upon examination in 1728 by “two neighboring ministers,” the Indian students could spell and “some could read ‘pretty tolerably’” (27). The students were also able to recite prayers and catechisms. Other well-known ministers visited and preached at Mason’s school, and one Indian student, Ben Uncas, “proved to be so proficient” that a well-established and influential minister, Reverend Eliphalet Adams, took the young Indian to his home for five years. During that time, Uncas was “‘put upon grammar learning,’” and thereafter Uncas was apprenticed to others in order to be qualified as a preacher (28). In the following years, Mason’s relationship with the Indians and his school went into decline, because of their distrust of whites, Indian parents would not send their children there, and support was withdrawn in 1738. However, several other missionary schools were

established, one which would produce an Ivy League college and an early Indian intellectual.²⁷

Reverend Eleazar Wheelock of Lebanon, Connecticut began his ministry in 1735 whereupon he established his Indian school. W. DeLoss Love reports that Wheelock possessed a “personal magnetism” and “the Indians especially felt the power of this gift and remarked on it” (36). This affection for the head of a school was not uncommon, nor did it stop the Indians from enacting a mestiza consciousness as they struggled in these systems. In 1740, Wheelock took in his most famous student, Samson Occom. As Love states, “Wheelock opened the door and the youth who was to become the foremost of his race entered with new hope. . . . The teacher recognized at once the slumbering talents of his pupil” (37). Because of “his success” with Occom, Wheelock began recruiting Indian youth for his Moor’s Indian Charity School in 1754. It was Wheelock’s belief that the children should be removed from their homes and board at the school (Reyner 30). To those who funded him, his efforts were considered successful and many young Indian men and women spent time at the school; several men became missionaries and teachers (women learned domestic skills), and a few, like Joseph Brant became leaders of their tribes. In 1770, Wheelock brought the Indian youth to Hanover, NH where they helped build a new school; after a time that Indian school became known as Dartmouth College. Although the original charter for the school intended upon there being education for Indian youth, Dartmouth soon became a school for whites, and as a result, his prodigy soon came to criticize the intentions of Wheelock (see Love, McCallum, Calloway).

Letters written by the students were used “to promote funding” (Calloway *The World* 62). The Amer-Europeans were always in need of “proof” that their conversion-

²⁷ For a discussion of American Indian intellectuals see Robert Warrior, Malea Powell, and others.

education projects were working. Observations by other ministers and such were not uncommon, yet literacy now became the tool by which the world could know of the successes. Letters, then, became a powerfully persuasive means by which money could be raised to support the ministers in their schools. However, in the racialized hierarchy, things were not always equal as the letters often reveal. In “This Once Savage Heart of Mine,” Tammy Schneider writes, “. . . letters illustrate for the reader a struggle in power relations between a dominant European civilization and a colonized people” (233-34). Using Foucault’s theories from *Discipline and Punish*, Schneider constructs a reading of some of these collected letters through the construct of the body as the site of power relations (235, 238). She notes, “Institutions such as the school and the military found that a body that is ‘manipulated, shaped and trained’ is, in turn, compliant, responsive and proficient” (238). She claims Wheelock “strictly regimented” the students at Moor’s Charity School, and once they went into their fieldwork, he used other, white teachers to report on them. Additionally, although Wheelock is sincere on some levels in his wanting to educate Indian youth, he maintains a position of white superiority. (238-39). However, as we see through their uses of writing, these bodies were not always compliant, and enacted true survivance rhetoric.

In 1932, James Dow McCallum edited a collection titled *Letters of Eleazar Wheelock’s Indians*. When I purchased a first edition of the text, I was surprised and troubled by a pamphlet tucked inside which advertised the publication (see Appendices for a copy of the pamphlet). It begins:

Not a single volume of genuine American literature is in existence today!
This is a startling statement, but true when we realize that the Indians,
discovered by the colonists in eastern America, were the real Americans.
These redmen built no traceable cities. They erected almost no

monuments. They created no culture. And they left no first-hand literature. (Dartmouth College Publications 1932).

Although I am aware of the sentiments of the era, it still astonished me that a publication from Dartmouth, a school which was founded on Indian labor, would harbor such remarks. Not only is the writer of the pamphlet racist, he is also wrong. The Massachusetts documents are literature filled with metaphor and social commentary, and multiple, rich Indian cultures exist across the Americas! The pamphlet, however, goes on to describe Wheelock's "unfailing courage" in his attempts to "educate and Christianize the untamed redskin." The book does contain "genuine Indian letters," but the editor writes in the introduction, "Many of the letters are quaint; some are humorous; a few are of importance historically—all are misspelled. The reader who is not accustomed to such material will be amused at first as though he were watching some captive animal performing tricks" (McCallum 11). Each group of letters is prefaced with information about the writers, often to discuss their "savage" ways. In sum, the book portrays Wheelock as the Saint who rescued the heathen. However, a mestiza consciousness is present in the letters as the Indians demonstrate their negotiating a Metis space of cultural uncertainty. To my mixedblood mind, these letters appropriate the colonizer discourse to keep these incompatible pieces of their world together.

In September 1771, Daniel Simon, one of five siblings to attend Moor's Charity School, writes a letter asking to be allowed to study in the winter and work in the spring. It was common practice to have the Indians work for their keep that the schools; this work-study program offered a way to support the school. In his letter, Daniel Simon is questioning the purpose of schooling, "when I Came the fir st to this School I understood that this School was for to bring up Such Indians, as was not able to bring up themselves,

but the doctor is to learn to them to work, but I have been to work Ever Since I was able” (McCallum 220-21). Here Simon is suggesting that that it is not education the Indian students are getting, but more it is vocational; work he can do outside of school. He continues, “and therefore if the doctor will let me follow my Studys, I shall be thankful” (221). Simon’s desire is to study and learn. I am also struck by the spelling mistake “thankful” because it is what he desires to be—full of thinking. While the Simon understands “the doctor when I talked with him,” he is also aware that there is money available from charity “which was given to them” (221). He writes, “ if we poor Indians shall work as much as to pay for our learning, . . . I say now, wo unto the Poor Indians; or white man that Should Ever Com to this School, with out he is rich” (221). Simon is making the case that it is hard to focus on studying when so much work needs to be done to support the school. In his letter he tells Wheelock that he will have to leave the school if he cannot get any satisfaction. He also allows for an error on his part: “if I have a Rong understaning of this School, I am willing to acknowledge but I believ I have not” (221). This letter is an example of survivance rhetoric because Simon is *using* writing to refigure his place in the relationship between the white missionary and Indian student. He is telling Wheelock that school is for “Studying” not to learn how to work. He *uses* writing to create a social site of negotiation. His challenge must have been successful because we later learn that Simon was the first Indian graduate of Dartmouth College.

However, other students were not as successful as Daniel Simon. For example, Hezekiah Calvin was sent by John Brainerd to Moor’s Charity School. He arrived in 1757 and “misbehaved so much that Wheelock was almost done with him” (McCallum 47). Calvin struggled with his calling; however, he went to teach among the Mohawks in

1765. There he struggled with bouts of drinking and depression (see McCallum, Love). Calvin wrote twelve letters to Wheelock in which he discusses his own doubts and complaints. Numerous letters were written about him. Wheelock eventually “characterized him as a drunkard and apostate” (47). In his letters, Calvin often expresses a desire to “go home” . . . so he could “See my Parents this time.” He says he “shall feel quite uneasy until I do go home” (2 February 1766, 49). This desire to go home was often repeated in letters, but those in charge could not sympathize with the homesickness. In another letter a few months later, he writes about being with Ralph Wheelock, Eleazar’s son, among the Indians who were “very loth to sending their children to school”; his attempts at maintaining his teachings were difficult as the Indians did not send the children consistently to school. Perhaps this exacerbated his homesickness. He writes, “all these things make me faint hearted together wanting to see my father Mother & relations” (11 August 1766, 49-51). My take here is that disallowing Calvin to go home may have depressed him; time and again he asks to go home, even later when he “falls” into alcohol abuse. Calvin also writes in apology to Wheelock for not wanting to continue at his post, and each time after having become drunk. In many instances, he appeals to Wheelock on the basis of humanity. In 1768, Edward Deake, one of the white teachers who reported conditions to Wheelock, wrote to Wheelock about Calvin’s “given ye School a bad Charracter” (65). His complaints included that Wheelock had “took from him . . . things which his Father gave him,” that “Mary Secutor & Sarah Simon had been kept close to work, as if they were your Slaves.” He also stated that Wheelock “won’t give ye Indians more learning than to Read & Write” because “twill make them Impudent” (65). Between the lines of his letters and complaints, we can read Calvin’s

Wheelock think she is “more trouble” than anyone else and it will “Cost a great deal” to keep her at the school. We are told she entered Moor’s Charity in 1763, and in 1767 Wheelock allowed her “so long time to Visit my Nation” (235). She attempts to appeal both to Wheelock’s position and pocketbook. Whether her writing is a conscious of unconscious act of survivance is not defined here, but she clearly wants to go home. It appears to me, in this Metis space, that Mary is using these words to gain her freedom.

Samson Occom, Wheelock’s early student, is considered to be an early Indian intellectual. Although Wheelock takes a great deal of credit for Occom, it was Occom who sought out the minister in Lebanon, CT when Occom was around twenty years of age (see Love, Peyer). Prior to meeting up with Wheelock in 1743, Occom was self-taught yet desired more education. Studying under Wheelock and later Benjamin Pomeroy, Occom received “four years of instruction in basic English as well as Latin, Greek, and Hebrew” (Peyer 65). Occom became a missionary for Wheelock, and a fundraiser when Wheelock moved his school to New Hampshire. In his writings, however, Occom becomes critical of the mission of the new school, and with the disproportionate pay of an Indian minister to that of a white minister. He states outright it is “because I am Indian,” that he will not be treated fairly by those who are in charge of his pay. He claims that the Boston Commissioners “used him” and pointed out the “racial discrimination within New England society (Peyer 68-69). Here Occom speaks out, making a presence for himself, and acknowledges the problems he encounters. He engages in the contradictions of his profession and of the system involved. Much has been written about Occom, and I will defer to the studies of scholars like W. DeLoss Love and Bernd C. Peyer to provide a deeper look at Occom’s life.

In the beginning was the word . . .

and the word was transformed.

Dane Morrison contends, “The Saints’ [Puritans’] message was a simple, harsh, and strident. Ministers, farmers, merchants, housewives, shopkeepers, and magistrates declaimed that the Massachusett [and other Indians of New England] were not a good people (27). On the other hand, we have the Massachusett language into which the texts of conversion are translated telling other stories not seen or heard clearly by the colonists. Eliot himself is preaching (or attempting to) in the language of indigenous people, and the Natives pose intellectual questions to him to gain perspective on the Puritan world view (see Bowden, Silverman). Moreover, Indians use writing to right the wrongs they perceived as coming from those who would have power over them. They sometimes “convert” to Christianity, but do so in their own forms. George Tinker informs us, “Language and behavior must be understood in terms of people’s experiences of the world. Whereas new surface structures may be learned by rote, people are not able to transform so easily the deep structures that give meaning to language or behavior” (34). The Christian Indians make the most of their Praying Town and other communities to maintain their Indianess.

Early contact was (is) a complex story. While the Amer-Europeans sought new lands, they did not care to intermix with new people. These colonists brought their own values with them and saw to no reason to change to adapt to the new world. They did, however, find it necessary to change those people already living there. But the

Indigenous were resistant to give up their culture, and they questioned the motives of these newcomers. It was not a simple process of replacing one thing for another, even with Christianity. And while literacy became a tool for both colonists and the Indigenous, it also became a weapon.

Reading these early texts is an important project in American Indian Rhetoric and Scholarship. The texts themselves add to a growing body of Native American literature which includes texts (from oral to written, from letters to novels) rather than excludes them and contributes to a continued history of American Indian Rhetoric. They demonstrate how Indians used writing, in the vernacular and English to respond to the colonial situation. As Malea Powell points out in listening to “the language of survivance” we learn how the Indians “consciously or unconsciously *use* [it] in order to reimagine and, literally, refigure ‘the Indian.’ . . . [and] transforms their object-status within colonial discourse into a subject-status, a presence rather than an absence” (“Rhetorics” 400). In doing so, they also serve to give an early response to Scott Lyon’s question, “What do Indians want from writing?” (“Rhetorical Sovereignty” 449). These texts are also earlier instances of what Lyons refers to as the “duplicitous interrelationships between writing, violence, and colonization” which resulted in “a persistent distrust of the written word in English” (449). I argue that these texts talk back to those who would erase them from history. These early texts provide seventeenth and eighteenth century examples of how Indians *use* writing. The next section will move us into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

SECTION III

NENYEUNUTTINNUSSOOQUOHAM (I WROTE IT THIS WAY)

We are trying long suffering and hard think. Clarence Sioux 1881

Here live the stories.

The tribal language [Ojibway, Cree and Mohawk] operated quite well without the letters 'r,' 'l,' 'f,' 'v,' 'x,' and 'th.' Thus when the boys attempted these strange sounds they stuttered and muttered and made substitutions. 'Xavier' became 'Zubyeah'; 'never' became 'neber'; 'Virginia' became "Bayshinee"; 'father' became 'fauder'; 'Cameron' became 'camel'; 'three' and 'through' were pronounced 'tree' and 'true.' . . . In addition we all had trouble with the English practice separating the pronouns 'he' and 'she' in speech. It was hard to get away from tribal syntax in which the 'he' or 'she' was embodied in the word and structure. We also had difficulty with the English practice of chaining adjectives and adverbs to the nouns and pronouns; it was difficult to break away from tribal diction. Basil Johnston 1939 (10)

In 1939 Basil Johnston, a North American Ojibway, was removed from his family and sent to a Jesuit residential boarding school in Spanish, Ontario, Canada. Johnston's experience occurs in the later years of the off-reservation Indian boarding school experiences in the United States, yet we see from his story the difficulties of English language learning that many other Indians experienced. As he points out, there are sounds in one language that are not a natural part of another. His explanation of the differences is important to the understanding of the texts written by the students in these schools. Errors result; whether they result from differences in languages, phonetic spelling, or a teacher's

lesson, most often there is logic behind the mistake. In Johnson's language, the "strange sounds" were not part of the language he was born into. We see, too, the effects of the differences in syntax and structure in moving from one language to another, that it is "difficult to break away" from one's mother tongue.

However, language erasure is only a part of these stories of Indian education in the United States. In the schools, the children were first stripped of clothing, had their hair cut, and eventually were forced toward changing their customs, religious practices, and even themselves by policies disguised as "civilization," but designed as cultural genocide when we call it by its right name.²⁸ Missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries took on educating the Indians as part of their proselytizing, and, by the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, thousands of American Indian children were being removed from their homes, willingly in some cases, to be educated in schools set up by the whites intent on the enterprise to civilize the Indian. Mahia Maurial points out that "the routes of conflict, seen between indigenous and Western knowledges, produce a break of indigenous dialogue with space and time" (69). Space was broken through removal—of tribes and then children—as well as through bringing education indoors. Time was broken not only by the fragmentation of disciplines, but by adherence to the strict schedules of school. Additionally, the link to natural cycles was broken (see Maurial, Fixico, Silko). However, Indigenous peoples were not consulted on the policies, the curricula, or the living conditions. As K. Tsianina Lomawaima writes,

When scholars refer to 'Indian Education of the past two [three] centuries, we usually mean the education of Indians by others. The education of American Indian people by others—missionaries, federal employees, or public school teachers—has been shaped by policies and curricula largely

²⁸ In *Kill the Indian Save the Man* George Tinker, in his introduction, applauds Ward Churchill's insistence on calling things by their right name (xxiv). I, too, honor that notion.

uninfluenced by Indian people themselves. To understand the processes of what we call Indian education, we have to examine the philosophies and goals of the 'others' as well as the experiences, opinions and responses of Indians. ("Estelle Reel" 1).

Amer-Europeans made decisions about education that would be the solution to the "Indian problem." The outright murder of the original inhabitants became objectionable, and forced the Amer-Europeans onto another path of destruction: cultural genocide through education. Groups organized with what were interpreted as philanthropic goals, but the strategy was deculturation. Anything Indian was to be done away with, and white values were to be inculcated. Along with policies of holding land in severalty (Dawes Act), education policies would eventually allow for the whitemen to acquire more lands and exercise more control over the original inhabitants by breaking up tribal groups. Moreover, as the common school movement gained ground and elementary education became compulsory, Indian children were also mandated to undergo schooling to, as Luther Standing Bear said, become "imitations of the whiteman." In fact, "imitations" were all most became. Schooling was not the equalizer that it was purported to be; rather, it became the vehicle which racialized groups instead of bringing them to equal standing (Spring, Lomawaima). Stories like Luther Standing Bear's and Basil Johnston's echo through the centuries although often whispered. Nonetheless, they are "the shadows of tribal memories," in other words, "the active silence, trace, and *differánce* in the literature of survivance" (Vizenor *Manifest* 70). These stories serve to bring a presence to Indians who were absent in the dominant discourse. In recent years a large body of scholars and scholarship has emerged to bring those stories and voices to the forefront. As these stolen generations encountered the civilizing process, they also were able to subvert the system and, as Genevieve Bell has suggested "learned how to be Indian" (6). The stories, letters

and autobiographies produced by these Indians over the years in and out of school demonstrate how Indians *used* writing in multiple Metis spaces.

As discussed in the last section, Indian education in the “new world” was inextricably tied to religion, and although Christian values remained a central part of the movement, educating the Indian eventually became government policy. Prucha writes, “the unity of mankind, firmly anchored in the story of man’s creation in Genesis, became and remained a fundamental tenet in the nation’s Indian policy” (*Great Father* 51). Thus, the early missionary endeavors became more organized. According to Margaret Connell Szasz, “the three great Protestant colonial missionary organizations²⁹ . . . all figure prominently in efforts to school the Indians” (*American Colonies* 5). What’s more, Bowden notes, “during the eighteenth century, a total of 309 SPG missionaries worked up and down the east coast” (135). In the west, the Spanish, who were mainly Catholic missionaries, had moved north from South America and through Mexico setting up schools in California, Texas and other parts of the southwest. The Spanish differed from the English colonists in that they exploited the Indigenous people using them for a labor force, but they also took Indigenous women as sexual partners or wives and thus “incorporating them biologically as well as socially into Spanish society” (Prucha *Great Father* 5). Various other denominations also went to parts of Indian country to set up mission schools intent on bringing civilization and salvation. Under British rule, there were policies to deal with the Indians with superintendents being appointed in the north and south in 1755, and drawing a dividing line between white and Indian lands became necessary (see Prucha *Great Father*). As the United States became independent, and as

²⁹ The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (the New England Company, 1649), the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (the SPG, 1701), and the Society in Scotland for Propagation of Christian Knowledge (the SSPCK, 1709)

more people immigrated and desired expansion to the west, that line continued to move, and the new government looked more closely at the so-called “Indian problem.” The “problem” itself was a contradiction to the Western worldview which sanctified “intertwining superior truths . . . of ‘progress,’ ‘civilization,’ . . . ‘development,’ and ‘literacy’ (Maurial) embedded in a linear worldview. Jeffersonian ideas of “savage to civilized” rooted themselves in the populace. As the now self-proclaimed ruler of the land, the new government could now create official policies to deal with its perceived “problem.” Thus, in 1789 we have the appointment of Indian agents who fell under War Department jurisdiction; among their duties was the power to negotiate treaties with Indian tribes. In 1824, the Indian Office was developed again under the War Department and later became the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1849. In 1869 the Board of Indian Commissioners was created and directed to investigate and report the corruption of the BIA; this board became largely responsible for the shape and direction of American Indian policy. The results included blatant disregard of Supreme Court judgments by President Andrew Jackson, removal of tribes and establishing reservations, Civilization regulations (including the outlawing of Indian religious practices and a law prohibiting leaving the reservations without permission), corruption within the BIA and its predecessors and the Indian school system, the Dawes Act, treaties and broken promises, philanthropists interested in the “civilization process,” and education policies designed to eradicate the “Indian problem.”

The stories are not simple; while policies were proposed and made law, there was some opposition. Within separate institutions, some teachers and employees found ways to circumvent rules; others enforced them with utter cruelty. While I realize it is

impossible to include everything here, I attempt to provide an abridgment of the history of American Indian education focusing on some significant moments in that history. There are several texts I suggest for a more thorough study of the history of American Indian education. Jon Reyhner's and Jeanne Eder's *American Indian Education: A History* provides a well-researched and comprehensive history. Francis Paul Prucha has several books regarding the United States' policies and attitudes toward Indian education including *Americanizing the Indian* and *The Great Father* as well as texts on Indian policies and treaties. *Promises of the Past: A History of Indian Education* by David H. DeJong makes available some of the treaties as well as information from a variety of persons involved in Indian education. David Wallace Adams seminal text, *Education for Extinction: American Indians and the Boarding School Experience 1875-1928* furnishes details on those years of government-run boarding school education and includes voices of the students. There are also many informative texts on individual schools including *The Phoenix Indian School* by Robert Trennert, *They Called It Prairie Light* by K. Tsianina Lomawaima, and *Boarding School Seasons* by Brenda Child. Also, two books which focus on Chickasaw and Cherokee women's schools respectively are *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories* by Amanda J. Cobb and *Cultivating the Rosebuds* by Devon Mihesuah. For a detailed discussion of language and American Indians and pedagogy at Hampton Institute, there is Ruth Spack's *America's Second Tongue*. In addition, the Carlisle Indian Industrial School website under the direction of Barb Landis, archivist at the Cumberland Historical Society in Carlisle, PA, highlights the off-reservation boarding school phenomenon, and offers many supplementary resources. I wish to add to this body of work by looking and listening more carefully to the literacy and writing of Native

Americans under these conditions. My focus in this section is to investigate Native American schooling, policies, and curricula through the literacy practices located in this time frame, principally at the government-run schools such as Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS). More importantly, I intend to listen to the Native writings during and following these experiences in order to understand the survivance strategies of these Indian students and how Indian culture persisted in spite of the attempt to erase it. Moreover, these examples of “rhetorical sovereignty” give power and voice to these Natives, something that we can learn from and apply to our current teaching practices. Finally, listening to these stories confirms the power of them “to make, unmake, and remake the world” (Powell “Survivance Rhetorics” 396). Like any good story, this one circles back to gather the threads for its weaving.

Here live the stories.

As the colonists moved forward with their complex agenda of imperialism and philanthropy and to secure Indian country as their own, the missions to the Indians continued. The Natives were never fully convinced of the motives of these educators. In the last section, we became attentive to the survivance rhetoric in the Massachusetts documents and in the writings of Occom and others as they were enacted in Metis spaces around politics and religion. As missionaries and others pushed on in their education efforts, Indians continued using these survivance strategies. In 1772, Ralph Wheelock, son of Eleazar Wheelock, was attempting to make certain his father’s work continued among the Six Nations. In his speech, he gave assurances that his father “has a great love

for you Indians,” and “pities you much in your ignorance, by which the white people take great advantage” (McCallum 285-86). Ralph Wheelock asks to take some of the children back with him, and says he “will become their immediate teacher” (286). Wheelock attempts to provide his *ethos* for this speech by saying he is there because of a “command by Jesus & by immediate orders of his father” (286). Below we have the Onondaga speech in response to Wheelock; this speech was scribed by David Avery:

You have spoken exceedingly well. Very *sweet* words indeed, as coming from the tongue, from when we have perceived you have spoke. . . . But brother, do you think we are altogether ignorant of your method of instruction? . . . Why brother, you are deceiving yourself. We understand not only your speech, but your *manner* of teaching Indian. We understood affairs that are transacted to a great distance westward . . . they are all brought here, this is our centering council house: In the first place, correct yourself. Learn yourself to understand the word of God, before you undertake to teach and govern others: for when you have come to understand it yourself, perhaps some of our children will like to make trial of your institution. (McCallum 287).

Like other speeches of the Indians that Avery wrote down, this one rebukes the “*sweet* words” of Ralph Wheelock. The Native speaker unequivocally tells Wheelock he has no real understanding of the Indians or even of his own God. The speaker establishes his claim by informing Wheelock that he knows of what the whitemen have done with Indian affairs “a great distance westward”; his statement speaks broken promises. Moreover, he declares that Wheelock’s people must “learn yourself to understand the word of God,” a direct critique of the supposed Christians who do not practice what they preach. As well, the Native speaker informs Wheelock that his words are “coming from the tongue”; in effect they are meaningless for they are not from the heart—where are the “heart words”? Following this public rebuke, the Six Nations responded negatively to Wheelock over and over again both in and out of council. As Szasz points out, “Wheelock could no

longer command performances as the puppeteer who guided the movements of his Indian pupils” (*American Colonies* 254). Others, including Native missionaries, would still work among the Six Nations, yet these Indians would hold strongly to their own perceptions. Nonetheless, the onslaught of reformers and educators, who were convinced their way was the right way, ignored and continued to encroach upon Indigenous peoples across the lands.

While the founding fathers of the United States were busy establishing documents like the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, they were also limiting the definitions of those who were entitled to the freedoms they were designing. On paper they engraved in their handsome copper script “unalienable rights,” yet the policies they put into place diminished for many (the majority of non-whites) any freedoms; moreover, they established policies which would forcibly change America’s original inhabitants’ lifeways. According to Lomawaima, “acculturation and assimilation into the dominant white society remained the specific goal of policy and practice” (*Prairie Light* 3). Following the United States of America’s independence, the new government would pass the Naturalization Act in 1790 which *excluded* Indians from citizenship because they were termed domestic foreigners (Spring).

Here live the (hi)stories

The history of the Government connections with the Indians is a shameful record of broken treaties and unfulfilled promises. The history of the border white man's connection with the Indians is a sickening record of murder, outrage, robbery, and wrongs committed by the former, as the rule, and occasional savage outbreaks and unspeakably barbarous deeds

of retaliation by the latter, as the exception. (Helen Hunt Jackson *A Century of Dishonor* 1891)

The period from 1776 to 1867 was one of treaties and removal for the Indians and the United States government. David H. DeJong reports “almost four hundred treaties between the U. S. government and various Indian nations were signed and ratified. More than 110 ratified—and numerous unratified—included educational provisions . . .” (34). But, as we see from Helen Hunt Jackson’s words, the record is “shameful”: treaties and promises were broken over and over again by the government. The view of bringing the Indians from savagery to civilization persisted while lines to divide Indian and white territories still were discussed. As President, George Washington had “asked Congress in 1791 to undertake experiments for bringing civilization to the Indians” (Prucha *Great Father* 51). It was during the 1800s, the government was primarily occupied with removal of the Indians to lands west of the Mississippi River. In 1785, Jefferson wrote that the Indians were “in body and mind equal to the white man” (qtd. in Prucha *Great Father* 49). Nevertheless, as early as 1803 during the Jefferson Administration, “the addition of the vast Louisiana Purchase created conditions that would make removal feasible” (*Great Father* 65). Jefferson believed both sides would benefit the other; as the Indians moved toward an agricultural society, they would want to trade less-needed land for other goods. As Prucha explains, “in Jefferson’s mind there was no contradiction or equivocation in working for the Indians’ advancement and at the same time gradually reducing the land they held” (*Great Father* 50). However, it was Jacksonian policy in the 1830s which uncompromisingly resulted in “the culmination of a gradual movement that had been gaining momentum in government circles for nearly three decades” (65). Jackson

dismissed the 1832 ruling of Chief Justice John Marshall regarding the sovereignty of the Cherokeees, and following his reelection told the tribe, “. . . you cannot remain where you are now. . . . You have but one remedy within your reach. And that is to remove to the west and join your countrymen who are already established there.” (qtd. in Prucha *Great Father* 86). The Cherokee had once lived on lands ranging from parts of North and South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Kentucky and Tennessee. They lost more than half between 1721 and 1785. After siding with the British during the American Revolution, the Cherokee had to cede more territory and in the next fifteen years lost two-thirds of their remaining lands. During this period, the Cherokee moved toward agriculture. They built houses and schools and developed a written language; they established a republican government and modeled their constitution on that of the United States. But when gold was discovered in 1828, the state of Georgia exerted control over the Cherokeees; many were eventually imprisoned (Prucha, Jackson, Mihesuah). Already weakened by the conditions of the interment camps, in 1838 the Cherokeees began to walk of the Trail of Tears where more than one-third died. This event is likely the most recognized story of removal, yet there are many others that are as vicious and as heart-wrenching. As Helen Hunt Jackson would later say the “deceit” of the United States government left “a dark and bloody stain on the nation’s honor” (Adams 4). All these treaties with their education provisions and policies of removal did not stop the whites from demanding more land, devising ways to obtain land “legally,” and further pushing Indians to marginalized pockets. The result emerged through more policies in particular land allotment and education reform, and the idea of “civilizing” became the goal to solve the “Indian problem.”

The 1819 Civilization Act would include a \$10,000 fund for Indian schools and allotments for teachers. Since much of the education at this time was still in the hands of religious groups, missionary schools continued and increased through this funding (see DeJong, Spring, Reyhner, Szasz and Bowden). Funding became under control of the United States Office of Indian Affairs, which was established in 1824, and education was in the hands of religious groups, so future controversy was insured. Following his employment as superintendent of Indian Trade from 1816-1822 where he helped to pass the Indian Civilization Act, Thomas McKenney was appointed in 1824 to direct the Indian Affairs office and began issuing annual reports. According to Reyhner and Eder, McKenney reported that in 1824 there were “thirty-two Indian schools in operation with 916 students,” and in the mid 1860s schools numbered “286 with 6,061 students” (44-47). The early schools were mostly day schools set up by missionaries. Later would come federal policy which would increase the number and types of schools.

Indian schooling, however, was not so straightforward. For example, the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and Seminole) fought to control their own schools and sought funding from the United States government. They were able to negotiate treaties over eighty years which provided them with educational funds and set up three types of schools in cooperation with religious denominations or non-sectarian individuals: neighborhood schools, tribal boarding schools, and male and female seminaries (see DeJong, Adams, and Reyhner and Eder). In addition to these tribally-run schools, mission schools and government Indian schools rose. Szasz reports, “between 1783 and 1871 a number of Indian treaties set aside portions of tribal annuity payments for education or included specific provisions for schooling” (*Education in the American*

Colonies 9). Early schools among the Cherokees included the Brainerd Mission in 1816 in Tennessee. West of the Mississippi in Arkansas, the Dwight Mission opened in 1819, and moved in 1829 twenty-five miles west. The Dwight Mission had relative success, and even ran out of room. In 1830, the Moravians operated two day schools, and the Baptists in 1844 had three. The Cherokees wanted education; most had literacy in their mother tongue (see Prucha, Mihesuah). The Cherokee also wanted to control their own schooling. In *Cultivating the Rosebuds*, Devon Mihesuah explains, “in 1938, the Cherokee Nation Council laid groundwork for the Nation’s public school system” (17). They established eleven public common schools by 1841, and opened the Nation’s male and female seminaries in 1851. The female seminary was modeled after Mount Holyoke in Massachusetts, and the progressive education in both seminaries was meant to uplift the Cherokees (see Mihesuah). There was a distinction made between traditional Cherokees and progressive, between full-blood and mixed-blood, between dark-skinned and light-skinned, all which served to complicate education and assimilation. Mihesuah’s book provides a deeper study on the Cherokees’ notions of assimilation and progress.

Other schools were attended and formed by the Five Civilized Tribes. Spring Place was a Moravian school in Georgia established in 1800. This school was attended by whites, mixed-bloods and full-bloods. The Choctaws funded a boarding school away from their territory in 1825 in Kentucky. The boarding school was for young Indian men who learned vocations as well as an English education. The majority of students were Choctaw, but other Indians and some white boys attended (see Mihesuah, Prucha). In 1852 the Chickasaw Nation founded Bloomfield Academy. Amanda J. Cobb, whose Grandmother attended Bloomfield, writes, “The Chickasaw boarding schools are unique

in that the tribe founded and sponsored academies, as well as neighborhood day schools, long before the government took control of the Chickasaw school system” (9). These schools of the Five Civilized Tribes, as Cobb informs us, “shaped by very different historical events” (8). These five tribes had already established practices of government and schooling as the “civilizing” forces of the United States government was promoting for the Indians. However, their efforts to assimilate did not protect the tribes from removal. Cobb states, “. . . the Indians could become ‘Americanized’ or ‘civilized,’ but could never have equal status” (32). The Five Civilized Tribes understood that education was imperative for their survival and thus secured funding to run their schools.

Simultaneously, the movement for schooling was going on in all parts of Indian country. In 1873, the Civilization Act was repealed; nonetheless, significant funding remained to continue the government’s agenda. These policies were just the beginning. What emerged were the whiteman’s intense efforts at their “civilization” program.

“Teach a grownup Indian to keep.”

As the perceived need for the civilization program continued among whites, several new policies would be brought to the floor of the government. In 1869 just prior to the repeal of the Civilization Act, President Grant named ten people to a Board of Indian Commissioners and gave control of Indian agencies to the Quakers (mainly) and other religious denominations as part of his short-lived Peace Policy. These moves resulted in jealousy among the groups and more corruption making the situation little better for the Indians (see Prucha, Adams). According to David Wallace Adams, “by the

early 1880's a chorus of voices from the pulpit, press and Congress were again calling for a major overhaul of Indian policy" (8). As a result, what developed was a "philanthropic control of Indian affairs" (Prucha *Americanizing* 3). Partly this shift was in response to Helen Hunt Jackson's 1881 publication of *A Century of Dishonor* in which she severely criticized the government's treatment of the original inhabitants of the country. Her criticism did not go unheard, and several groups developed. Between 1879 and 1882, three key organizations would form which became the major influence of Indian policy. The Boston Indian Citizenship Committee organized in 1879 after being agitated by the plight of the Ponca Indians³⁰ who had been illegally removed from their homeland and were appealing to return. Their predicament was publicized in the East, thus bringing the Indian to the public eye. The Boston Indian Citizenship Committee's focus became legal rights, although they also worked in other areas. In the same year the Women's National Indian Association developed and eventually grew to 80 state and local units. This group worked to incite action on Indian affairs. Finally, in 1882, a prominent group of men in Philadelphia organized the Indian's Rights Association and concentrated efforts to right the injustices done to the Indians (Adams and Prucha). The groups worked with the Board of Indian Commissioners, but soon they "became a powerful influence in determining the Indian policy of the government" (Prucha *Americanizing* 5). While they saw injustices that were being perpetuated upon the Indians, they also held fast to their own cultural superiority. Adams puts it thus: "basic to all perceptions was the conclusion that because Indian cultural patterns were vastly

³⁰ The removal of the Poncas in 1868 was the result of the creation of the Great Sioux Reservation which Ponca lands were swept into. The Ponca Chief Standing Bear (not Luther's father) went on a public tour under the support of Thomas Tibbles, a former abolitionist. Helen Hunt Jackson and other reformer soon joined in criticizing government policy for the Indian (Powell, Prucha, Jackson).

different from those of whites, they must be inferior. In a word, Indians were savages, because they lacked the very thing whites possessed—civilization” (6). These reformers called themselves “friends of the Indians” and “coordinated the drive to create public sentiment and political pressure to get reforms enacted” (Prucha *Americanizing* 5). In 1883 these groups gathered at the first Lake Mohonk Conference, an annual gathering which would continue over the next thirty years—and their goal was “civilization.” A look back at these philanthropic agendas reveals a staunch ethnocentrism which ignored Indian voices. As Prucha explains, they were “convinced of the superiority of the Christian civilization they enjoyed, they saw no need to inquire about positive values in Indian culture, nor ask the Indians what they would like, they resolved to do a way with Indianess and preserve only the manhood of the individual” (*Americanizing* 1). They did not always agree with one another, but they were able to bring themselves together and formulate legislation to bring to Congress. Their goals were threefold: obliterate tribal relations and dispose of the reservations (allotments), bring Indians to citizenship and equality with whites, and develop a government school system to create good Americans. In short, they proposed total Americanization of the Indians, and they would force the Indians to accept. At the conferences, each reformer would systematically discuss issues of Indian citizenship through first questioning and critiquing the treaty system, then by promoting individualism and private ownership, land severalty, and, finally, education (Adams, Prucha).

The reformers discussed solutions to the “Indian problem.” Carl Shurz, a German immigrant, was a senator from Missouri; he debated with Helen Hunt Jackson about the Poncas. In 1881, he said, “The circumstances surrounding them place before the Indians

this stern alternative: extermination or civilization” (Prucha 14). And they had ideas on how to bring the Indians to civilization. Following the lead of U.S. Commissioner George Maypenny who said in 1856 that “for assimilation to occur, it was necessary that the Indians learned to say ‘I’ instead of ‘we,’ ‘me’ instead of ‘we,’ and ‘mine’ instead of ‘ours’ (Tinker “Tracing” xvii), the reformers began to push for legislation of land in severalty. Following the failure of other legislators, Henry L. Dawes, the senator from Massachusetts, would eventually sponsor the Allotment Act to “teach them how to keep” (Prucha *Americanizing* 29). The reformers believed that private ownership was the way to citizenship, but not all were convinced, and early attempts to pass the act had failed. The House Minority Report of 1880 dealt a severe blow to an early proposal. The authors felt that “allotment was speculative theory” and had “no practical basis” (Prucha *Americanizing* 125). They said “it doesn’t make an Indian a farmer to give him a quarter section of land,” and that there “was no word in any Indian language for possess” (126). The report went only to condemn the act’s purpose which they determined was “a method for getting at valuable Indian land and then opening it up to white settlement” (128). Senator Henry Teller of Colorado also opposed the Dawes Act although he admitted that his opposition would do little good since it would “do little to stem the tide of the reform” (Prucha 130). Teller maintained, “I know that any man who stands in the Senate and proposes to discuss this question in a practical, sensible business way, having the interest of the Indian and whiteman alike, will be charged with an attempt to violate the plighted faith of the government” (131). Teller’s thrashing is severe, but he makes several points that the reformers could not see. He tells them that they see all Indians alike, but in truth Indians “differ from one another”; he tells them to recognize the basis of Indian

communistic values, that it is “part of the Indian’s religion not to divide the land” (132). He makes a prophecy: “. . . in thirty to forty years the Indians will curse the hand that was raised” (137). But Teller was on target in his assessment of “doing little to stem the tide of reform.” The reformers were so influential that they were able to “quickly overwhelm” anyone who spoke against them (Prucha *Americanizing* 9). They were powerful, articulate and constantly at the forefront of public opinion.

In 1887, the Dawes Act was passed. Briefly, this act gave each head of an Indian family a ¼ section of 160 acres to be held in trust for twenty-five years. The possessor would then need to prove his separation from his tribe (see Prucha and others). Many other complications rose from this act such as land left vacant or being leased to whites. In 1881, the Indian lands contained 155,632,312 acres, which was reduced to 104,314,349 in 1890 and to 77,865,373 in 1900. Of these millions of acres, only 5,409,530 were allotted, and the surplus transferred to the whites (Prucha *Great Father* 227). Soon, too, it was realized that the Indians were not all able to farm their allotments. They had neither the means nor the implements; Indians who were at school could not tend their lands. As a result, the lands were allowed to be leased, breaking down further the idea of allotments (Prucha 227-28). However, with the Allotment Act in place, the reformers turned to education which they saw as the ultimate solution.

“They want us to be civilized, and I know what that means”

To leave thousands of Indian children to grow up in ignorance, superstition, barbarism, and even savagery, is to maintain a perpetual menace to our western civilization

Thomas J. Morgan, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1899

White men seem to have difficulty in realizing that people who live differently from themselves still might be traveling the upward and progressive road of life.

Luther Standing Bear 1933

Civilization became the slogan for all policies affecting the Indians. Tulto was born in 1870 in the Taos Pueblo and attended Carlisle Indian School. He writes, “They told us Indian ways were bad. They said we must get civilized. I remember that word too. It means ‘be like the white man.’ I am willing to be like the white man, but I do not believe the Indian ways were wrong” (Hirschfelder 244). But the reformers did think Indian ways were wrong; their ideas included stamping out Indian lifeways. The government operated on the premise of “if the Indians failed to be assimilated they were doomed to extinction” (Dejong 107). Taking the children away from their homes would release them from the “‘slavery of tribal life’ [and] would help solve the Indian ‘problem’ and the Indians would be assimilated as were the immigrants” (107). What we find is the blind ambition to assimilate everyone into the same homogenous pot; however, acceptance of the Other into society as completely equal was not readily offered. The idea of civilization, as David Wallace Adams states,

functioned at several levels, or rather, served several purposes. One level it operated as an assumption; philanthropists simply assumed that because Indian ways differed from white ways, they must be less civilized. On another level, it served as legitimizing rationale for the hegemonic relationship that had come to characterize Indian-white relations. In this connection it serves as a compelling justification for dispossessing Indians of their land. Finally, it was prescriptive. It told philanthropists what Indians must become, and . . . to what end they should be educated. (12-13)

I quote Adams at length here, because it is important to understand the mindset and agenda of these “friends.” They are clearly Amer-Europeans, and, certainly, a product of

their times in their belief that civilization and progress walk hand-in-hand. The history of conquest has shown the presumptions taken by the Europeans to see themselves as superior and therefore justified in their actions. In the United States, from the early comments by Thomas Jefferson on advancement (and hence notions of lower to higher) to the ideas of social evolution, the fate of the “savage” Indians rested in the hands of the reformers. Their drive and efforts resulted in using education as a means to exterminate the “Indian problem.” Under the auspice of do-gooders, the “friends” would now control the fate of thousands of Indians. No respect or appreciation of Indian cultures was present. As Senator Teller had pointed out, they saw Indians as one universalized object, something that could be molded into their idea of civilization. Prucha explains, “education for patriotic American citizenship became the new panacea, and from 1877 to the end of the century, it was one of the major concerns of the reformers and of the Bureau of Indian Affairs” (*Americanizing* 7). Moreover, they adopted schooling practices designed to place the Indian at a disadvantage. Vocational training was the norm, and English-only became the rule.

Schools, then, took a prominent place in Indians’ lives in the attempt to change them forever. In *America’s Second Tongue* Ruth Spack writes, “Americanization [civilizing] was not a neutral process” (37). The process was one-way: civilizing, as Tulto states, was to take on the values and habits of whitemen; nothing of value was found in Indian ways. Yet, these new policy-makers obtained the funding. When Grant’s Peace Policy was instituted, the schools available to Natives were, for the most part, operated by missionaries and those established in the communities of the Five Civilized Tribes. As funding increased by 1870-1873, the number of day schools, vocational schools, and

reservation boarding schools did as well. David Wallace Adams provides data showing that appropriations by Congress grew from \$20,000 in 1877 to \$2,936,080 in 1900; in 1877 twenty-five percent of Indian children were in schools compared to eighty-three percent in 1926 (Adams 27-28). The reservation day school was one of the earliest experiments. These schools existed just outside the Indian villages, and focused on language and religious instruction. Although these schools were the least costly for the government, they proved to be ineffective for the assimilation program. The children were only in school for a few hours and, in the opinion of the reformers, the tribal influences were too strong (Reyhner, Adams). A second type of school was the reservation boarding school. These schools were located at agency headquarters and directly supervised by the agents. The Indian students had one half day instruction in English and academics, and the second half in industrial training; the latter made the schools self-sufficient in that the Indian students provided cooks, cleaners, seamstresses and so on. However, in the eyes of reformers, these schools, too, were too much influenced by the tribes as the children could hear various happenings of the tribal community or parents would camp near these schools (Reyhner, Adams). By 1879, the off-reservation boarding school was established. The off-reservation boarding school phenomenon is of particular interest, as many texts were produced as publicity (or propaganda) from before-and-after pictures to newspapers, to letters writing by the Indians attending these schools. The perceived success of Carlisle Indian Industrial School, started in 1879, resulted in twenty-five such schools across the country. What also remains interesting for study is how Indian students received this education, how

they reacted while attending and after. For in some cases, the very things being denied them grew stronger.

Here live the stories.

All Our Relations

Mitauke oyasin. Wuniish. Mamusse okhe. Hozone haas'dlii'.

While American Indian cultures exhibit rich tribal diversity, one theme which is woven throughout American Indian oral traditions, ceremonies, and spiritual beliefs is that of harmony and balance. American Indian philosophies express the idea that spiritual well being depends on living in harmony with all beings, including human, animal, plant and the physical world. David Skrupky (Ojibwe)

To understand what was being stripped from Indians and why they resisted so fiercely, we need to be aware of American Indian spirituality and concepts of indigenous knowledge. First, we must remember that all tribes cannot be grouped into any universal frame, but there are some particular similarities which extend across Indian peoples. The assumptions of the colonizers were that Native cultures had no religion, no civilization, and no literacy and that they would accept the Christian religion along with the concepts of linear progression, individualism and ownership. They failed to recognize the ways that indigenous people interacted with their natural environment in such ways which embraced a deep respect for all beings. They failed to recognize and accept that the nature of Indian peoples to be communitarian means that the individual is valued for what

he/she contributes to the group. As Kidwell, Noley and Tinker explain, “The ultimate effect of the Christian mission activity was to remove the person from a relationship with the tribal group in order to associate him or herself with the artificial Christian community” (7). With this lack of understanding, the missionaries did not see that “the whole culture and social structure was and still is infused with a spirituality that cannot be separated from the rest of the community’s life at any point” (12). Thus the languages use “we” rather than “I.”

American Indian traditions are also spatial rather than temporal, cyclic rather than linear. With whites the idea of history includes progress and change; with Natives it is the repetition as in the cycles of nature. Spatiality is represented in the form of the four directions and the circle. There is an interrelationship with all life, what one would consider animate and inanimate. Reciprocity is the foundation for balance and harmony: all things are interconnected. That reciprocity sees god as bi-gendered such as earth/sky, day/night, sun/moon; there is balance. The earth is seen as living, the mother who gives forth life. The cycles of repetition are encountered in looking at the seven generations—back and ahead—and honoring them. As such, to do harm now affects seven generations in the future (Kidwell, Noley and Tinker, Weaver, Deloria).

The trickster is a prominent figure in Native cultures. The trickster is represented often as an animal: crow, raven, coyote, rabbit, and comes out of nowhere and is adaptive. Tricksters are the “lords of the in-between, mischief-makers, breakers of barriers, and erasers of boundaries” who “subvert expectations” (Kidwell, Noley, and Tinker 120). Many Indians had a great respect for the Christian Jesus because they viewed him as “the ultimate boundary crosser, erasing barriers between heaven and earth,

life and death” (122). So many saw Jesus as a familiar figure and had “great respect for him as a spiritual person” (66). In their experiences, Jesus contained more Indian values than white values (see Eastman). Natives sometimes viewed the white’s values in opposition to their Christianity (Tinker, Weaver).

Another Removal: The Phenomenon of Federal Schooling

Education is just another form of removal. (Kimberly Blaeser)

When we had finished, we dropped our blankets down on the seat and marched up with our slates to show what we had drawn. Our teacher was a woman. She bowed her head as she examined the slates and smiled, indicating that we were doing pretty well—at least we interpreted it that way. (Luther Standing Bear)

In 1875, Richard Henry Pratt had experimented with civilizing the Indian at Fort Marion in Florida. Pratt had only a few years of schooling before he had to go to work, once as a printer’s devil; he joined the military and had black recruits and Indian scouts. Later as a young lieutenant, Pratt was in charge of Indian prisoners at the Florida fort (R. H. Pratt, Adams, CIIS website). There thought of a way of “getting [Indians] out of the curio class by cutting their hair and having them wear the clothing of the white man” (Pratt, *Battlefield* 118). As would happen later with the children at Carlisle, before-and-after pictures were taken to demonstrate the transformation. These “fugitive poses,” as Gerald Vizenor calls them, consisting of an “absence of the real” (*Fugitive* 15). After furnishing army uniforms for the prisoners, Pratt began to teach them trades and English, provide religious instruction, and about making money through such enterprises as

polishing sea beans. According to his autobiography, “promoting English speech was among the earliest and most persistent of our efforts in order to bring Indians into the best understanding and relationship with our people” (R.H. Pratt *Battlefield* 121). To this end, R. H. Pratt enlisted volunteers among “excellent ladies, who had in their earlier years been engaged in teaching” (121). Articles appeared in newspapers and magazines such as *Harper’s Weekly*, and R. H. Pratt used this ammunition to foist himself into the public interest as a prime force in Indian education.

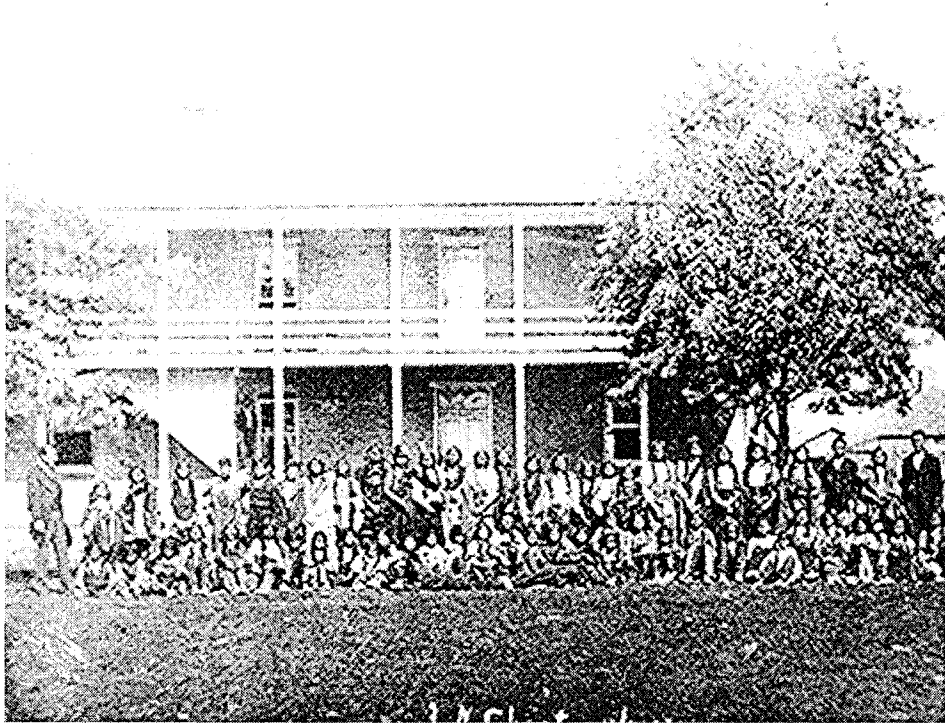
The sentences of the Fort Marion prisoners came to an end in 1878, and R. H. Pratt, not willing to give up his experiment, looked for schools which would accept Indian students. He found General Samuel Armstrong at the Hampton Institute in Virginia willing to accept the challenge, and seventeen of the former prisoners went there (*Image*). R. H. Pratt writes, “General Armstrong and I talked much about the future of these young men and the need for them to become Americanized” (R.H. Pratt *Battlefield* 192). Together, R. H. Pratt and Armstrong became powerful advocates for their ideas of Indian education. R. H. Pratt, however, was not content to stay in Armstrong’s shadow; he felt the Indians needed their own school. He also felt that to change the culture you must “start with the children” (*Image*). He thus initiated a plan to open his own school in Carlisle, PA.

R. H. Pratt, who was also a dominant figure at Lake Mohonk, lobbied to secure support and funding to open a school for Indians. He argued that Indians would assimilate more quickly if they could participate directly in American life. In 1879, R. H. Pratt approached Carl Schurz who was Secretary of the Interior and asked to open his school at Carlisle (R. H. Pratt, Reyner and Eder, Trennert, and others). According to Pratt

himself, he appealed to Schurz on the basis of his (Schurz) being an immigrant and “one of the best examples of what we should do for the Indian” (R. H. Pratt, *Battlefield* 215). R. H. Pratt argued, “give me 300 young Indians and a place in one of our best communities and let me prove it is easy to give Indian youth the English language, education and industries that it is imperative they have in preparation for citizenship” (215-216). His efforts were successful, and the government agreed to fund his school. R. H. Pratt then looked to recruiting from the same tribes as the prisoners, but he was directed by Indian Commissioner Ezra Hayt to make his recruitment trips to the Rosebud and Pine Ridge agencies and other Sioux tribes. The reason, Hayt told R. H. Pratt, is these “children would be hostages for the good behavior of their parents” (220). Thus, R. H. Pratt’s bargain for Carlisle was to help the government deal with the hostilities of the Indian tribes. R. H. Pratt would gain his school, but there were many times when government dealings with tribes would force R. H. Pratt to concede to certain actions. Nevertheless, he opened the school in the fall of 1879 with 136 students.

Carlisle Indian Industrial School soon became “the nation’s leading center of Indian education . . . [where] R. H. Pratt implemented the most advanced ideas of his generation regarding Indian assimilation” (Trennert 6). In April 1881, *Harper’s New Monthly* published an article on “Indian Education at Hampton and Carlisle.” The author, Helen Ludlow, writes, “[R. H. Pratt had] room in his nature for the united strength and humanity which are at the bottom of this work, [and] whose results have placed him at the head of the most important single movement ever made in behalf of Indian education” (661). R. H. Pratt became an engineer of a social experiment which would affect the lives

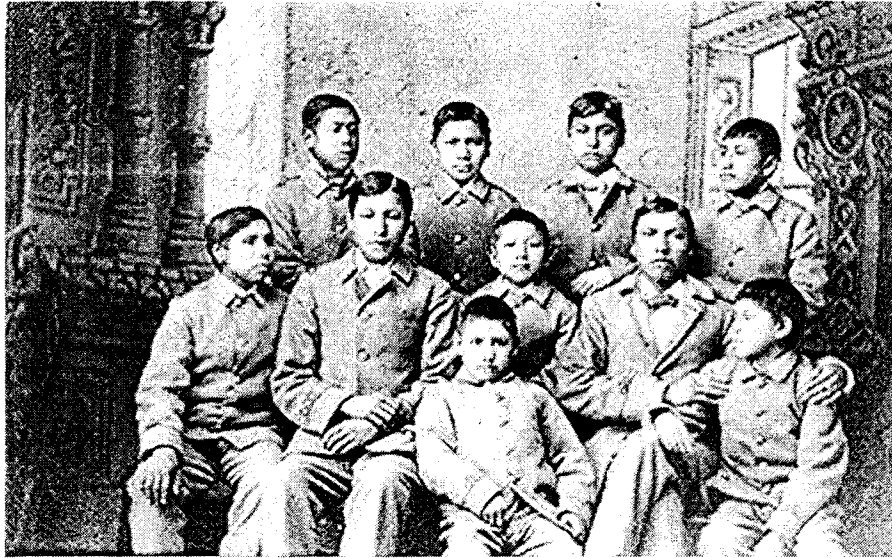
of thousands of Indian children. In the years to come, twenty-four more off-reservation schools would open competing with the day and reservation schools for students.



Sioux Indian boys upon arrival at Carlisle. Courtesy NARA.

According to his autobiography, Luther Standing Bear was the first Indian boy to enter the gates of Carlisle (*My People the Sioux* 133), thus on November 1 (October 6?), 1879 the main phase of Richard Henry Pratt's experiment began. As Margaret Szasz notes, between 1870 and 1926 the federal government, "adopted a plan to remold the Indians' conception of life, of what came to be known as his 'system of values.' If this could be changed, the assimilationist reasoned, the Indian would become like the whiteman" (*Education* 8). R. H. Pratt believed on changing them from the outside (*Battlefield* 118), but he also used this outward change for his propaganda. Upon their arrival at Carlisle, pictures were taken of them in their blankets and long hair; later pictures of their "civilized" look were used. However as Gerald Vizenor reminds us, "the

true stories of pictures are in the eyes, not in the costumes or simulations of culture; the eyes are the tacit presence” in these “fugitive poses” (Vizenor *Fugitive* 134).



Omaha Boys 1880. Courtesy NARA.

In *My People the Sioux*, Luther Standing Bear relates that his coming to school meant change in the Indian, and that change was to begin on the outside. Shortly after arriving at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (CIIS), Standing Bear’s hair is cut, and he is given a new name and the white man’s clothes. Yet, standing Bear says they were only “imitations of the whiteman” (*Sioux* 140). Following his first book, Standing Bear writes *Land of the Spotted Eagle* in which he is much more critical of this “civilizing process” saying, “it began with clothes” (*Spotted Eagle* 232). He continues, “The task before us was not only that of accepting new ideas and adopting new manners, but the actual physical changes and discomfort has to be borne until the body adjusted itself to new tastes and habits” (232). He writes about how uncomfortable the whiteman’s clothes were to the point of “actual torture” (233). He also points out how newly shaved hair “was part

of transformation process and in some mysterious way long hair stood in the path of our development” (233).

Thus, for Indians the stories are different as they reacted within Metis spaces of this transformation. In the documentary *In the Image of the Whiteman*, we are taken through a series of these before-and-after shots which carries a voice-over portraying a nineteenth-century woman who comments on how visible the civilization process is evidenced in the faces. In contrast to this woman, I see different faces; the ones I see haunt me as I witness the pain, loneliness, and courage of these children. It is the “story in their eyes.” These stories of boarding schools have long been told, yet it is only recent scholarship which has brought them to the forefront; they provide us with a picture quite apart from the before-and-after photographs. Writers like Standing Bear engage in an Indigenous rhetoric which has its history and roots in the earliest contacts.

In Section I, we discussed Don Paul Abbott’s premise on Indigenous rhetoric, which demonstrated how indigenous cultures adapted to and took on their literacy. We also discussed how Mary Louise Pratt explains how Guaman Poma wrote in such a way which appropriated and adapted the language and habits of the colonizers selecting key points to mirror back to the Spanish. Operating in Metis spaces, Poma defines his place and the place of his people to the Spanish. A similar technique is used by Luther Standing Bear when he reflects on being given a new name:

The interpreter told them ‘They are going to give each one of you one of these [white man’s] names by which you will hereafter be known. ‘None of the names were read or explained to us, so of course we did not know the sound or meaning of any of them.

The [first] boy had gone up with his blanket on. When the long stick was handed to him he turned to us as much to say, ‘Shall I—or will you help me to take one of these names? Is it right for me to take a white

man's name? He did not know what to do for a long time, but he acted a lot and was doing a lot of thinking.

. . . When my turn came I took a pointer and acted as if I were about to touch an enemy. (137)

This lengthy quote shows several markers of adjusting to the changes he encounters. First, Standing Bear is making a cultural comment on Sioux naming traditions in his appeal for some understanding of one culture by another. The names on the board are not given a “sound or meaning.” As well the first boy turns as if seeking “help” in taking the name acting upon the instinct to have communal involvement. In Sioux culture names were given as the result of something done by the person, sometimes as a communal act, sometimes changing as the child grew older and accomplished some deed—it would have meaning. The name would be given in a ceremony—announced, called out by tribal members—have sound. Standing Bear's further comment in *Land of the Spotted Eagle* pointedly remarks that “translating our names into English . . . would have been educational” (*Spotted Eagle* 233). In this remark, he uses the repertoire of the civilization process to show how it could have been more fruitful. Second, Standing Bear says the boy was “doing a lot of thinking” which counters the cultural deficit claims of many people. Finally, for Standing Bear the act of taking the name was like counting coup—it was braver to touch an enemy and come away. The meaning of enemy is clear here. In the same passage, he notes the difference between his name, Luther, and Lutheran, and once he learns to write his name, he marks it on everything (Sioux 138). Standing Bear's writing reflects a mestiza consciousness by talking about the name he chooses.

Another Indian writer also reflects on her experiences. Zitkala-Ša's *American Indian Stories* is complex in its presentation. Vizenor says, “The postindian outs the inventions [of the Indian] with humor, new stories, and the simulation of survivance”

(*Manifest 5*). Zitkala-Ša uses her writing to provide new stories which challenge the public view of Indian education. She attended several schools including a Presbyterian mission school at the Yankton Agency and the Santee Normal Training School at the Dakota mission both of which were bilingual schools. Later, she attended White's Institute and Earlham College (1895-1897), but did not graduate. She did, however, receive awards in oratory, and eventually taught at Carlisle for a brief time. Upon leaving CIIS, she has a career as a published writer and is critical of Pratt and Carlisle (Spack, Enoch). According to Zitkala-Ša, the picture of education for these Indian children was painted as rosy. Zitkala-Ša herself begged her mother to go to "the wonderful Eastern land" of the "red apples" (43), to ride on "the iron horse" (44). However her excitement is short-lived for on the train she finds herself "scrutinized":

I sank deep into the corner of my seat, for I resented being watched. Directly in front of me children, who were no larger than I, hung themselves upon the back of the seats, with their bold white faces toward me. Sometimes they took their forefingers out of their mouths and pointed at my mocassined feet. Their mothers, instead of reproving such rude curiosity looked closely at me, and attracted their attention to my blanket. (48)

By pointing out the manners of these white children and their mothers, Zitkala-Ša subverts the manifestation of who is "civilized." The education program, to which she was begging to go, was designed by whites to civilize the savage Indian, but she points out the "bold" nature of these "civilized" people. By using their models of manners, Zitkala-Ša is able to mirror back to the dominant culture: the impolite "pointing" and rude "curiosity." Later when she is at the school, she reflects on another incident, "I felt like sinking into the floor because my blanket had been stripped from my shoulders. I looked hard at the other Indian girls, who did not seem to care that they were even more

immodestly dressed than I, in their tight-fitting clothes” (52-53). The word “immodestly” is an interesting choice as Native peoples were often criticized on their inappropriate dress; here, Zitkala-Ša turns the picture around.

At times Zitkala-Ša is even more direct in her criticism. She, too, had to suffer the cutting of her hair. At first she tried to hide, but was “dragged out” to submit to the “cold blades of scissors” on her neck which “gnawed off one of her thick braids” (187). Choosing the word “gnawed” once more provides a mirror as many times Native peoples were spoken of with references to animals; here Zitkala-Ša uses the image to reflect white behavior. Her misery of losing her long hair is compounded by cultural values not understood by the whites. She says she was in “anguish” for only cowards had their hair “shingled” (187). She writes, “now I was only one of many little animals driven by a herder” (187). Zitkala-Ša becomes critical again when her mother tells her about her brother Dawee’s unemployment. Her brother had been educated at Hampton, where he was once praised for his skills as an interpreter. Upon his return, he had been hired as a government clerk on their reservation until a white man wanted the job. Her mother tells her, “Dawee! Oh has he not told you the Great Father in Washington sent a white son to take your brother’s pen from him? Since then Dawee has not been able to make use of the education the Eastern school has given him” (90-91). Most Indians who were educated were unable to gain employment in white society, and they returned to the reservations to sometimes work for the government as clerks or teachers. However, if a white person came, the job was given to him or her. Zitkala-Ša chooses the selective language: “taking of the pen,” and demonstrates the problems inherent in the Indian education program.

Polingaysi Qoyawayma's *No Turning Back : A Hopi Woman's Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* provides similar examples to Standing Bear's and Zitkala-Ša's. This text is interesting because it is a biography (an "as told to") written in the third person; it also includes a foreword by Qoyawayma. As a child, Qoyawayma was educated at the mission school at Old Oraibi of the Hopi, and later she made a choice to attend the Riverside School in California. Her experiences with Indian education and her struggle to bridge the two cultures are painfully described. Like Guaman Poma's text, Qoyawayma's makes use of Hopi phrases and translates them to "express [Hopi] interests and aspirations" (M. L. Pratt "Contact Zone" 36). We can see instances of survivance when she, too, discusses having her name changed. One day she came home with a cardboard around her neck with her new name, Bessie, written on it:

"you had your beginning as a true Hopi," her mother told her "You were named in the Hopi way. Your true name is Polingaysi. . . ."
. . . her paternal grandmother chimed in. . . "It was I who named you Polingaysi. It is a beautiful name. It fits you well. You are a daughter of the Kachinas, as any Hopi will know you by your name. This silly name the white man has given you means nothing."
. . ."I am Polingaysi," she declared. "I will always be Polingaysi. But when the *Bahana* (white man) calls me Bessie, I will pretend I have forgotten my name."
(28-29).

Qoyawayma, as a child, struggles with her mother's and grandmother's criticism of the white name, Bessie, she has been given. Her Hopi name is full with meaning, yet the white teachers found it to be too difficult to pronounce and renamed her. However, it creates a dilemma for the young girl and she must learn the straddling of two cultures. The pull of her Hopi culture is strong, but she realizes that to survive at school she must find a way to negotiate the name. Finding herself in a Metis space, her response helps her to mediate the contradictions between the Hopi and white worlds.

Like Guaman Poma as well, Qoyawayma addresses her foreword to the dominant culture: “Now I know that white people cannot know the truth of a situation unless someone makes it known to them” and “it was my duty as an articulate Hopi to tell the world something of my cultural background” (foreword). The tone is that of a cultural mediator, much as Guaman Poma saw his role. And she is very clear about the mestiza consciousness she has acquired: “[Her white friends say] I am a good example of what takes place when a person is uprooted and forced to adjust to a new way of life, because I was an ordinary Hopi child at the time education was brought to us through the whiteman’s schools, and because I had only limited experience with white people” (foreword). Once more, she negotiates the contradictions.

Luther Standing Bear, Polingaysi Qoyawayma, and Mohawk Ah-nen-la-de-ni (Daniel LaFrance) reflect on their first encounters with writing and literacy. Standing Bear relates how on his first day in the schoolroom he was given “a pencil and a slate” (*Sioux* 136). He continues,

We soon discovered that the pencils made marks on the slates. So we covered our heads with our blankets, holding the slate inside so the other fellow would not know what we were doing. Here we would draw a man on a pony chasing buffalo, or a boy shooting birds in a tree, or it might be one of our Indian games, or anything that suited our fancy. (136)

This early literacy act was probably not recognized by that teacher as being such. However, we now understand these picture stories to be a form of literacy; for the young Indians they would be loaded with meaning. Standing Bear’s experience here is reminiscent of the same drawings done by the Fort Marion Indians, who recorded their daily lives through picture stories. However, Standing Bear’s frustrations with what the school deemed literacy was soon discovered. First, he encountered “a lot of writing on

one of the blackboards” (136) and soon found out they were whiteman’s names which “had no meaning” (137). Nonetheless, after some instruction he learned how to write his new name. Second, his experience with the alphabet was frustrating:

Next the teacher wrote out the alphabet on my slate and indicated to me that I was to take the slate to my room and study. I was pleased to do this, as I expected it to be a lot of fun. I went up on the second floor, to the end of the building, where I thought nobody would bother me. There I sat down and looked at those queer letters, trying hard to figure out what they meant. No one was there to tell me that the first letter was ‘A,’ the next ‘B,’ and so on. This was the first time in my life that I was really disgusted. It was something I could not decipher, and all this study business was not what I had come East for anyhow—so I thought. (138)

In both cases, Standing Bear looks for “meaning,” a noteworthy point as he, as an Indian, is supposed to be less intellectual than the whiteman. The earlier example of story pictures held much more meaning than these “queer letters.” Later as a teacher, Standing Bear comments on how education should have meaning for the students.

Polingaysi Qoyawayma tells of a similar experience on her first day of school. After being taken to a room where she was scrubbed down and given a new dress to wear, she is told, “Now, go to school. . . . They’ll tell you what to do” (25). She is “walked rapidly to a desk,” and “shoved in.” At that point she has pencil and paper “pushed . . . in front of her.” She “could not understand what [the teacher] said.” (25). She was told by one of the girls next to her to “make marks like he makes” (25) spelling the word “cat,” a word which made no sense to Qoyawayma. She “copied them the best she could” (25). Her experience was merely to copy, to learn by rote, and none of it had meaning for her. She also recounts religious services where the children were taught “strange syllables to mouth” (14). The words to the song “Jesus Loves Me,” came out “Deso lasmi, desi no” and they were rewarded with candy (14). However, the children

had no understanding of the words or even knew of Jesus. Once again the whites had failed to communicate meaning to the children.

Likewise, Ah-nen-la-de-ni makes note of the meaninglessness of so much he was being taught. Born in 1879 in New York, he was of the Mohawk tribe of the Six Nations. He grew up crossing the border between Canada and the United States. Ah-nen-la-de-ni describes the reservation in Franklin County, New York, which had “four Indian day schools . . . all taught by white women” (4) who had no knowledge of the language of the Mohawks. His experience with learning English was limited as he describes here:

Our lessons consisted of learning to repeat all the English words in the books that were given to us. Thus, after a time, some of us, myself included, became able to pronounce all the words in the Fifth and Sixth readers, and took great pride in this exercise. But we did not know what any of the words meant. (4)

His learning was merely being able to repeat sounds of words as he was told. That method did not allow for him to make words his own, to fully comprehend their meanings. The lack of understanding the meaning of English words continued, and Ah-nen-la-de-ni writes that even after having been a student of the school for six years, he knew only the following sentence and pronunciation: “Please, ma’am, can I go out? Pronounced: Peezumgannigowout!” (4). Like Standing Bear and Qoyawayma, Ah-nen-la-de-ni’s early lessons in English resulted in rote memorizing of words with no meaning.

When Luther Standing Bear and Polingaysi Qoyawayma each return to their respective tribes to teach, they also make commentary on pedagogy. Standing Bear forecasts the bilingual debate when he comments on how the students should learn with meaning when he says,

The children should have been taught how to translate the Sioux tongue into English properly; but English teachers only taught them the English

language, like a bunch of parrots. While they would read all the words placed before them, they did not know the proper use of them; their meaning was a puzzle. (*Sioux* 239)

Qoyawayma also wants the children to engage in meaningful activities, but she takes criticism from both the whites and the Hopis as she tries to teach the children at Hotevilla. Presaging the Freirean kind of rich pedagogy, she believes firmly in teaching the Hopi children from what they know. For example, rather than using a text with unfamiliar things, she says, “I will not begin with the outside world of which they have no knowledge. I shall begin with the familiar. The everyday things” (125). She used songs and stories familiar to the children, and then taught the English words for the songs. She felt “they were building a vocabulary based on the simple things of home and mesa, things they understood” (126). She brought them to the desert where they could discover the familiar and loved things and then name them in first Hopi, then English. She brought storytelling to the classroom and built lessons around the stories (129-130). These methods had the children eager to learn and improved their acquisition of English.

Yet teaching in the Indian schools for the most part was not done with Indian lifeways in mind, and certainly not with Indian languages at the forefront. Most teachers were white and believed in the social ladder which placed whites at the top. In one lesson, the Indians are taught that they are at the bottom of the races as “big savages who don’t know nothing” and whites are at the top (see Spack 72, Adams 148). They are taught to recite that list. Moreover, the Indian schools promoted industrial and domestic training, but not necessarily things that would be useful for the Indians. One principal teacher becomes critical of what is being taught when she realizes that her young Navajo girls are learning to sew rather than “weave the rugs of their generation’ from which they could

make a living. She writes, “these schools forbid instead of help” (Golden 151). However, some changes were made as Estelle Reel, who had an argument with the outspoken teacher, made her mark on Indian schools:

[Reel’s] notions of Indian aptitudes and expectations reveal her to be a product of the racist philosophies of her time, but Reel’s racism held within it a gendered twist. She concentrated, in her writings and curriculum development, on economic opportunities for Indian women by fostering rather than denigrating native arts and crafts. She felt tribes whose crafts were still flourishing—especially crafts produced by women’s labor—should be maintained as an important economic resource for Indian families and communities (Lomawaima 4)

Two things are worth mention here: Reel’s curriculum was brought into place in 1901, two decades after the founding of CIIS and other boarding schools, and Reel herself was a collector of Indian artifacts (see Adams, Reel, Lomawaima). In general, the children were taught to do the domestic and industrial tasks that whites would benefit from along with basic instruction in English and other subjects. Because of the focus on vocation, however, it is difficult to find exact materials on the pedagogy and on teaching writing in particular. Certainly there was a focus on English, so much so, that these schools were the early sites for English-only movements. We can mine reports and articles and archives for glimpses into English instruction, some vicious in methods.

There were also some disagreements in how to teach English to the Indians. Some in charge of schools used Indian languages to facilitate the process while others vehemently opposed any language except English. The latter would often use harsh and abusive methods to deter Indian students from speaking Indian. In other cases, teachers worked against the rules in using Indian languages. Flora Illif taught on the Walapai Reservation in 1900, wrote, “I was violating a rule, for this school, like others of that period when we were trying to make white people out of Indians with the greatest

possible speed, had ruled that the Indian language should not be spoken on school grounds. But Ted and I got along famously by breaking the rule . . . (27). Iliff used the language of the children to get them to respond, and to help them learn. She learned herself that to “understand them, I must learn more of their heritage” (38).

One model for bilingual education was with the Sioux in 1837. Stephen and Mary Riggs felt that the children were not learning English and teaching it was ““very difficult”” (qtd in Reyner and Eder 51). The Riggses knew “students had linguistic ability . . . but were not willing to speak” (Spack 49). When they taught lessons in Dakota, the results were successful. This first-language literacy allowed the children to see themselves as learners, and to “set them to thinking by their own language first” (Spack 50). While the target was to convert the Indians, books were produced in the Sioux language including a Dakota grammar and dictionary published by the Riggses in 1852, and later, in 1880, a Bible. The students became literate in their own language first, and then they were transitioned to English. Others used the methods developed by the Riggses, and the newspaper, *Iapi Oaye—The Word Carrier*, included Sioux and English side by side (see Reyner and Eder, Spack).

However, the move toward an English-only policy would make for change in how teachers approached literacy. It is apparent, especially from the CIIS newspapers, that this policy was already in effect in the east. The school newspapers had many articles in 1881 which proclaim the English-only rule. Here is an item in the “About Our School” column written the *School News*:

Boys and girls try and talk English language soon. We came hundreds of miles to learn this. Most of you talk nothing else but Sioux. We must try and learn English that what the Government pays for our school so we can learn to help ourselves. If you learn only Sioux language when you go

home and try and work yourselves Sioux language never will help you. But if you learn English you will learn many other things which will lead you in right way all your life. (Volume 35.5 October 1881).

School News was a paper written by the Indian students, but we have to ask whose hand is on top of theirs? This item along with editorials and letters clearly show the indoctrination of an English-only policy. Moreover, it seems to be a direct critique of the Riggs's bilingual model.

In December of 1886, Commissioner of Indian Affairs John D. C. Atkins issued official policy of English only in the Indian schools: "In all schools conducted by missionary organizations it is required that all instructions shall be given in the English language" (Atkins 201). As he moves into the next year, he continues to amend this policy: "no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught," and "the regulation of this office which forbids any instruction in schools in any Indian language . . . applies to all schools. . . whether Government or mission schools (201-202). Atkins believed that "teaching an Indian youth in his own barbarous dialect is a positive detriment to him" (203). Thus, he forbade any books in any Indian language and any instruction in the vernacular. He had supporters and includes letters from them in his 1887 report. An Indian agent wrote that he was glad Atkins "had the courage to take this step" (204), and a religious weekly has an article which includes the sentiment that if an Indian is destined for citizenship then he should be instructed "from his youth in the language of his *real* country—the English tongue as spoken by Americans" (206 emphasis mine). Thomas J. Morgan as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1899 also set forth general principals in his report which states, "only English should be allowed to be spoken, and only English-speaking teachers should be employed in

schools supported wholly or in part by the government” (224). Many of the missionaries protested, and they found a loophole in the Commissioner’s imperial edict: reading the Bible or conducting religious services in the vernacular was not forbidden. However, even with that small concession, the policy was adhered to for the most part, and many schools had severe punishments for using Indian including solitary confinement, mouths washed with burning lye soap, and beatings (Reyner and Eder, Adams, Spack).

With the English-only movement came the difficulties of teaching a foreign language for those who had little instruction on how to go about it. As Standing Bear and Qoyawayma have related, the change of names and the alphabet were starting points, and the method was copying and repetition. Nonetheless, as David Wallace Adams points out, “the first order of business was to teach the Indian children how to speak, write and read English” (Adams 137). For the most part, no books were used with incoming students. Helen Ludlow writes in 1881, “books, of course, are for a long time of no avail, and the object-teaching, pictures and blackboard take their place, with every other device that ingenuity is equal to, often on the spur of the moment” (663). There were two approaches: imitation and the object method. With the imitation method, nouns and actions were written on a slate, and the children were taught to read them. This method was based on teaching deaf mutes. According to a teacher, Carrie Semple, this method of phonics and words was adaptable even if they sometimes had to demonstrate the position of the mouth, teeth, and tongue (Reyner and Eder 138). At Hampton and Carlisle, among other schools, the object method was adopted. Any available object was shown to the students and the English word for it was given; then the students were taught the pronunciation. Teachers using the object method based their instruction on Swiss

education reformer Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi. For Pestalozzi, the key was sense perception and real objects within the natural environment (see Reyner, Reyner and Eder, Spack). Other devices to teach by object included picture cards, charts, and sand tables. Sometimes they would walk outside to acquire more objects to learn. After learning the word, the students were asked to copy it and trace it over and over. Later they would make sentences with the words (see Adams, Spack). Of course, the students were still imitating, and “the great challenge to teachers was to move the student from rote recitation to genuine comprehension” (Adams 137). Difficulties in these methods included the inability to make certain sounds, frustration with the recitation, lack of content, and the slow progress of the methods (see Adams, Reyner and Eder, and Spack).

As mentioned earlier, the course of studies at boarding schools was a half day of academics followed by a half day of vocational training. To go along with their training at CIIS, Pratt developed an outing system so the students could develop a work ethic. Letters from the students, however, consistently refer to their work day of washing and ironing clothes, cleaning out stalls, cooking, harnessing the horses, making beds, working in the fields. In short, the training provided cheap domestic and farm help for white families. The academics themselves were not always given a high priority due to the common mindset that Indians were not capable of advancing beyond a position of labor. Thomas J. Morgan who was Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1889, once advocated for a system of Indian schooling similar to what has developed today from primary to secondary (Reyner and Eder, Miranda, Prucha). Morgan laid out his ideas of the levels of schooling. High schools would take about five years. They would be a “liberating influence from tribal ways” and “lift [students] to a high plane of thought” (Morgan 228).

Morgan felt “the large mass [of Indians] would never get beyond grammar school” (231), and therefore, there they should learn “systematic habits” for “profitable labor or study” (231). The students should stay for five to fifteen years where they could become familiar with civilized life. Primary schools would provide a foundation and fluency in English. The children should be “taken as early as possible,” but “not too far from parents” (234). He also proposed day schools for those who “can’t be in boarding schools” (235). These schools would provide object lessons for entering “white ways of living,” and “help educate older Indians” (235).

In 1898, however, Estelle Reel took over Indian education upon making her way to become Superintendent of Indian Schools (from 1898-1910), and in 1901 issued the *Uniform Course of Studies for Indian Schools of the United States (UCS)*. It was designed to “give teachers a definite idea of the work that should be done in schools to advance the pupils as speedily as possible to usefulness and citizenship” (Reel 5). However, in her curriculum Reel was not encouraging in the goals to which Indians should aspire as she saw Indians as a lower race (Lomawaima). It outlined the half days of school/work where the students trained for trades by supporting the infrastructure of the school. Thus, the domestic skill of sewing provided clothing, while the tinsmithing provided cups, plates and bowls. As far as writing and literacy is concerned, teaching English was the first priority. Reel, too, subscribes to the object method by noting that “the mother at home has shown us that the natural method begins with objects” (Reel 212). However, she also is clear that all instruction must lead to “usefulness.” At the end of the first year, she allows for the writing of sentences on the board which a child may copy, and later suggests they practice by writing to their teacher or parents (220-226). As a child

progresses, she suggests the writing of short compositions, but as still based on objects, and storytelling is allowed (222). Finally, she provides some suggestions for teaching vocabulary and grammar, but she does not provide for writing instruction in any sustained way, neither does she make any suggestions for texts or provide guidelines. Yet, many students, after years of English only, still struggled to express themselves in that foreign tongue. Others were able to adapt and *use* English.

Indians Using Writing

The English language has been the linear tongue of colonial discoveries, racial cruelties, invented names, the simulation of tribal cultures, manifest manners, and the unheard literature of dominance in tribal communities; at the same time, this mother tongue of paracolonialism has been a language of invincible imagination and liberation for many tribal people in the postindian world. (Vizenor Manifest 105).

I think I will conquer this very language. (Lank 1882)

In addition to the “fugitive poses,” those before and after photographs, the writing done by Indian children was also used as a means of propaganda by the institutions. Most schools had newspapers which were available to the general public; in fact, the newspapers were sent to members of Congress as well as to alumni of the schools. Gould states that “Pratt must have had a press set in operation soon after the opening of the school” (6). At CIIS, R. H. Pratt used the various publications to promote funding for his school as did Armstrong and others. In many issues, letters and other writings by the

Indian students were printed, and sometimes letters from home were also printed.³¹ As artifacts of Indian education, these writings were left in many different places: libraries, historical societies, archives, museums and so on. Piece by piece they are recovered and rescued. Reading them allows us ways to comprehend literacy as a condition of the institution of Indian schools. It allows us to understand them as survivance rhetorics.

The experiences of children in the Indian schools were often related through letters and other writings. As part of their language-learning, students were expected to write letters to their parents or friends to practice their English who may not have been able to read them by themselves. As whole pieces and fragments of these letters are being compiled, Janice Gould has given them, along with other writings from these children, a collective name of boarding school literature. These letters provide glimpses of what schools were like for the children, and often reveal what the white reformers were blind to. For the reformers, they were indicating how well the children were performing. They also provided news for parents, although often parents had to depend on agents to read the letters for them. In *Boarding School Seasons*, Brenda Child uses letters as the basis of her study of the Flandreau and Haskell boarding schools. She writes,

... the letters I was drawn to were written by everyday people ... from many tribes. Their writings are of historical significance, as the children documented their experiences with homesickness, disease, rebellion, and programs aimed at assimilation, and families coped with separation. (xv).

Child examines many letters from parents who had sometimes been educated in boarding schools themselves. Often their letters were sent to administrators with complaints and concerns for their children. As Child tells us, “the boarding school letters, sometimes

³¹ This correspondence was complicated. Sometimes the parents had to depend on the Indian agent to read or write letters for them. For most, it was the only connection they had to their children, and many of the letters indicate their heartsickness of separation.

poignant and always candid, establish a complex history of the Native Americans who were involved with residential school education” (7). Reading these letters from Metis spaces makes available a new lens from which to understand boarding school literature.

Like the Bible Marginalia discussed in Section II, the boarding school literature contains anything from the mundane and the profound. In the newspapers are echoes of the Whiteman’s values where students tell others they “must work,” and the “must speak only English.” There are reports of trips and picnics, short pieces on different tribes, announcements, puzzles, and advice. One child asks for his bow and arrows, another tells of the crows announcing the arrival of spring, and one young man warns his father of the railroad coming through so Indians need to protect their land. In many cases, the students seem to comply with the policies of conformity, but often the real stories are in between the words. As Gould writes, “The problem of understanding Indian school children’s texts is learning how to read the resistance in them” (Gould “Putting my mind” 2). For purposes of my discussion, these letters and other writings shed additional light on the theories of Vizenor and M. L. Pratt and on Indians writing in Metis spaces; in combination with theory, it also takes an act of imagination to recover the stories revealed in these writings. As with the texts in the previous section, it is my purpose to read the survivance in these examples of boarding school literature. What is of interest to scholars is the way Indians took the language of dominance and put it to their own use. Through this boarding school literature we see how “English, that coercive language of federal boarding schools, has carried some of the best stories of endurance, the shadows of tribal survivance” (Vizenor *Manifest* 106). Here, I will try to do honor to this body of literature and to those students who wrote the stories.

Here live the stories

My Dear Three Stars: I want to write to you again and I have cheerfully to work all the time and learn everything. . . . We are perpetually cheerful attending school everyday. We are trying long suffering and hard think From your cousin. Clarence Sioux—that is me. (Gould, “Letters Home”)

The letter from Clarence Sioux was written in November 1881. Likely Clarence Sioux is Lakota. This letter interests in that Clarence takes on so much of the school officials’ language as in “attending school everyday” and being “perpetually cheerful.” A textbook which was used in the common schools (perhaps used elsewhere by these teachers) was Webb’s *First Model Reader*; it is possible that some used it in Indian schools because it was used for deaf and mute children (Miranda 9). Like much of the education theory of this time, the *First Model Reader* focused on the object method of teaching: pictures were shown and words introduced. Part of the introductory materials, “Hints for Teachers, informs us, “By this method we begin, not with the single words, but with combination of words In this method, the attention is called to the *thought* first, and then to the *combination of words*. I call it THE SENTENCE METHOD” (Webb 3). In Lesson XLVI we find such a combination of words as the examples below:

Cheerful happy home morn heart

1. I have a cheerful, happy home My heart is just as full . . . (103).

I imagine Clarence Sioux sitting at his desk, the list of vocabulary words on the board. He sees “cheerful” and tries its different forms; thus he creates a mood or tone for his letter. At the same time, he reflects on the work ethic of the boarding school and the progressive ideology by his use of work[ing] hard “cheerfully” “all the time.” Perhaps relating his

“cheerful” mood in a letter may help Clarence to survive within the system of “hard work.” Yet, there other things that strike me. First is the connection to the home world. Although these letters home were encouraged by the school system, actually going home was not. Captain Pratt did all he could to prevent children from “returning to the blanket.” However, children continually established their connections to home and community as well as reminders of their participation: “I want to write you *again*” and “that is me.” Clarence wants to be part of his home, be recognized and remembered. He presents himself as an absent presence (Powell, Vizenor). Second, the phrase “We are trying long suffering and hard think,” to me, is a marker of survivance. This is exactly the kind of sentence which would provide “a window to the mind.” Perhaps Clarence is making a plea for the children: “we are trying” and a commentary on the conditions they undergo: “long suffering.” These phrases could also be a code for homesickness. And that “hard think” could again be in response to the view that they were incapable of thinking. Clarence *uses* trickster discourse, consciously or unconsciously to remark on Native intelligence.

Another letter which could stem from this same lesson from the *Model Reader* is from Philip in 1880:

My dear teacher: I am going to write you this morning a little English to tell you and my work and my school which one good tell me. I guess and your good teacher because that everyday my heart is cheerful the time this morning I must write to you more that is all. From your loving friend that is me. Philip. (Gould “Letters Home”)

Philip is certainly trying to practice the combination of words as suggested by Webb. Grammar and syntax issues aside, we see Philip making a strong attempt at “expression of thought” (Webb 3) as Webb recommends. It’s also suggested that this is practice for

Philip: "I am going to write you a little English this morning," and he indicates he will practice more: "I must write to you more." There is also a little irony as Philip *guesses* that his teacher is "good." He has been initiated into a borderland, and "something is lost in that mode of initiation" (Anzaldúa 61). He must now find a survivance strategy of having a "plural personality" (101). Philip tries out a connection to his teacher with "your loving friend," and at the same time "that is me" establishes his presence.

More often, Natives were told to cast off their old ways. After bringing education indoors, away from the natural world which taught many lessons, the worlds in which Native students lived was criticized. In this next letter we can only wonder at the object lesson being taught:

Dessert is covered with sand and rocks and is nothing grows there because there is no rain there and is very dry country and very hot and no trees no grass there and I think so poor country and must stop I got sor figer I write. (Jessa Bent, Cheyenne, May 1881) (Gould "Letters").

While the theory of Pestalozzi suggests using natural objects of the child's surroundings, here we have the student being taught to go against these very natural objects. For Jessa, the cultural context of the desert would be clear; the landscape would have its own beauty. In contrast to this school view, Leslie Marmon Silko confirms what Jessa



Wokaki Indian Ruins Arizona

would have known, “the bare but beautiful vastness of the . . . landscape emphasizes the visual impact of every plant, every rock, every arroyo. Nothing is overlooked or taken for granted (*Yellow Woman* 40). The direct attack on the landscape is part of the violence of the whiteman’s literacy. In Jessa’s case the school was “consecrat[ing] a Western worldview that isolates human beings from nature” breaking holisticity (Maurial 59). Unlike the lessons Qoyawayma was teaching her students, this teacher is trying to erase any connection to the land. We empathize with Jessa and feel her deep shame and inner struggle in this Metis space of violence. However, Jessa’s survivance strategy is to “stop,” and her “sore figer” gives her a reason to do so. A note on interest, too, concerns the spelling of “figer,” which was pointed out to me by Janice Gould and returns to echo Basil Johnson’s remarks at the beginning of this section. In Cheyenne the “g” would carry the sound of “ng” and thus Jessa’s spelling is correct for her language.

A letter which is anonymous asks the questions outright that many children must have wondered in their heads. On the one hand, they have been sent to school by their tribes and seemingly abandoned by them; on the other, they find themselves among strangers cast into a borderland “where people of different races occupy the same territory”; “it’s a place of contradictions” (Anzaldúa 19).

Who are we? And why are we here? It seems that white men can tell us nothing of our origins except that they found our fathers here when they first came over from Europe. And our own tribal histories are so wrapt up in traditions that they tell us nothing of importance. (Forest Grove School Feb 1884)

We can read the dual consciousness in these few lines. Assimilationists would certainly support the last sentence in this text in their belief that the Indians possessed outdated “traditions.” However, the idea that the “white men can tell us nothing of our origins”

echoes the ethnocentric attitudes of the whites. The two questions seem to be connected to this history lesson, but they also hold the ambiguous quality of the whispered wonderings of the children stolen from their homes. The letter also positions them in the Metis space of being caught between cultures. Many children would return home and find themselves unable to return to tribal life and unable to find a place in the whiteman's world. I imagine their emptiness echoes in "who are we?" as they try to adjust to loss of language, culture, and family.

As the English-only policy dictated, the need to wipe out Indian languages was foremost in the minds of the reformers. As mentioned earlier, we often witness the voice of the schoolmasters in the writing. This is a short piece from CIIS *School News* in 1881:

"Good Words: Let us try to talk all the English Language we can"
Boys and girls let us try to talk all the English language we can if we talk the Indian language all the time we will not learn the English language fast. It is best for us to try and talk to each other in the English language and so let us all try together to learn all we can. I heard some of the girls say that they were afraid they would forget their Indian language if they would talk English all the time but I don't think so. It will not hurt us if we do forget the Indian language. It helps us a great deal when we talk English. I am forgetting the Indian language very fast but it don't hurt me any it helps me learn more English. Let us try our best to learn all we can while we are here at Carlisle. (An Arapahoe Girl Vol.35.5)

The power dynamics of CIIS are clear here: Indian is not valued; English is. Just as Ladislaus M. Semali experienced in Tanzania where his "maternal tongue" was not "valued or rewarded for the resource it provide[d] to the thought processes generated everyday" (11), so too "forgetting the Indian language" was praised here. We wonder how school officials were able to get children to agree to "forget their Indian language." But forgetting was not so easy. In this letter from Nellie Robertson we witness the tugging and pulling of the heart in her struggle:

Dear Sir Captain Pratt:

I write this letter to tell you with much sorrow that I have spoken one Indian word. I will tell you how it happened: yesterday evening in the dining hall Alice Wynn spoke to me in Sioux, and before I knew what I was saying I found that I had spoken one word, and I felt so sorry that I could not eat my supper, and I could not forget that Indian word, and while I was sitting at the table tears rolled down my cheeks. I tried hard to speak only English. (Gould "Letters Home").

Nellie Robertson's letter is of course a confession, one which must have overjoyed her captors. Undoubtedly, they saw it only as a confession and a marker of success in the civilizing process, enough to print it in the paper as an example of how well the civilizing process worked. However, I read her letter as trickster discourse in this Metis space of language where she complies and resists simultaneously. They would have seen her tears as evidence of feeling ashamed or embarrassed; I read them as homesickness. The language that was being stripped from her was there for her to taste; she responded to Alice Wynn in the language that would be a natural as her breathing. Luther Standing Bear reiterates Nellie's thoughts when he writes of how they had been "ordered never to speak [their] own language," and he "remembered how hard it was to forego the consolation of speech" (*Eagle* 242). Nellie truly "could not forget that Indian word" because it was a part of her self—a "consolation." The mestiza consciousness in this letter stands out: in her boundary-crossing she cried because she is both apologetic and resistant to losing her culture.

As we see in this next example, some students learned to give the right answers to the school officials:

Last vacation on June 20 my mother came after me to take me home. "O My!" I was very glad to go home. And I told my mother to go right away. So after dinner we went down to the office and I asked Mr. Paquette if I might go home. And he asked me, "Well, Margaret, how many times did you talk Navajo?" And I said I had been trying hard to talk English. Then

he let me go home. We got there about four o'clock. A boy put the sheep in the corral and I went over there to see the sheep.

Margaret Yeahebah (grade six) (1909 Golden 193-94).

I imagine Margaret full of excitement when her mother came for her. Her obstacle is to obtain permission. Margaret becomes the trickster because she dances around Mr. Parquette's question; she doesn't answer directly, but uses ambiguous discourse to get her release: "I said I had been trying hard to talk English."

Others, like Lane, exhibit a dual-consciousness. Perhaps he is responding to a "try, try again" maxim. Whatever the prompt, he responds with survivance rhetoric:

Thursday January 12 1882

It is better for us to try over again what we learned during the last year. We are fighting the English language and maneuvering to take in the white people's ways. It is hard for us to learn everything at once. But if we try really so hard then after a while we will succeed. I have tried over and over again so I think I will conquer this very language.

Lane (*SchoolNews* Vol. 2.8).

What I find interesting in Lane's letter is in his attempt to conform to the policies, he unconsciously rejects them "we are fighting the English language." As Anzálúa writes, "the ambivalence from the clash of voices results in mental and emotional states of perplexity" (100). Lane is at war here "maneuvering" and "conquering."

Luther Standing Bear writes a letter to his father in 1882 which discusses his objections to losing his language in this Metis space of dominance. In this letter he describes what he will later see as a strength in teaching Indian children:

Dear Father Standing Bear: We had no school for about one week in 1881, but now we have the opportunity to go to school this happy new year 1882. So we are glad to come to school today. Dear father, I am double minded. I have a mind not to write this letter because I knew you never find my letter that is why I could not write much. If you get my letter every time I will say a few words about how I am getting long. I am getting along very well and I will tell you what I have done. -I am no to Captain Pratt what tells me one time. He asked who wanted to speak

English every day and said-hold up your hands boys and girls. So the boys and girls hold up their hands but I did not do it. But what is the reason I did not do that? I will tell you. When I forgot one word then I asked somebody in my language and I get it that is the reason I want to try both. But this week I will try as hard as I can. I did not get discouraged but I want to try hard both. So dear father you must not be sorry, because I will try again. Let me know how my relations are getting along. That is all I have to say. Let me hear from you when you get this letter. Suppose I want to hear from you. From your son L. Standing Bear. (Carlisle website).

Luther's letter is fascinating from several perspectives. He is about fourteen when he writes this letter, yet he is thinking at quite a sophisticated level. First, he resents writing the letter, because his father "never find my letter"; my read is that Standing Bear is commenting that there is a language/literacy barrier. Unconsciously he is critical of the purpose of letters home. Next, he deliberately disobeys Captain Pratt, "but I did not do it." But in his defiance, he is already demonstrating how using one's mother tongue is a tool to learning the target language: "when I forgot one word then I asked somebody in my language." Then he advocates for bilingualism: "I want to try both," and later repeats, "I want to try hard both." In Vizenor's words, "Native resistance to dominance is an undeniable trace of presence" (*Fugitive* 23). Standing Bear then tells his father he will "try hard," but not at the expense of losing his own culture. Moreover, even admits to being "double minded" a conscious comment on the process they were undergoing. In this survivance strategy, he acknowledges the contradictions he must now live with. Although in other letters, he seems to be under pressured to accept more of the whiteman's ways, he returns to this idea of bilingualism, so "words will have meaning," in his two books. He also wants "how my relations are getting along," demonstrating his strong connection to Indian ways of knowing. Reading Standing Bear's letter as survivance rhetoric helps us see his role not as a "narrative of absence and victimry" (23),

but as the “postindian warrior” who “counters the manifest manners of domination” (Vizenor *Manners* 4).

Another resistant student attends the Chilocco School in Oklahoma. In *Red Moon Called Me* Gertrude Golden, a white teacher who had been assigned to various schools, ends her autobiographical account with “Let the Children Speak,” a collection of letters. In this one, Charlie Tallbear states his objections to school:

My folks tole me I must go to school but I don't like to go; they always sayin that to me, bye and bye I go to school. So my father took me to the school. When my father went away, I was not feelin good. I didn't talk to anyone, because I don't know these children at school. By and by I got a friend and now I am happy with him.

The teacher was trying to talk with me. I didn't say anything because I don't understand them what they mean. In school was very hard lesson for me. When my teacher try to make me read, I won't do it, and she sometime whip me, trying to make me read. I was scared, and when we have vacation I went home and tell my folks all about how I was doin in school.

By Charlie Tallbear

(May 1909 Golden 189)

Charlie's story is probably familiar to many Indian youths. First, he was forced to go to school. He didn't understand the teacher; the English language didn't make much sense to him. And, as he says he “was scared.” The separation from his family, “when my father went away,” left Charlie homesick. Many of the children would resist completely; they burned down schools, drank alcohol, starve themselves, and ran away rather than endure this fear and frustration (see Adams, Bell, Child). Charlie's admission of “school being a hard lesson” relates the story of many Indians who had to endure the program. He also uses his writing to resist, holding a mirror to the injustices he suffers: “she sometime whip me.” Here he recounts the abuse which took place; this abuse was rampant in the school systems (see Adams and others). In a few words Charlie tells a much deeper story.

Like Anzaldúa, he learns to “sustain contradictions” and add “that third element that is greater than the sum of its parts—a mestiza consciousness” (101-02).

A letter from *School News* reflects the need to be remembered. The paper headers this letter: “A little nine year old Gros Ventre, who has been in school less than a year, writes his father” (*School News*).

Dear Father:--I think you should have a letter from your son. You would be happy if you were here to see me. I will be so happy to go and see you and come back to school again. I can write and spell. I can tell you something about this school. The band boys are going to Philadelphia. This school is leaning to speak only English. This is your son writing this letter to you remember your son please. From your little son. Joseph B. Harris (*School News* Vol. 2.10).

I am haunted by this letter, by the words “remember your son please.” What fear must exist in these children that they would be forgotten. For Joseph, being “happy” means being together with his father. I imagine he tells his father “I can write and spell” to make his father proud. Brenda Child points out that students “were not extended privacy” and that the “officials made no secret that they routinely screened ingoing and outgoing mail” (108). I imagine that he *uses* I will “come back to school again” as a survivance mechanism to counteract any censorship of his letter he offers his return.

Another letter from Golden also discusses homesickness, but this young man is going to speak up for himself:

My first day at school was near my home. Mother took me and I was homesick in a week. I told the matron, “I am going home.” She said, “You are not going home.” And I told her I was going to tell my mother and she is going to gift you a black eye if you don’t let me go home.

The teacher is good to me. She ask me if I want to go home and I tell her I do. I tell her the big boys is not ever good to the little boys and for her to tell the matron that. The matron said if we don’t talk up for ourselves she is going to spank us, and the matron said to come to her room. I saw a big fat man in her room, and I was scared of him and then he come out and I run out too and want to play. And the big boys was not

nice to the little kids. And the schoolroom was good and the teacher ask me if I could say my A B C and I tell her I could and I did say them for her.

The disciplinarian said I was to work on the woodpile and I did not like it and so he said I could work for the matron, and I had to sweep down the walk and sweep the rooms where we slept every morning.

And I did not like the beds. They are hard as stone; and the bread they eat is hard too. I did not like it and I was lonesome for home.

Fred Provost (grade three) (1909 Golden 191)

Young Fred is quite vocal in his complaints, so his resistance is obvious. Some teachers and matrons would have been alarmed by this aggressive nature. At the same time, he uses his letter to voice his fear: the matron will “spank us” and “I was scared.” Gould tells us “it is at the level of very real threat at the intense level of vulnerability, that the Indian children learned compliance (“Putting my mind” 12). Fred balances his letter between compliance and resistance. Other than the teacher, there does not seem to be much that Fred likes at school.

While this next letter also specifies how much his family is missed, Moses

Nonway also exhibits his intention to return to his people:

My Dear Mother:--I thank you very much for the picture, that you sent me of yourself and my little sister. Oh I was so glad when I saw your faces looking at me out of the picture. I kissed it over and over and then I showed it to my friends. They like it very much. I am very glad that you are all very well as you tell me, but it makes me sad to think how poor my people are, this is one good place and I will try to learn all I can while I stop here, for I know it is for my own good that I should learn all I can, that I may be able to teach my people how to live to be good people.

I am still working at the Blacksmith. Give my love to all my mother's people and to all my father's people too, give my love to all. Good-by, from your loving son. Moses Nonway (*School News* Vol 1.1 June 1880)

Moses' homesickness is such that he “kissed [the picture of his family] over and over.” I imagine him holding that picture close, showing it to his friends, sharing the loneliness.

The fluctuation among the next lines-- “how poor my people are,” “this is one good

place,” “this is for my own good,” “to teach my people”—is a result of his attempt to tolerate the contradictions. However, he makes it clear his stay is temporary: “while I stop here” almost as if he is only on a journey away from home and this school is just a stopover. Finally, he maintains his Indian self as he connects to his people and community.

While letters home were the most common lessons for the children in their language acquisition, there were also longer writings produced. I find these writings particularly significant to the concept of Metis spaces because these students become what Vizenor sees as the “double other of surveillance, separation and individuation” (*Manifest* 168), and engage in trickster narratives. They “cope by developing a tolerance for contradictions” (Anzaldúa 101). To rephrase Anzaldúa, they “learn to be Indian in an [pan-Indian] culture, and learn to be pan-Indian from an Anglo point of view” (101). Because they were encouraged to read the school newspapers, these students would be aware that their letters, diaries, expressions and essays could be published in them. They were the Metis space of public writing, and spaces which allowed for expression of their thinking.

A student at Hampton from 1892-1899, Jesse Hill (Tonawanda Seneca) wrote an essay about his people. The essay interests me because Jesse demonstrates how the “master narratives have perpetuated injustices” (Vizenor *Fugitive* 27), and, at the same time, “makes [himself] vulnerable to foreign ways of seeing and thinking” (Anzaldúa 104). Yet, he punctuates his essay with critique of white people’s perceptions. Because of the length, I have used a table format as in the last section.

Essay by Jesse Hill

<p>A great many white people think that all the Indians are way out West on the reservations, or else they think that the Indians in the East are like those half-breed they see in summer selling baskets.</p> <p>They think this because they never see the real Indians. The real Indians don't like to mix up with the white people, so they stay at home and keep out of sight.</p> <p>I belong to that kind of Indians and I like to stay at home and keep out of sight myself, but I can't do it. I have to come out before you and tell you about them, my people, who can't speak for themselves. I belong to what is called the Seneca band of Iroquois Indians in New York State, those that you call pagan, though they are not pagan, for they do not worship idols, but the true God, the God that we call the Great Spirit, just a different name but the same God.</p>	<p>Hill comments on the master narrative, or as Vizenor would say “the simulation of the tribal real” <i>Manifest 4</i>).</p> <p>Now he establishes a presence as “real Indians” countering the colonial stance that the Indians could have no part in identifying themselves.</p> <p>Even though he has been to school, he states “I belong” to his group placing himself in his community, As Weaver would say, it's we, not I. He uses repetition—“I belong” to his Nation. And, because of his belonging, he feels an obligation to speak because “my people . . . can't speak for themselves.”</p> <p>Now he counters the master narrative once more: “they are not pagan.” “God” just has “a different name.”</p>
<p>Sometimes when I think of the old Indian religion that I learned when I was a little boy, and then think of the religion I have learned since, I get all mixed up. Each one is good but it seems to me the old Indians are more earnest in their religion because they believe it with their whole heart and they are continually sacrificing themselves for it. The words of their prayers are very beautiful. I often think of them, but many things about the old way I don't like. I do not like their old way of worshiping by dancing and the many superstitions that they have. The old religion does not believe in education. It says if a young man gets education he breaks the law of the Great Spirit. One thing, they don't understand what real education is and that is why they talk that way. They have seen too many educated people who are not honest and so they say that if a young man gets education he is smart to cheat them, that he will love fire water better than his</p>	<p>Now his mestiza consciousness is engaged: “I get mixed up”—contradictions “Each one is good”—ambivalence</p> <p>Here he engages and critiques whites in the basics of religion: “Indians are more <i>earnest</i> because they believe it with their <i>whole heart</i> and they are continually <i>sacrificing themselves</i> for it.” He thus makes Indians a presence, “a subject who can be [understood] inside EuroAmerican discourses” (Powell “Survivance Rhetorics” 418).</p> <p>Again a critique about the “educated people.”</p> <p>Education is suspect.</p>

<p>father and mother.</p> <p>They think the Great Spirit gave us this country and the white people belong in another country. They say he meant the white people and the Indians to be kept separate. He wanted the Indians to be skillful hunters and the white man to work. He did not want the Whites and the Indians to marry.</p>	<p>Gives an explanation for the old beliefs. I read the tone here as apologetic.</p>
<p>As for myself, my parents were pagans and did not believe in education. They never said anything to me when I was a small boy about school, but they encouraged me to work for a living. I did work and succeeded in earning a small house and lot when I was about fifteen years old. I could not speak any English and I could not do any business with white people so I decided I wanted to get education. Then my mother died and after that I was left alone. Then I said to myself I would go off and get an education without asking any of my other relations.</p>	<p>Here he appeals to white values:</p> <p>He demonstrates his success in his work ethic and being a property owner.</p> <p>realizes his inability to “speak any English” and “do any business with white people” wants to “get education”</p> <p>exhibits individualism</p>
<p>One day a Hampton teacher came to my reservation. I talked to her and after a while came away with her. That was little over four years ago. Since then I have learned many things. Before I came, I saw my life with ignorant eyes. Now I see it with eyes a little educated. I still love my people but I see they are making mistakes.</p>	<p>Back to mestiza consciousness: “ignorant eyes,” but “still love my people”</p>
<p>I have been at home now three summers. When I went home, I told the old people they are foolish, and that the right kind of education will not make their children forget them, but will make them better in every way. They see that what education I have does not make me forget them, but helps me with them and with the Whites too, and so some of them believe what I say.</p>	<p>I read his comments here as finding harmony and balance, his attempt to calm the fears of the “old people” while introducing something of his “new, educated” self.</p>
<p>In the old hunting days the Indians were strong and healthy, but now they live in small cabins and do not know how to take care of themselves. They do not understand</p>	<p>Again we see Hill’s concern for his community. He sees hope for the future, and he will help as he knows how.</p>

<p>hygiene and so the people are dying. The Great Spirit loves his people and he does not like to see them suffer because they don't know the whiteman's way, so he takes them to himself. Every summer when I go home, I talk to the boys and girls and a great many have gone away to school. About fifty boys and girls have gone from my own reservation now. When they all return home, things ought to be very different there, and the next generation will be better.</p> <p>Since my people cannot hunt anymore, they like to raise crops better than anything else. I would like to be a farmer myself and this year I am studying agriculture at Hampton. When I finish, I shall go back to my own people and do the best I can to set them a good example in farming and living according to the best way I have learned.</p>	<p>He will blend the old and new so he can be of benefit to his people</p>
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A second example of the essay is from CIIS. Vizenor remarks on trickster discourse in the essay: “The essay *must* tease creation; the tease and version of natural reason, consonance, and affinity. The tease must revise modernist theses, models of social sciences, and the narratives of a native absence as an *Indian* presence . . . the essay is a trace of survivance” (*Fugitive* 23). The Sioux girl who apologized for speaking one Indian word, Nellie Robertson, created a poignant essay which was published in the June 27, 1890 *Indian Helper*, a newsletter of the Carlisle Indian School. It is heralded as “a composition by one of our imaginative Sioux girls.” And imaginative it is because it is about a trip to the moon, yet positioning it in Metis spaces reveals much more:

A Trip to the Moon

Of the many strange lands and queer places I have visited in my life, the strangest and the one I have experienced more pleasure was my trip to the moon, in 1900. I got on board an air ship which was bound for the moon, one fine morning in June. Quite a number of people were starting for the same place.

For many days we sailed through the air. The scenery all the way was delightful both day and night, but the motion of the ship in air having the same effect as the motion of the ship on water, we did not enjoy the sights very much on the way.

After many days of traveling, we landed in a large city called Ujipa, which means in our language, Greentown. The lunarians resemble the people of the earth in every way but the color of their eyes and hair. The color of their eyes is a bright green and their hair a very bright yellow. Both men and women dress alike, in a loose gown, but you can distinguish them by their way of wearing their hair. The men have long hair and wear it in two or three plaits in the back. The women have short hair and wear little caps to match their eyes. They are a very kind and polite people.

Up in the moon they have no school-houses nor books of any kind from which to read or study. They are a blissful people. They know nothing outside of what is going on in their own world. Money is of no use to them there. Food of every kind grows all the year round. A sort of fruit something like our cheese grows on trees very abundantly, and they call it bread. Corn, potatoes, cabbage and numerous vegetables grow wild. Watermelons, pumpkins and squashes grow on trees, apples, oranges, peaches and grapes may be found in abundance. The people do not work very hard for their food. Their clothes are made from the leaves of a very large plant. These leaves measure about 20 square feet. They make very strong and durable clothes.

The houses are built only of wood and beautiful. The people are ruled over by their king, Nonboose Kiang, which we know as "The Man in the Moon." He is a good, kind man and is liked by all his people.

The amusements and habits of the lunarians are very much like ours. They were so kind to us that when the time came for us to go leave we were very sorry. I hope sometime in the future to take another trip and see more things of interest.

A careful reading allows us to witness the mestiza consciousness as Nellie works to comprehend the contradictions she encounters on a daily basis. The content is even more amazing when we think about Nellie's trip to "a strange and queer place" like Carlisle

Indian School. The *UCS* informed teachers to encourage compositions and storytelling once the children had learned English. No doubt the teachers were pleased with Nellie's composition. We can applaud Nellie for her imagination, but as we read the text through the lens of survivance, we see another story—we see the “tease.” Nellie writes about traveling on an “airship for many days” where the “Scenery all the way was delightful both day and night.” Indian children, including Nellie, traveled for days and nights on a train to come to Carlisle watching the scenery from the train windows. As trickster discourse, she could be making a comment about the colonizers who came here by ship traveling many days especially where she comments on the “motion of the water.” As such, Nellie is straddling the cultures she now exists in. The ambiguity within the text makes it that much more complex. Like Guaman Poma, she provides a picture that the whites can see themselves in, but don't want to admit it. When Nellie describes the lands and people she also uses some interesting cultural markers where she crosses and erases boundaries, teases out the social science models. She writes “which means in our language,” a marker of bilingualism and resonates of the earlier letter she wrote about speaking one Sioux word. She also tells us the “lunarians resemble the people of the earth” perhaps reminding us that we do resemble one another and, therefore, are all equal. Moreover, she is clear to remind us that “the amusements and habits of the lunarians are very much like ours,” meaning, perhaps, if we take the time to appreciate them. With that line, she holds a mirror up to the white culture which saw nothing of value in the Indian culture. I imagine her delight in writing resistance in lines like “up in the moon they have no school-houses or books.” Her attack on Indian education reveals itself. Furthermore, she writes “money is of no use to them,” which, to me, represents a direct assault on the

material aspects of the Whiteman. And there are markers of assimilation: “the houses are built only of wood and beautiful,” much as the Indians were told it is better to live in a house of wood. One of the prisoners at Fort Marion was known to say, “I could be good if I lived in a wood house” (Image). Another such marker is “they are so kind to us that when it came time to leave we were very sorry,” a response which could also have socio-historical bearing. Many early encounters between whites and Indians recalled the kindness and generosity of the indigenous people. This one page text has striking examples of how this young girl enacts a rhetoric of survivance, and is a way to exhibit her rhetorical sovereignty. Genevieve Bell describes Nellie’s composition as escapist literature where she can criticize the system she is in by “recalling when her people were happier” and “placing that past into the future” (Bell 155). Nellie’s ability to use the language of the colonizer to mirror Indian/White relations is extraordinary. She also demonstrates a high imagination and intellect.

These same aspects of writing can be viewed in other Indian writings as well. The markers of resistance to the federal policies of schooling are clear. In her unpublished dissertation, “Telling Stories Out of School,” Genevieve Bell proposes that “In a very real sense, the students who attended Carlisle [or other Indian schools] were not only learning to read, write and have a trade, but they were learning how to be Indian” (6). They *use* writing as rhetorical sovereignty to maintain themselves as Indian people despite the pressure to erase their culture. Like Nellie Robertson, they found safe ways to comment on their Indianess. Luther Standing Bear confirms that when he later writes, “Outwardly I lived the life of a white man, yet all the while I kept direct contact with tribal life” (*Eagle* 235). Richard Henry Pratt felt Standing Bear to be one of his best

students and one of his successes, but Pratt's blindness kept him from seeing and understanding how Standing Bear or any of the other children would hide their "contact with tribal life" from him. Clearly, Standing Bear has his own view of what had been done to the Indians:

So we went to school to copy, to imitate; not to exchange languages and ideas, and not to develop the best traits that had come out of uncountable experiences of hundreds and thousands of years living upon this continent. Our annals, all happenings of human import, were stored in our song and dance rituals, our history differing in that it was not stored in books, but in the living memory. So, while the white people had much to teach us, we had much to teach them, and what a school could have been established on that idea! (*Eagle* 236)

Standing Bear, like Qoyawayma, was certainly ahead of the times in education theory for Indian people. It would be decades before real changes were made to Indian education. As children were still forced into government schooling, resistance continued in the forms of running away, being outwardly destructive, and through letters, stories (oral and written) and noticeable in the faces of the before-and-after pictures. The white reformers, truly believed in their cause and that they had the Indians best interests in mind; however, most were blinded by their greed, philanthropy, and sense of privilege. Perhaps this poem by Navaho students in the 1930's best reflects the Indian response to assimilation. Within these words, these students *use* writing to establish their rhetorical sovereignty:

If I do not believe you
The things you say,
Maybe I will not tell you
That is my way
Maybe you think I believe
That thing you say,
But my thoughts stay with me
My own way.
(Gould "Letters Home")

These texts make obvious that Indians *used* their writing as survivance. As we recover the stories in the texts we see how they resisted the cultural assault. They found ways to exist on both sides of those cultures. They clearly existed in Metis spaces reflected in their conscious, and unconscious, words. Here, I have given a sampling of the writings by Indians. However, we can see they carry much deeper stories than ink on a page. As we move forward in education, we must carry the stories of the past with us to better inform our future. As we read the Indian texts, we come to understand the survivance in their stories. We can think about what happens when we become so institutionalized as to make everyone conform to the same mold. It is my hope that these lessons in survivance help us in reading the multiple texts we receive from students, and that we read with our hearts open.

Here live the stories

Teaching English

The walls
of my chosen field
hide the scars
of children
stolen
without reservation.
Tongues taken away,
clothing burned,
and long hair shorn:
all steps toward
“civilization.”
Lye soap burns
mouths raw
as the smell
of language.

Joyce Rain Anderson

SECTION IV

NUX WUNNEGIN (MY HEART IS GOOD)

. . . to know the truth of history and acknowledge it, and use it to foster knowledge . . . is a political act. Simon Ortiz

I've learned in writing, in teaching, that it is important to recognize that [sense of] place, to open yourself, believing. Joy Harjo

The histories of America's Indigenous peoples are complex; the history of one people affects all of us. Those histories do not fit easily between the covers of a book. They slide off the pages, seep through the covers and reappear in current histories, at tribal councils, in human rights forums, at conferences, in discussions of sovereignty, in classrooms, at powwow, in political arenas, in prayer, in classrooms, and on the streets. For me, "claiming" these histories is how I learn and grow in my teaching. In my classrooms, I encounter many students who come from "non-Traditional" settings; some are voluntary and involuntary immigrants, some are minorities, some mixedbloods, and most do not come from a privileged position. Like the Indigenous peoples described in the previous sections, these students are often required to take on a posture that is not their own, placing them in uncomfortable situations. Their own sense of place is diminished by the place of the institution. I see the parallels of colonization as it recurs in other forms. To help students negotiate these spaces, I often use Indian texts so they can come to understand ways that particular groups have operated in contact zones. We

discuss (hi)stories from the early Native texts such as the bilingual nature of these texts; the petitions for rights, and writing in the margins; we also discuss the treaties between the United States government and the Indians. Then, I listen for the student voices joining in these stories and finding their own rhetorical sovereignty.

In the earlier sections, I related many stories. There are stories of the early colonization of Southern New England, of the zones of contact between whites (primarily English) and Indians (primarily Massachusett or Wampanoag) and stories of competing views of literacy. We see how Indians *used* writing to enact rhetorics of survivance which challenged the prevailing assumptions of the dominant culture. Other stories include the newly-formed United States government which was determined to solve the “Indian problem,” which resulted in a program of cultural genocide. During this time frame, the off-reservation federal boarding school system was developed, English-only became the strictly-enforced policy, and vocational education programs were designed to remake the Indian into an industrious and useful citizen who would assimilate into white culture—we would all be part of the same homogenous pot. Thousands of children were taken from their homes to have all identifiers of Indian culture stripped from them. However, in the boarding school literature produced by these Indians, we find evidence of rhetorical sovereignty as they *used* their writing to maintain their Indian selves and enact rhetorics of survivance. Not only do these writings tell a different story from the grand narratives, they also help us to learn how to read texts differently so that we may recover the stories in them. We find political, historical and social stories among them, and learn how people negotiate the particular borders of these Metis spaces. To my mixedblood mind, these are stories that must be shared with others to enact what Paulo Freire describes as

conscientização and “making it possible for people to enter the historical process as Subjects” (18). The stories we share allow us to get to this point

This project is the culmination of work I started as an undergraduate; this story has made and remade itself as I moved into graduate work. This work incorporates things I believe to be true in my life and ways of being that are intuitive to peoples of the world. Throughout the project, I draw upon Indigenous ways of knowing, particularly through orality and storytelling. So many of our cultures tell similar stories; they may be adapted to suit the particular purpose of one group or another, but follow similar lines. Consider the stories of twins which exist in Native American cultures and in Roman mythology. Look at the Winnebago or Wampanoag Hare trickster figure in relationship to the African Rabbit or African American Brer Rabbit. Compare the Hopi story in which Spider Grandmother seals up the people in a hollow reed for their world is to be destroyed by water to the Biblical Noah’s Ark. Think about the (hi)stories of the “Indian problem” in relationship to the “Negro problem,” the “immigrant problem,” or the current “terrorist problem.”

I will tell you something about stories. . .

They aren’t just entertainment.

Don’t be fooled.

Leslie Marmon Silko

So where does this story take us?

English is the international language. Or, I should say, broken English is the international language. –Akira Nambara 1987.

Standard English. Standards of English. Correctness in writing. These phrases surround our profession. As composition teachers we are sometimes expected to “fix” the students who come into our classroom to learn how to write. The stakes are often higher when these students come from backgrounds where a “privileged” English is not the norm. Their Englishes are defined as “broken,” “fractured,” street, vulgar, bad, or just plain wrong. In my teaching experiences at Massasoit Community College and at the University of Massachusetts Boston, many if not most of my students are from such backgrounds. English is either a second (third or fourth) language and/or the model of English is far from “standard,” and academic discourse is just another foreign language or another dialect to learn. Still, I delight in the Englishes I hear and read. For me they not only offer exciting areas to study, but they help me argue for change. I agree with Suresh Canagarajah who writes, “my colleagues . . . treat everyone as speakers of Global English—a multinational language featuring a plural grammatical system with diverse norms and conventions in different communities” (*Language Diversity* xiii). To me, it makes more sense to read student papers with Canagarajah’s words in mind. The papers I read are often among the most thought-provoking despite their “collisions” with standard English. When I “treat” these papers as Canagarajah suggests, I learn so much. This does not mean I ignore “errors,” but just as with the Native texts, I try to read beyond the “errors” and listen to the stories. The Native texts allow space for the students to enact their own rhetorics of survivance as they try to negotiate “the multiple, often opposing messages” (Anzaldúa 100) of two or more cultures.

To my mixed-blood mind, it is not enough as David Bartholomae promotes in “Inventing the University,” to *invite* students to come into *our* world, we should, and

must, on many occasions enter *theirs*. As I look at the writings of my people, of Indian people working in Metis spaces, I cannot help align myself with Elspeth Stuckey's concept of how violent literacy can sometimes be. Thus, I try and provide opportunities for diverse students in classes to claim their rhetorical sovereignty. As a mixed-blood teacher, I negotiate these discordant regions and try to bridge the gaps and chasms we must cross. I work in developing pedagogy that will create interconnections and thus allow ourselves to appreciate the richness of these contacts. While some may see my courses more "based on a cultural diversity center than an English class," as one student's evaluation read in 2000, I feel that bringing such a level of culture and history can benefit any classroom. Bringing levels of diversity into *every* classroom is important so we can better understand one another; those acts help make diversity a *real* part of the curriculum rather than just a word we throw around. It is hard for me to separate any of these things out or neatly find the boundaries of "an English class." Through interactions with my Indian and mixedblood colleagues, I/We (the we of my community of Indian scholars) have come to understand what we do as Heartwork. We promote Tom Fox's words: "Seeing Teachers as People" and "Seeing Students as People" which he uses as chapter headings in his book *The Social Uses of Literacy*. We also see the necessity of bringing in a variety of issues for students to grapple with. We understand as Lyons writes, "this site [of Indian sovereignty] should be read and taught not in separation from other groups, but alongside the histories, rhetorics and struggles of African-Americans and other 'racial' or ethnic groups, women, sexual minorities, the disabled, and still others, locating history and writing instruction in the powerful context of American rhetorical struggle"

("Rhetorical Sovereignty" 465). In this statement, Lyons sees a coming together rather than a separatist movement.

In this section, I intend to lay out my approaches for working with students, and use examples of their writings and dialogues to reveal their negotiations in academic spaces and how these negotiations are evidence of survivance rhetoric. I recognize that there are stories of what we call *successes* and *failures* in all our approaches, and I try to learn from both. I also intend to discuss those spaces where as a mixedblood teacher I have felt colonized and thus enact a pedagogical survivance.

My work with these student texts has also grown and been informed by the work in this project. I have used some of these same student texts in several conference presentations over the years. However, after working closely with the Indian texts that appear in this project, I am better able to understand the student texts and my pedagogy. This meta-analysis has given me opportunities to better understand my own scholarship, serves to help me become a better teacher, and helps add to the area of American Indian Rhetoric. Initially, I turned to using Indian texts in my classes to both bring myself in and because of what I observed as parallels to students and schooling today. However, more of my pedagogical consciousness reveals itself as I reflect on their work with these texts.

Listening to our hearts beat.

*Where a part of you goes
The rest of you will follow---given time.
You call yourself a teacher:
Therefore learn. Rabi'a al-Adawiyya*

As mixedbloods in the Academy we have been trying to establish our rhetorical sovereignty in part by advocating to be heard as Indian scholars. We find ourselves written out or silenced and work against the grain of these acts to change them. There is that constant pushing at the borders as we cross and redefine them; they bulge, disappear and reappear. We use stories to help us. The very task of telling our stories pumps as blood through the body to strengthen our survivance in the Academy. We continue to pay attention to our hearts. We continue to listen and speak.

As I grew into my teaching, I found ways to be more confident about bringing my Indian self into the classroom and used that as a way for students to be comfortable with themselves. To counter colonizing practices which exist within the academy, I have extended a mixedblood pedagogy into my classrooms. The power of the academy can constrict many students who are immigrants, minorities or otherwise non-“mainstream,” and they feel like strangers. Like mixedbloods, these marginalized students often feel like an insider/outsider as they try to negotiate the borderlands. Many echo the feelings and mestiza consciousness of the Indigenous peoples discussed here. When language learning (especially English language learning) is involved, these issues are exacerbated. While the Academy does not have an agenda to erase anyone’s language and culture, the hegemonic posture of Standard English looms.³² A Vietnamese student explains in a letter:

Again, I like to learn English very much. I am so worry about how to speak, read and write English well. I hope I have easy want to learn English. . . . After I finish this class I hope I will know much more about English. I will speak and read English clearly. I will write English correctly and I will know and memory many vocabulary of English. But I am so shy to speak English because I do not know many of vocabularies.

³² To clarify, I am not arguing that students not learn the language of power. We must continue to find ways to help students in that end to help them survive in this country.

Her story is familiar to me, to many of us. When I think back to the writing of the Indian boarding school students, I am struck by the similarities in this text. I'm moved by her feeling "so shy to speak English," and in awe of her determination to "know and memory many vocabulary." She acknowledges a need to speak English "clearly" to survive, but I do worry how she may, and as another student from El Salvador does, want to "speak very clear without an accent." We relive these histories over and over, and they echo the Indian boarding school children. Some, so desperate to learn the "language of power," wish to give up all traces of their culture; others fiercely resist; others learn to negotiate their worlds.

A student from Peru wrote an essay about "Language and Feeling" where she negotiates the struggle of two languages. At one point she uses a metaphor of pain to describe experiences of English language learning. She writes, "English means headaches because I must think too much when I have to tell something in English." I understand her immediately not only from the image, but from my own experiences with Spanish. In her first paragraph she writes, "One day I was asking myself, what is the meaning of english and Spanish for me, and I was thinking English is a necessity, the only way to conquer everything I want in this country." I am reminded of the letter in *School News* from Lane who is also determined "to conquer this very language. The Peruvian student is exhibiting some of the same survivance strategies with the use of "necessity" and "conquer everything." Next, she lays out some history for her connections to language:

In the other way Spanish means Peru, my home, my knowledge. I can express everything that I want, I can find the exact word for every feeling that I have. Now I understand the native people from my country. When the Spanish conquered Peru they obligate the Incas to speak Spanish but now there are communities where people speak the mother

tongue “Quechua”. I was born between people who speak Spanish and Quechua and I can speak and understand it when I try to translate from Quechua to Spanish, the words lose their feeling. For example, to say *chascca hahui* is like beautiful eyes or *ojos lindos* in Spanish, in Quechua the meaning is too special, is the most beautiful expression that a man can say to a woman.

Here she discusses the colonization of Peru, the colonization of the Quechua language.

She explains how a language is at the heart of a person “when I try to translate . . . the words lose their feeling.” She layers that with an understanding of “the native people from my country.” At the same time she suggests a rebirth for the language, “now there are communities where people speak the mother tongue.” She also establishes her rhetorical sovereignty: “Spanish means Peru, my home, my *knowledge*. I can express everything that I want, I can find the exact word for every feeling that I have.” What I appreciate about her essay is how she presents herself as a trilingual person and exhibits her mestiza consciousness; not only does she negotiate her borders, she plans to “conquer” them.

My hope is to assist these students to a better understanding of how, as Leslie Silko states, “survival in any landscape comes down to making the best use of all possible resources” (34). This is a survivance story. In my work with students, I attempt to provide many possible “resources” for them to “make the best use of.” Like the “rich input” Stephen Krashen discusses, I try to bring their cultures and languages into play so they can find ways to use them to facilitate their learning. One student commented on an evaluation, “[Joyce] listens carefully, understands the question, and answers accordingly” (2000). I try my best to listen and hear them so I may understand. So in my believing, as Greg Sarris states, that “in understanding another person and culture you must

simultaneously understand yourself” (6), I work with the stories we all bring to a classroom as the heart of our community.

Using Stories

*You **must** tell a story. That's the way I think it's possible for life to have meaning and for it to continue....the story may be old, but you have to make it new in order for it to be useful now, in order for it to be useful in today's terms.*

Simon Ortiz

Stories have power. Our stories help us to examine our lives and to understand the lives of others. Our stories inform us of our past and act as points of departure to consider our present, our future--to rethink our positions in relationship to others and to our place, our people, our pasts. We ground this thinking in our histories and our cultures—many times in a mix of cultures. Given that knowing our sense of place helps us to subvert colonizing ideologies, we can use our own and our students’ stories, to re-position ourselves in the classroom and ultimately the academy. I see my work with ESOL students as listening to and speaking stories in an ongoing way. I have shared their stories of war, their homelands and myths, and their struggles to learn English which they feel to be the answer to all their difficulties. I see how they struggle and find themselves “wounded” as they negotiate an arena which is not always inviting.

With the change in demographics, it is vital that we recognize the many patterns in the weave and not just focus on one. This recognition works to include everyone's right to be heard within the classroom community--acknowledging the differences. Within a community of a classroom we must strive to hear the many voices that make up that

community. Acknowledging these voices means we open up to new knowledges, perhaps, as in Michel Foucault's terms, to "subjugated knowledges" that have been deemed "inadequate." These knowledges include "naive" knowledges, "local or regional" knowledges (82). After all, as Foucault writes "it is through [these knowledges] that criticism performs its work" (82). What Foucault suggests is that these marginalized knowledges are the realities: real experiences of real people who have been dismissed by the hierarchies of "knowledge and science" (82). Historical events have traditionally been taught through the lens of the dominant culture and are seen quite differently, say, through the lens of American Indians. The voices of local knowledges, I argue, should be present in the academy--the very centers of learning--in order for us all to have the benefits of learning from those "subjugated knowledges" in addition to the dominant knowledge. We make meaning through our social contexts, though our language; the world makes sense to us because of the way we adapt within our own culture while experiencing the cultures of others.

To find Metis spaces which offer students opportunities to speak, the curricula I've developed for ESOL classes focuses on American Indian stories and experiences. I approach my curricula by discussing historical aspects included of Indian-White relationships starting with Columbus and Pilgrims. We discuss Indigenous languages as well, and then discuss the enforced schooling of Native children. Through these stories, histories, and philosophies, ESOL students can learn something about the histories of American culture in which they must survive, while understanding their struggles with learning English. I have designed several variations of this curriculum around American Indians' writings about interconnections to their landscapes, histories and ancestors,

experiences in Indian boarding schools, and myths of various tribes. Students respond actively to these readings through double-entry journals and in the various writing assignments as they continually add in and explore their own stories. In “Storytelling in the Classroom,” Sarris explains what stories can do:

[students] must be able to hold their responses up for scrutiny, say against other texts and other stories, so that they can enter into critical dialogue about their relationship to texts and other ideas. Cultural variance is a means here and not an end. An experience is not expressed simply to be validated, but so it might inform and be informed by other experiences (156).

This means that the students use their stories to help them understand the relationships in the texts we are reading, and then use them again to open themselves up to critical discourse. They use the stories to find out more about the classroom community and the larger world. In my classes they also work with the writings of Indigenous people to comprehend a complex world which positions them as insiders/outsideers in/on the borderlands. They use their own writing to think through these complex issues using the strategies of the rhetorical models which are valued in academic writing while combining them in provocative ways.

Toward the end of the term we often put together a class book (see assignment below) of the students’ stories for them to read and write about in the final paper. Each student writes an essay that begins with a seed story—an event, a statement from someone, a thread of something they know. They take this seed story and find out more about it from different perspectives; they do research to gain a deeper understanding. I often refer to this as a mini-history. They write their paper which will be “published” in our classbook. During the process of creating the book, we also attend to many grammar and mechanical issues by working as editors to make the text presentable to a public

audience. After the essays are collected and printed, each student receives the new book. They now must read these student texts and organize them into an anthology for which they must write an introduction and prefaces for each section. Many, as they weave their stories into others. Through this sharing of stories, we learn from one another and experience the social construction of voice; they begin to see themselves as writers. At the same time they develop a theoretical framework for working with stories and valuing cultural distinctions. This new text now becomes the focus for the last essay from the class in which we reflect on our experiences as readers and writers. As a young woman from Vietnam writes, "I think Silko try to said. . . we can learn something inside the stories. From storytelling, they can teach us a lesson, we know where we come from, what we need to do . . . It like one story the beginning of another." Her understanding of the way stories work allows us to see how we can learn from one another, and how we can learn to think critically. Sarris suggests Richard Paul's idea of critical thinking as "empowering [the mind] to analyze, digest and rule its own knowledge, to achieve fair-mindedness and critical exactness," is an "attractive notion" (152) which is not new. But, he continues, critical thinking taught in the academy needs to be linked to the "cultural and political realities" so that it does not become "a normalizing device" (153-54). That is, too often the realities of our students' lives are left outside the classroom. Students have been expected to separate their home and school lives within the classroom. But our students (and especially our students in a commuter schools where I have taught) must return to the realities of their home every day--to the realities of that struggle: conflicts in their jobs, their relationships, their homes, their neighborhoods. Sarris discusses storytelling be used as a method by which students can feel empowered: "by engaging in

their own stories they operate from a position of strength" (162). In this sharing of stories, these students are not engaged in only pure, rational thought, but are including their own histories and cultures--which is at the very heart of critical engagement with the larger world. That is, neither Sarris nor I ask students to simply tell a story about what happened over the weekend, but invite them to engage with the texts of the classroom through the lenses of their stories and to examine why those stories are being offered. In other words, I ask them to explore the relationships of the texts (those of the classroom and those of their stories) and to put themselves in dialogue with these texts. Storytelling, then, becomes a way for teachers to "begin where [students] are" with "language [with story] . . . [and this] becomes the very type of social activity by which we might move toward changing our lives" (Berthoff Sense 25). Stories create dialogue and invite interpretative acts. Asking students how something means to them often opens doors to a richer engagement with the materials presented.

Drawing liberally from Greg Sarris' work, my sequence often begins with my oral version of "Corn Mother" (see appendices). Using an oral story in the beginning of a class suits several purposes. From working with an oral story, we can come to understand our approaches to any reading. For example, in a literature class we can learn how our own experiences often influence our reading of a piece of literature similar to points Louise Rosenblatt makes in reader-response theory. In a writing class, we can reflect on how textural features work to enhance our writing; for example, we see how to provide a frame for a narrative, or how to move from the general to the specific. The retelling of the story helps to acknowledge what each of us brings to the classroom, and to see that each

of us has something valuable to contribute to the whole. Moreover, working with the oral story helps us to understand how communicative acts take place.

“Corn Mother,” briefly, represents a creation and survival story. In it there is an All-maker, Kloskurbeh, who is on earth with “no people.” A young man appears who calls Kloskurbeh “uncle, brother of my mother.” He has been made from the foam of the waves and the sun. A maiden has been made from the plant, water, and warmth. She appears to the young man, and they are married and conceive. After generations are born, the people are starving because they have hunted out the game. First mother, or Corn Mother, asks to be killed and returns as the corn plant to ensure the survival of her children, and as the tobacco plant to remind them of their spirituality.

In the first week of a semester, students listen to “Corn Mother” in the last fifteen minutes of a class, then I gave them the following assignment:

You have listened to the story of "Corn Mother." For this assignment, I would like you retell the story as you heard it; write down your telling of the story and bring it to class with you to class. After you have written down the story, reread what you wrote (but please do not make any changes). Next make a list of any similar stories or events you might know. We will be working with this writing in class. (please do this in writing).

The students come in the next class with their versions. As I walk toward the classroom, I usually can hear them talking about the story, sometimes questioning the assignment (“what were we supposed to do?”), comparing versions. (“did you get that guy’s name?”) or wondering if they did it right (“I didn’t get what happened”). We then work in groups to compare their retellings. In their groups they read their versions to one another and see what they remembered. At this stage there is a great deal of hesitation because some think they didn’t do the assignment “correctly.” I try to assure them that what they did is more

important than “correctness” for this assignment; what they did is the very thing we examine. Reactions vary, and as Sarris says, “often the interpretations tell more about themselves than the Indian text” (149). They marvel at students who remembered details; they see where most remembered the request from Corn Mother to be killed and the carrying out of the request. The next step involves working with a written copy of the story, and they examine what they left out, rearranged, or added. We then discuss reasons for rearranging the events or for the deletions and for the collective memory of the killing. I ask what causes us to remember some parts and leave out others. Later we discuss their familiar stories as points of comparison. For example, a student who is also studying theology, writes, “while listening to the story, I understood that her world was alive not only in her story, but in her soul.” Occasionally, one or two of the students will remark on “take this and smoke it. It will clear your minds . . .” with an expected modern lens. Another student, from Guatemala is reminded of Bible stories and Jesus sacrifice.

I first used the oral story in a Freshman Composition class at UMass Boston. My sequence was based on the fiction and fact of stories. We discussed the reliability of memory. In addition to “Corn Mother,” we read Patricia Nelson Limerick, Lewis Nordan, John Edgar Wideman and Susan Griffin from *Ways of Reading*. In this class we were exploring multiple points of view and how the past influences the present. Following are two excerpts from a young man from Ethiopia:

Retelling the story--

The story is telling about the one who created the others. The creator survives by the help of the wind, temp and moisture of the atmosphere. Gradually she born kids and multiplied on the land. Once upon a time, they starved and she would rather want to die. The mother asked her husband to kill her, but her husband refuses to do so. Instead he flee to the North to ask someone and get a solution. The husband returned from his journey and told her he couldn't find a solution. Someone tell him to kill

her, if she wants to die and drag her dead body back and forth on the ground. Finally they buried her somewhere.

Events I know--

The lord God created the earth and the heaven but there was no life on it. God formed the first man on this planet Adam and then his support or wife Eve. He put them in the garden of Eden. He grow everything they need in the Eden, for them to eat. In addition He commanded them not to eat the one fruit from the one plant in the garden. But the serpent come and mislead Eve to eat from the tree, which God forbids them. Since then God get them out from the Eden garden and to live by plowing the land and sweat from his brow. Adam and Eve begin to live a terrible life on this land. His kids Abel and Cain start making iron tools and with it they fight one another, brothers, killed each other. Generations follow them, fighting or killing continues up to the present.

First, I am reminded of Sarris saying the students' retold stories reveal more about themselves than the oral story. As I mentioned, this is a student from Ethiopia. His country was one that Christianity came to very early (around the fourth century CE, I believe), and he also lived with the harsh realities of political unrest and violence. In his retelling, he uses a number of cultural markers. He has Biblical inferences: "the one who created the others" and "She born kids and multiplied on the land." and the marker of fairy tales: "once upon a time." His resistance to the Algonquin interpretation of creation is apparent when he says, "This is a story about *the one* that created the others," and in his deletion of most of the story: Kloskurbeh lives on the earth with no people, yet one day a youth appears and calls him Uncle, brother of my mother . . . and later a maiden appears. Both the young man's and the young girl's creation don't fit in the Biblical version of Adam and Eve. The student makes no mention of the growing of corn or tobacco or the aspects of survival. Even his headings indicate one story is preferred over the other: "Retelling the story" and "Events I *know*." He establishes his own sense of place with that marker and continues to provide glimpses into his own story. He

contradicts “Corn Mother” when he writes, “there was no life on it” and that God “grow everything they need in the Eden.” What I also find interesting is his ending where he discusses Cain’s murder by his brother and that “fighting or killing continues up to the present.” I imagine he struggles with Corn Mother’s *request* to be slain by her husband. At the same time, I imagine he is making a comment on the political unrest of his own country and the violence in many other places in the world. His experiences, strict religious beliefs, and enormous respect for the text and teacher (as he told me on numerous occasions) place him in a Metis space he needs to negotiate.

Interestingly, this student works further toward rhetorical sovereignty when works with his own immigration story. By this point we have read additional essays. At first, he would only summarize some of the texts we read. In a conference, I spoke with him about the differences between summary and analysis. In his next paper, he takes up with his story:

My mother said “I say this to you in your travel through life, you are not a child anymore. Now you are matured enough to see what is bad and what is good. . .” And she added it is the choice you made in life and your ability to mingle with other people around the world make your life meaningful. However they have big differences, my mother’s word has some senses of the story written by Lewis Nordan whose father told Sugar “good luck with your travels in life.”

I see this move as strong for him where he sees the “big differences,” yet “some senses” of connecting to another’s story. In other parts of his essay, he also problematizes his experience and how, in his words, “the ‘land of the free’ sounds to me now and then.” He relates his struggle to live in the United States which contains challenges and temptations. He hears the advice of his mother and other relatives, acknowledging an oral tradition of wisdom being handed down through generations. His recursive move in this paper brings him back to the events he *knows*:

This was the message read to me from the Bible “you must not eat fruit from the tree that is in the middle of the garden and you must not touch it or surely you will die. ‘You surely will not die’ the serpent says, ‘for God knows that when you eat of it, your eyes will be opened, and you will be like God knowing good and evil.’” Genesis ch 3:4

This message was to make me disciplined, they knew the possible problems I would face in a new culture.

Here he has returned to what he *knows*, still quoting the Bible, but with what I think is a new understanding of his story and a sort of irony regarding eating from the tree of knowledge. Combining the words of his mother and the Bible with his experiences in the States: finding a job, temptations of street life, enrolling in college, he begins to incorporate these elements into his own story--building on the knowledge he has entered the classroom with. Since this draft was headed for our classbook, the student is doing what Sarris suggests students do: “scrutinize their own experiences or what constitutes their assumptions” (155) and hold up “their responses for scrutiny against other texts and other stories, so that they can enter into a critical dialogue about their relationship to texts and other ideas” (156). My offer to interact with these texts opened a door to how to negotiate his place in the academy. Encouraged by this use of the oral story, I began to adapt more of Sarris’s working with storytelling into my classes.

In the Spring of 1997, I taught an ESOL class at UMass Boston. This class is pre-Freshman composition, and designed to give the students extensive reading and writing. We began by listening to “Corn Mother,” and offering our interpretations. Following we read an excerpt from Paulo Freire on “The Importance of the Act of Reading” to discuss ideas of contextualizing. We then read an excerpt from *No Turning Back: A Hopi Woman’s Struggle to Live in Two Worlds* by Poligaysi Qoyawama, Leslie Marmon Silko’s *Language and Literature From a Pueblo Perspective*, *The Way to Rainy*

Mountain by N. Scott Momaday, an excerpt from *My People the Sioux* (“First Days at Carlisle”) by Luther Standing Bear, and collected letters by boarding school children from Janice Gould’s work. I also bring in newspaper articles from *Indian Country Today*, *The New York Times*, *The Boston Globe* and other papers as they fit.

For each article or essay read, students must write critical reading journals in double-entry form where they take quotes from the reading and then comment on them. In reading journals, I ask students to respond to the essay by finding places they find as significant. I ask them what themes run through the article and how they connect these to their own experiences. Polingaysi Qoyawama’s narrative resonates for the students in multiple ways. At first they are confused, trying to figure out why the Hopi didn’t want their children to go to school; they tell me all children must go to school and they must learn English. We read how Qoyawayma deliberately disobeyed her mother’s warnings and went close enough to the *bahana*’s (whiteman’s) school so she could satisfy her curiosity. She continues to participate in schooling because as her mother told her there was “no turning back” (24), and Qoyawayma eventually went to the Sherman Institute in Riverside, CA. Throughout the book, she relates her English language learning experiences as well as her struggles of trying to live in two worlds. In a reading journal, another Vietnamese student writes,

My understand of Polingaysi is about a girl wants to go to school of Bahana’s people, her family is Hopi people, they don’t want her to go to school, and want her to know where she is from. The hopi also don’t like her, because they don’t understand her, and they think she’s not Hopi person. But Polingaysi try to clear what they treated her and she tries not to angry at them. The end of the story, she is a teacher, and teach her student some of Hopi’s tradition, that’s an evidence that she didn’t forget her Hopi culture.

This student is trying to deal with the confusion Qoyawayma faces in trying to go to school, yet be separated from her people. For this student, the final proof is in Polingaysi Qoyawayma's teaching: "she didn't forget her Hopi culture." She analyzes the circumstances: "they think she's not a Hopi person," and makes her claim: "that's evidence." Her last statement is emphatic, and I imagine she sees herself in the similar circumstances at times.

After discussing the essay and our reading journals, the next assignment asks students to write a paper following this assignment:

Through the readings by Freire, Polingaysi, and Silko and in class, we have been thinking about how experiences and stories help us understand written words. Now it's your turn to write. For this assignment, I would like you to write about a family story or a legend from your culture that help explains your identity. Within your essay, you should discuss the importance of these stories in knowing ourselves and our cultures. You need to use at least one reference from any of the pieces we have read.

I am interested in the way students respond to any assignment. Some work directly, responding to each part. Others resist the constraints, yet still implicitly answer the assignment. A student from Korea writes in connection with Qoyawayma:

I thought if I go to America, I can speak English well and go to good University and have good American friends. At the first day of school my dream was broken. I couldn't understand what the teacher told me to do and I couldn't ask a question because I was afraid to have mistake in my English.

Like Qoyawayma, this young woman sees opportunity in schooling: "speak English well," and go to good University." However, this student soon learns to sit there silently, "afraid to have a mistake." We are reminded of Qoyawayma's experience of not knowing the letters she was told to write. In these experiences of fear and silence, we see "the

space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy” (Anzadúa 19). Because of this bond, the student truly engages with the text.

When I went back to Korea for vacation, my friends expect that I am almost American, but I was not. They began to ask me about America. I couldn't answer their question. And I also don't know Korean culture well because I went to America in middle school. I felt I am stupid. I can't join American side but also Korean side.

This emotional trauma is much the same as Qoyawayma (and others). Both she and the Korean student are crossing into the borderlands and struggling to find a place to fit. I feel her hurt and lack of self-confidence when she says, “I felt I am stupid.” However, reading Qoyawayma's story helps articulate the trauma for this student. She allows this story to be a catalyst for her own. As Silko points out, “The stories are always bringing us together, keeping this whole together. . . come here because we have all had these kinds of experiences. . . separation not only endangers the group but the individual as well—one does not recover by oneself” (52). As part of her recovery, the young woman writes:

Polingaysi Qoyawama wrote that she had been called a two heart. I can understand her feeling. She probably didn't know where she supposed to stand between two worlds. She had to understand two different world which is America and Hopi. All people have one heart. It is very hard to getting one. I can feel how hard she accept two world.

I hear a mestiza consciousness here: “she probably didn't know where she is supposed to stand between two worlds.” The similarities of these two women reveal themselves. In this heteroglossic text, we are hear her own story through Qoyawayma's. We sense the boundary has blurred between Qoyawayma's story and her own. We are moved by her words “All people have one heart. It is very hard to getting one.” We witness the survivance strategy she recovers, and we see in the following her move toward rhetorical sovereignty:

I am far away from my country. I have lived here almost seven years, but I have never forgotten my culture and identity. It can't be changed my identity. No matter where I live, my blood come from ancestor.

I am struck by the strength in her writing here, strength she now seems to regain as she reads Qoyawama's text. She mixes herself into Qoyawama's story. Regardless of her struggles, she holds fiercely to her Korean self: "my blood come from ancestor."

The next piece we read is "First Days at Carlisle" about Luther Standing Bear's experiences at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School, and we also read some of the "Letters Home" Janice Gould has collected. Again, the students create reading journals and then write an essay about the experiences of these students. Once more I find the writings of the students to be provocative and to demonstrate rhetorics of survivance. Many respond to Luther Standing Bear's having his name changed which often provokes a lively discussion. "Americans can't pronounce our names" or "They tell us to take an American name before we leave our country." Others react to the cutting of Standing Bear's hair. In her reading journal, a student remarks, "Luther feeling sad because they cut Luther hair. In my country Vietnamese people say when you cut your hair that mean you cut your root where you are come from. I think Luther thought that way too that why he cry." I am struck by this idea of "cut[ting] your root." The removal of people from land has not stopped. Many Vietnamese were forced to leave their country as a direct result of the war there. Their stories echo the Indian experiences; through these Indian texts they can find ways to express their emotion.

In an essay, another student from Korea uses Luther Standing Bear to make a comparison to her Grandmother:

"Snip snip"

She was sitting in front of a big mirror in a beauty salon with tearful eyes. Her over three-foot-long hair became short . . . she was still wearing the summer Korean traditional dress. . . . She used to keep the traditional hair style which was braided, made into a chignon, know as the “pinyo” . . . which she had kept for over 80 years. Cutting hair was not only to make her feel old but also to make her feel losing herself.

She was born in a small village in country side of Korea (Japan occupation do all they ordered) I could understand what happened to those little Indians in Luther Standing Bear, my ancestors had an exact same part of history in not too far past. Every deep wrinkles are full of her life: happiness age war tear love history.

Once more, I am overwhelmed by the writing these stories produce. Here we read the survivance of Korean culture. Having to cut her hair at eighty-years old, this student’s grandmother relives the indignities she was forced to face as a younger woman: “make her feel losing herself.” We experience the deep loss her grandmother experiences. Her voice echoes through her granddaughter, and we are made aware of Korean history. This student makes strong connections to Standing Bear’s experiences and has brought deeper meaning to her reading. At the same time, she responds to acts of oppression: the Indian children forced assimilation, her grandmother’s forced haircut (due to her age), and the occupation of Korea. Finally, she references a cultural marker of respect for the wisdom elders: “Every deep wrinkles are full of her life.” The lines on the elder’s face tell stories. I am reminded of the nature of holisticity in this remark.

In between reading, writing in journals, and writing and revising essays, we participated in other classroom activities. Students would review each others’ papers, and we would have group discussions that were presented to the class. We would sometimes do a whole class review of one paper. I would first give the students only the introduction of the paper and have it on an overhead projector. We read the introduction and I would ask what expectations the class had based on it. We then proceeded to review the whole

essay to see if those expectations were met. Sometimes we “found” a better introduction toward the end of the paper. On other occasions, we would look at a paper which needed more support. Students would divide into groups and each group took a different paragraph to revise. They would go back to the readings, and find evidence to enhance the argument in the paper. A representative from each group would then write the revision on the board, and we would look at them to see how they were improved. These activities allowed for collaboration among the class, and to help them enter into the conventions of academic discourse. As students worked together, they began to discover more and more connections.

Students continue to take these stories into larger contexts. A very quiet and serious young man from Japan responds as follows:

Japanese one group of religion whose name is Oumu Shinri. This religion had same process with his [Luther Standing Bear's] experience. . . .First, Indian bodies are separated far from home. Then, they were controlled a lot of things, food, life schedule for brainwashing. Finally, we can know he is brainwashing because he didn't show any negative parts in the story. Also he doesn't show his dilemma with the Indian culture. This story hide sadow of religion controll. I really think this.

This is a reading journal which did not undergo a process of editing, but we see his response is highly provocative. I read this response and am reminded of Foucault: “the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions, attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (*Power/Knowledge* 39). In fact, this student's response resonates of Foucault on a number of levels. First, he uses the body as the site of control. He also speaks to the actions: “brainwashing,” the attitudes: “didn't show any negative parts,” and everyday lives: “separated far from home.” Moreover, he makes a larger connection to other sites

of control by bringing in Oumu Shinri, the group that had recently admitted to the attacks on the Japanese subway system. This student's highly sophisticated response breaks the borders of what ESOL writers can achieve. Obviously, this student is highly literate in his first language, but may have felt defeated to some extent by being placed in this particular SOL class. I believe working with the Indian text allowed this student to cross the borders and an invitation to respond allowed his intellectual engagement; he wasn't shut down by merely focusing on error. The texts allow for him to expand this idea of surveillance and control of the subject's body into a current political situation.

Later his journal response to the boarding school challenges the institution of schooling:

They don't know about outside of school so they only write life of school. Some part of letters I feel they wanted to write complen, but they afraid of teacher. Also the teacher and school very strong force to them, because some letter began or in middle of letter, they wrote that I'm studying good school. . . .

I marvel at response like this, wonder who "wanted to write complen [complaining]."

This highly intelligent young man would often complain about his own schooling where he found the restrictions confining; I wonder if this comment is an unconscious referent to his own experiences of schooling. I am also struck at his close reading of the letters:

"the teacher and school very strong force to them, because some letter began or in middle of letter, they wrote that I'm studying good school." He notices the repetition of the children's resistance and compliance in the letters. Again he connects to Foucault's theory of surveillance.

A few other responses to the letters were also interesting. In one case, we find another Hispanic student who blends his own story with these children's.

After I read those letters I think I can figure out what they said. Maybe they get the worst grammar but they write out the simple word and the important thing. That is like every new English learner when they have contact with new culture they have difficulty to accept them. . . .nobody wants to lose their native culture. . .

What I find interesting here is the empowerment felt by the student: “Maybe they get the worst grammar but they write out the simple word and the important thing.” To me, this student is defining himself for others, those who “have difficulty to accept them,” through the Indian children’s letters.

In another response, a young man from Vietnam also comments on the Indians “broken English”:

Through letter and its broken English we can show that the Indian American children totally were controlled in their communication by their captor. On the other hand they seemed admired to be controlled such as they please to. In any time when they use their language to communicate each other they felt guilty.

What is important to recognize here is this student, too, sees the compliance and resistance in the Indian letters. The insight is keen as he closely reads the letters and notes the acts of surveillance. This student told me how he was in a refugee camp for many years before finding sponsorship to come to the states. He knows the tactics of compliance and resistance, and he is able to use his prior knowledge to recover the stories in these texts.

As a next assignment, we read Leslie Marmon Silko’s “Language and Literature from a Pueblo Indian Perspective,” in which Silko describes storytelling as more than something “done at bedtime” (149). The students respond in multiple ways, but most acknowledge their own oral traditions:

After I read this article I see a lot of things that Silko said are very similar with our culture. In our country the old people always told the stories to

the younger generation. They also pass the stories from generation to generation. The stories also include where we were came from. Each positive or not positive story has their own meaning and lesson. When people hear the stories they can learn the experience. In my country [we] had a story about ‘a man who lost his horse. The horse was a good horse and very obeyed him. So he felt very sad. He can’t sleep and eat, but another day a horse better than his old one came to his house.’ When people who lost something they would use this story to tell themselves that was not the end of the world. The things they lost may bring luck things and reduce the danger for them. That would help them feel better.

This response is from a Chinese student. She acknowledges the importance of the stories told in her culture. In her essay, Silko tells the story of a young man whose car rolls into a chasm. This student connects Silko’s story to her own by including the story of the man and the horse. In this way she brings the two cultures into the same borderland acknowledging “when people hear the stories they can learn the experience.” This activity is not unknown to her, and is also accepted by her.

In his reading journal, an older Haitian student responds to Silko as follows:

Somewhere in my country storytelling is a way of life. And you can imagine how important story is for a population 70% illiterate. In our country sides many old people rely on stories to transmit what they have learned from their grandparents like stuff from culture. And it is clear that Leslie Silko does approach that matter because of her own experience, but she writes, speaks for every society that has known the age of the oral tradition.

This student points to the realities of everyday life for the majority of people in Haiti:

“70% are illiterate.” Silko’s story gives him opportunity to speak about a social problem in his country. At the same time, he establishes rhetorical sovereignty in describing the reliance on oral tradition: “you can imagine how important story is.” Moreover, he says Silko “*speaks for every society that has known the age of oral tradition.*” As such, he sees Silko as an advocate for both their peoples making a strong connection between them.

Toward the end of the semester students are to find a seed story by which they can start a research paper. I imagine this story to be like a small stone thrown into the water causing ripples to move out farther and farther. They are asked to incorporate the readings and additional research to these papers.

Classbook Assignment

From the start of the semester, the pieces we have been reading involve ways of dealing with who people are and how they know themselves. "Corn Mother" told a creation story and a survival story of the Algonkin people. Polingaysi told us about the Hopi people and her struggle between two cultures. Luther Standing Bear discusses his education at the Carlisle Boarding School as being in the white man's image. Both discuss the process of learning English. Leslie Silko writes about her landscape, the Laguna Pueblo people and her Aunt Susie. And N. Scott Momaday writes a history of the Kiowa people through his grandmother's memory. You have also been writing about and connecting these authors to your own cultural and family stories.

Now it's your turn to write about storytelling and history from your perspective.

For this assignment, I would like you to write a mini-history of a family or a culture. This is not just a personal essay; rather it is a history which includes your personal experiences as well as collected **sources**: interviews, old photographs, texts, news clippings, letters, diaries-- whatever you can find. In other words, you should collect materials to be incorporated in a history of a family or a culture which means you have responsibility for representing more than yourself--you need to step forward and speak about the materials.

You should also speak back to the authors we have read making references to their work. That is, how have they informed this project you are working on?

This essay is part of a project we will be working on for the next few weeks. After a series of drafts and revisions, we will create a class book which will include all your essays. Once the book is compiled, we will use it as a new text to read and write about. With this entire project in mind, you should choose something you feel comfortable publishing and which you feel warrants your extended, serious consideration.

I was both astonished and pleased at how the students incorporated oral traditions in the papers and their connections to the land. I am also impressed at how they work with

materials to fulfill the assignment. A young woman from Vietnam was influenced by N.

Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*:

I remember when I was a child of twelve years old, at least once a month when there was a full moon and the last song of our bell coming from our pagoda was stopped, Grandmother always told me to follow her for a walk. Our walk always ended either at the gate of our village or at the main entrance of our graveyard . . . she always told me this story. . . In the beginning, the vietnamese people consisted of four tribes; LE, TRAN, NGUYEN, HUYUN. According to my grandmother these are the embodiment of four eggs laid by a phoenix coming from the Middle East. The phoenix when he came to my village, found it so appealing with its moderate climate, its clear river and its beautiful range of mountains, that he decides to remain forever. But in order to remain in my village, he had to fight with other birds. . . . So in the beginning, it was a struggle for existence. . . .

It was my grandmother's story who told me to keep good tradition transmitted from generation to generation, and at least twice a year to return to my native village and pay tribute to my ancestors.

Her story is about a visit to her ancestral burial grounds into which she weaves the history and stories of her culture. In this case, her grandmother is a resource for her research and the one who tells her to "remember." What strikes me about this passage from her paper is the story is started out by her grandmother, and then the student's own voice takes over. For me it represents orality *in* literacy as much as a heteroglossic text. The markers of "In the beginning" are also of interest considering the number of Catholic missionaries in Vietnam resulting in a kind of biblical rhetoric combined with the storytelling ways of her grandmother. Beyond that, the similarities of Vietnamese culture and Indian culture are strong: storytelling, honoring ancestors, and connection to the landscape. In this seven-page paper, she writes

And I can't help thinking: humble and perhaps non-educated women like Momaday's Grandmother and mine, who believe in their ancestors, who always live friendly with all people, who love their homeland and try to keep their traditions and customs always alive and above all war—these

women deserve our love and our respect regardless of their religion and language.

What strikes me in this passage are the similarities of culture once again. However, I am also moved by her reverence for these Grandmothers, and I see this student implying a somewhat feminist perspective regarding the strength of these women especially because they carry the histories. Moreover, the writer establishes rhetorical sovereignty in defining these women as worthy of our respect and establishing her own place among them.

Of course there are papers which are not so successful. Often times these are from students who try to do the paper in the last week rather than over the time frame established. Some do not take the course content as serious. Most students, however, do become invested in this project. In another paper, a student writes about Hiroshima:

When I come back to my home, I always stand on a small balcony of my house and look down on the river. because I love to breathe the fresh air which river wind brings me. . . Do you know the smell of a river?. . . While breathing this air, I think about the development of Hiroshima city. While breathing I also think of the moment fifty-two years ago when the Atomic bomb dropped above this city. . On that moment I was not there. I was not born yet. But when I remember the stories that I heard from my family who was victims of Atomic bomb, I could be there.

In her paper, she weaves stories told by her aunt and mother who were present “on that moment” with historical texts on Hiroshima. Through the stories of her relatives, this student “could be there.” Her research included stories from the men on the *Enola Gay*, and she brings her story to the fifty-second ceremony at the Hiroshima Peace park each August. She thinks about the victims

who realize themselves that they have a responsibility for telling their experiences. . . . Through their stories, victims tell us that we have a responsibility for our history. This is because each human being creates history. . . Victims want us to realize that the Atomic bombing was

happened by human beings. Through their stories, victims remind us not to cover but to open our eyes toward the truth . . . of our history.

What a remarkable example of rhetorical sovereignty: “we have a responsibility for our history” and “open our eyes toward the truth . . . of our history.” She not only defines herself, but she also holds a definition of every human being. She holds a mirror up for us to look at ourselves in view of the whole of humanity. As June Jordan explains, “In mutuality: ‘One is both affected by the other and being affected by the other; one extends oneself out to the other and is also receptive of the impact of the other. . . . One joins in the similarities with the other and also values the qualities that make that person different’” (1). In sharing the Indian stories and listening to the stories of these students, I am impacted by these words.

Often we teach and are not sure what is happening. We are focused on each class and what is happening at the moment, that we may not see what other things are going on. We talk about establishing community in our classes, but do we ever achieve that goal? I was fortunate in this class to also have some reflections. Of course not everyone liked the readings. One found them “too difficult,” and another thought the “same Indian topic [was] sometimes boring.” Yet, another perceived when we talk “about our cultures I understand more.” Most said working together was helpful. One student writes:

This huge class somehow helps me a lot because it is a little society, from this class I can observed lot of points of view from many side of life. Why? because it is a little society, strong society in the real society of the world.” We can’t be named a real community, but we can come close to an understanding of one.

Our class also had a tutor assigned to it. She took part in every class often helping with group activities, and she made appointments for tutoring students outside of class. At the

end of the term, she had to do an assessment of the class for her tutoring seminar. I am grateful to have this document to see what evolved in the class:

What I believe [my observations] represent is how the class as it was conceptualized by Joyce Rain evolved and came 'full circle'. . . "She incorporated stories and narratives from Native Americans as well as readings from other sources, including newspaper articles. The readings used, however, followed a thematic purpose in that they were chosen to get the students to understand that the knowing of personal as well as 'national' histories and the telling of stories helps us to understand and *know* ourselves as well as others. . . . In the latter part of the semester, students used their own and their classmates' writing as text and source for further connecting their stories with others'. . .the approach was both 'communicative' and 'holistic.' From observing and participating in this class I feel I actually (finally) understand the meaning of these terms which are used so frequently. This pedagogy now has meaning.

I am grateful for her words. I felt strongly about the work, about the class. My use of storytelling methods, in the words of Greg Sarris, let "our words show us as much as we can learn from one another about one another"(157). So as we "learn about one another," we transform (hi)stories into a new story.

Through the years, I have reused the curriculum I developed for the ESOL class. I changed it for the levels and classes (both ESOL and "mainstream") I was teaching, or I combined some of the Indian texts with others. For one summer class in 2000, I used Silko's *Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit* for the class text. We read most of the book and I also supplemented it with handouts. In this class we attempted to come up with a theory of storytelling, and although we did so, the students were not all that satisfied with the text which they found too repetitive. In other classes, I combined the stories with readings from *Ways of Reading* in a sequence that ended with Mary Louise Pratt's "Arts of the Contact Zone." In this sequence, students had to define their

interactions in a contact zone. In my current classes at Massasoit Community College, I still use “Corn Mother,” Standing Bear, Qoyawayma, and Silko as well as others.

Pedagogical Survivance

Some of us read and listen from a different place. Malea Powell

That's the story that follows me everywhere and won't let me sleep. . . . It sustains me through these tough distances. Joy Harjo

While literacy is our profession, we are still engaged in debates about what constitutes literacies. In *Rhetoric and Reality*, James Berlin writes, “literacy has always and everywhere been at the center of the educational enterprise. No matter what else it expects of its schools, a culture insists that students learn to read, write and speak in the officially sanctioned manner” (1). Because literacy is at the center, it places composition and rhetoric teachers in the midst of the battle, often as an ambivalent participant. As a mixed-blood teacher, I often feel torn in various pieces wanting to help students become both comfortable with and engaged in writing, and use composing to make sense of things,³³ and be critically engaged with the larger world. Yet, I realize the Academy has expectations of what and how students should learn. It is my Metis space fraught with divergent thinking. The expectations are often in conflict with my heart. As John Brereton told me in a conversation, “composition has made a Faustian bargain with the Academy.” We have for our place as a discipline been given the role of fixer for our own

³³ see Anne E. Berthoff.

and other disciplines. Criticism proliferates from administrators, colleagues, the business world, and students themselves about what we should be (and are) doing in first-year writing courses. Because these courses are often required, students feel confined in our classrooms. In *English in America*, Richard Ohman writes, “Composition is . . . a matter of time-serving, doing what the instructor wants, submitting to a mild necessary indignity” (141-42). And Jeff Smith notes in “Students Goals, Gatekeeping, and Some Questions of Ethics,” that “many students quickly get used to the idea that many of their courses, especially required courses like composition, have no clear relationship to their majors or eventual careers. They learn to mark time...” (305). My experiences in teaching have brought me in contact with a student population with a wide range of difference across cultures of ethnicity, gender, age, class, and experience. They have come to the composition or writing classroom with preconceived notions about English: “I expect grammar—a 101 stereotype” or “do you want a five-paragraph essay?” or “I expect a technical course in grammar.” Working through the fifteen weeks with captured audiences takes us out and back on a journey during which we explore our expectations and understandings of English composition as well as our stories and histories. Trying to create a strong community base in our classroom engenders an interactive classroom where there exists, as Thomas Fox suggests, an “interplay of [student’s] social experience with their educational experience” (1) thus bridging gaps between home and school discourse communities. Rather than only “bringing them to our world,” we work together beginning with stories from our cultures; and, yes, some are more difficult to reach than others.

Criticism presents itself, too, due to the complex and diverse nature our discipline allows. While NCTE and CCCC have created resolutions like “Students’ Right to Their Own Language” (1974) and “CCCC Statement on Second Language Writers and Writing”(2001), there is still an expectation of *Standards*. But again, we must ask, *whose Standards* are they? J. Elspeth Stuckey’s controversial book *The Violence of Literacy* attacks the very core of the profession and demonstrates the nature of a profession which places itself in a series of checks and balances. As composition teachers, we work in the trenches with students from diverse backgrounds trying to help them access whatever form of the American Dream they can with the large shadow of *Standards* lurking—and that troubles me.

It has not gone away. Many of us in rhetoric and composition and in ESOL have engaged in theory to practice. We have read about process and product, about current-traditionalists, expressionists, social constructionists, and cognitivists. We have theorized to the point so we now have collections like Victor Villanueva’s *Crosstalk in Comp Theory* taking us through, as Villanueva states, “what it is, how to teach it better, or to discern the degree to which it either removes or bestows power” (xi). We know about rhetorical models and forms. My experience has taken me from a social constructionist camp at UMass Boston which aligns itself to folks like David Bartholmae and Anne E. Berthoff to an expressionivist camp at UNH with Donald Murray’s influence. Both “camps” provided me with incredible mentors who helped me develop and enhance my pedagogy, and I found the foci of both to be on process and critical pedagogy. In ESOL, I have found the same attention to theory and am grateful for collections in this area such as *Landmark Essays in ESL* edited by Tony Silva and Paul Kei Matsuda, and *Enriching*

ESOL Pedagogy edited by Vivian Zamel and Ruth Spack. Often in these Metis spaces of theory tension exists. I am grateful for that tension, because it allows a student to gain a broader perspective in her scholarship and pedagogy as she takes the theory into practice.

Now, however, I am in a different Metis space which is oft times disturbing. I know how far composition and ESOL pedagogies have come, and I wonder how to bring those pedagogies into my current arena, something I can do in individual classes, but is harder to bring to the floor of department meetings. I have moved to a Massachusetts community college where, ironically, I find myself in an internal colony, where the teaching turns toward reductive methods, and I am, at times, very disheartened. I believe some of the reason is to be placed on the workload of the instructors and some on the MCAs given in the K-12 public school system. In Massachusetts, students must pass the MCAs to be awarded a high-school diploma. At Massasoit Community College, developmental writers have to master the paragraph before moving on to the essay, and this hold true for ESOL writers as well. For example, we currently are gently “forced” to use *Great Paragraphs* and *Great Essays* as texts in the two ESOL writing courses. For me they represent an old model of using very controlled, lock-step texts which do not bring the writers to any level of sophistication nor allow for them to take risks in their writing. In English Composition I, the focus for writing instruction is based on rhetorical modes and five-paragraph essays.³⁴ The current text is *Patterns* which provides the fairly standard selection of model essays on which students can base their own “pattern” of writing. Many teachers hand out a form on which a student can fill in the thesis with three

³⁴ In defense of the faculty, I would say history repeats itself in a sense. The teaching load at the community college (in Massachusetts) is 5-5. Classes can have up to 32 students in them, though the average for writing classes is 22 or 18 in developmental classes. And not all instructors stay locked in the five-paragraph model.

points to generate the body paragraphs, specific supporting evidence, and a conclusion which restates the thesis. They are also required to do an exit exam which counts errors; three major sentence structure errors is a failure. Students come into the Writing Center with what I see as mostly fill-in-the-blanks tasks. English Composition II is then an introduction to literature course in which analysis of texts is expected. However, the complaint of teachers is that students don't know how to do analysis, they can only summarize and they want you to tell them what to write. To my mixedblood mind, it is difficult to have effective pedagogy under these limitations. The division has generated generic syllabi which part-time instructors are highly encouraged to follow; part-time instructors must also use the department texts. We do have "academic freedom," but when I decided to not order *Great Paragraphs* for my ESOL class this semester, the bookstore notified the ESL chair and she came to talk with me. Even when I have told the department consistently that I find the book reductive in its approach, she still asked if I would use it in my class because I would be "the only one not using the book." I did tell her my concerns, but I know if I refused, she would not ask me to teach the class again. Thus, I find myself colonized by this lock-step approach to writing. Mostly and because I believe in reading-based writing, I use the text in class to point out some grammar exercises, and supplement the class with handouts for reading and writing. However, I often feel like I am not being true to the students or myself; they pay at least \$35.00 for a text that I struggle to use. It is in this Metis space of teaching at the community college that I find the borders being patrolled. It troubles me because these students need more than what they are getting.

As an Indian scholar, I have another issue with composition readers. While many of these readers have tried to diversify their selections, they are not promising in the area of American Indian writing. For a while, one could only find See-Yahltl's speech or even Chief Joseph's "I will fight no more forever," usually a few lines and often contained in a state of surrender. On the other hand, they may now include a significant piece, but the apparatus which follows reduces the complexities of the text. For example, Silko's "Yellow Woman and a Beauty of the Spirit" is in several texts under Exemplification, or Sherman Alexie's "Indian Education" is under Narration. While each provides models for these genres, they are much more complicated. Each essay speaks to the sovereignty of Indian peoples, but the composition readers do not have space to address such crucial issues. Rather, a suggested assignment following the Silko essay is to find someone you can identify as having "a beauty of the spirit." As such it brings a narrow interpretation to Silko's essay.

As I have repeatedly said, what I try to do is ground my teaching in (hi)stories, in that sense of "claiming the past." For me it means working through the texts of my ancestors and hearing the stories; it means engagement with the complexities. It means looking at a history of education that deliberately tried to take away identity, language and culture. Yet it means asking why that story, as many other stories from Indian country, is not told. It means listening to and understanding the (hi)stories students carry into my classrooms and find ways for them to "claim those pasts." It means reading student texts more closely to uncover the stories inside. And it means re-examining our practices in the Academy so it truly invites *all* students and allows them "to speak" (Lyons 466). As Lyons claims, "rhetorical sovereignty requires of teachers more than a

renewed commitment to listening and learning; it also requires a radical rethinking of how and what we teach at all levels of schooling, from preschool to graduate curricula and beyond” (450). Struggling with texts and curricula, with trying to find ways to help students gain access all are paths to my pedagogical sovereignty.

Epilogue

There is much more to this story, and I hope you will continue to tell it. As with Harjo, “it follows me everywhere” (*Woman* 37). As I come to the end of this long process of writing, a spider weaves a web in the corner of my room. She could be my grandmother reminding me to “listen and trust.” Outside rain falls, the same rain that gave me rest last night drumming softly with my heartbeat. The wind speaks several languages. The ghosts of my relatives appear. Trees nod their encouragement.

My grandson Hunter, who is not quite four, has started preschool and he expresses the feelings of separation. Like Luther Standing Bear, when he gets ready to go into school, he tells his mother and father he will “be brave.” Just a few weeks ago he picked up a feather he found in the back yard—an “eagle” feather, he said. He told his mother that he needed to give it to Gramma. When he did, his seriousness blessed me with such ceremony; he told me “this is for you so you will never forget me.” In both stories, his words echo that of Indian children before him. I know he has been sitting here with me as I have been writing; he has been listening to the stories and is part of them.

Now you are, too.

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APPENDICES

Document 70

1 Be it known unto al men by these presents that nen Sateam touw
2 anquatuk ta poque nop nanoue nutununuwopan akkuh nunaman
3 Sakkagteanmou yunuh katummoo neatta ununumoug yunah ahkuh
4 1644 yunuh unnukquen wachesah sape nae wechpookquahhassuk
5 nee wannupag [[ak]] akahammeh & wehshek wanah u aquannug –
6 napache meshtuk sag kuttahkeh wana newutche sape nae –
7 maygeh punnosuh tah wa sapa atameh ne 8houay nopatunayu –
8 wanah yu ahquannay napagche waggehsha wana nuttunumou sak
9 kagtteanmou pashes8ah p8topaahwanah pashe woshkequah wame
10 naneteaquah at tanagquahak yu ta pooque nop pashtaen no oha-
11 tak [[an]] Engun Suteam nunaman Sakkagtteanmou al thes track of
12 land I the afore Said towanquetuck Sateam doo giue unto
13 the afore Said Sakkagtteanumou to haue and to hold to him
14 and his heirs for Ever In wittnes whare of I hauue set to my
15 hand and Seall January 14th 1663

16 the mark X of | touwanquetuck | Sateam S |

17 Wittnes hear unto Atam wasquannouwa sooet –

18 the mark of X Joseph papummahteohoo

19 Touwanquatuck Sateam acknowledged
20 the above written to be his act and deed
21 thes January 14 1663 before me
22 mattaahk Justis of peas

1 Be it known unto all men by these presents that: I Touwanquatuk
("Towantokott"), sachem
of half of Martha' Vineyard, formerly freely gave land to my son
Sakkagteanmou ("Sahkagteanmaw"). The year when I gave him this land
Was 1644. This was as far as Wachesah ("Wachahsha") straight to
Wechpookquahhassuk
("Wechpooquahhassesuh, Wechpuhquahhassuh"),
5 where that pond at Akahammeh ("Ahkemmeh") ends, and along this shore
as far as the brook (?) ("called") Meshtuk ("Meshtack"), and from there straight to
Maygehpunnosuh ("Machepnesuh"), and at (?) Sapaatameh, that section, to the
southeastward,
["till it comes to the sea"],
and along this shore as far as Waggehsha ("Wachahshaat"). I also give to
Sakkagteanmou
half the whale and half the whalebone of all of
10 anything that is driven ashore on this half of Martha's Vineyard. Pashtaen no
ohatak
Indian Sachem my Son Sakkagteanmou. All this tract of
land I the aforesaid Towanquetuck Sachem do unto
the aforesaid Sakkagteanmou to have and to hold to him
and his heirs forever. In witness whereof I have set to my
15 hand and seal, January 14th, 1663
the mark (X) of Towanquetuck Sachem (S)
Witness hereunto Atam Wasquannouwasooet.
The mark of (X) Joseph Papummahteohoo.

Isaac Backus
A Plea Before the Massachusetts Legislature
(1774)

Backus fought for religious freedom all his life. At the time of this plea, December, 1774, he was the pastor at the Middleboro Massachusetts parish he discusses in the document. Until 1833, the Congregational Church was, in practice, an established church as powerful as the Anglican Church in the South.

....It seems that the two main rights which all Americans are contending for at this day, are--Not to be taxed where they are not represented, and--To have their causes tried by unbiased judges. And the Baptist churches in this province as heartily unite with their countrymen in this cause, as any denomination in the land; and are as ready to exert all their abilities to defend it. Yet only because they have thought it to be their duty to claim an equal title to these rights with their neighbors, they have repeatedly been accused of evil attempts against the general welfare of the colony; therefore, we have thought it expedient to lay a brief statement of the case before this assembly....

....to impose religious taxes is as much out of their jurisdiction, [that of the Massachusetts legislature] as it can be for Britain to tax America; yet how much of this has been done in this province. Indeed, many try to elude the force of this reasoning by saying that the taxes which our rulers impose for the support of ministers, are of a civil nature. But it is certain that they call themselves ministers of Christ; and the taxes now referred to are to support them under that name; and they either are such or they deceive the people. If they are Christ's ministers, he has made laws enough to support them; if they are not, where are the rulers who will dare to compel people to maintain men who call themselves Christ's ministers when they are not? Those who ministered about holy things and at God's altar in the Jewish church, partook of and lived upon the things which were freely offered there; Even so hath the Lord ordained that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. And such communications are called sacrifices to God more than once in the New Testament....

Must we be blamed for not lying still, and thus let our countrymen trample upon our rights, and deny us that very liberty that they are ready to take up arms to defend for themselves? You profess to exempt us from taxes to your worship, and yet tax us every year. Great complaints have been made about a tax which the British Parliament laid upon paper; but you require a paper tax of us annually.

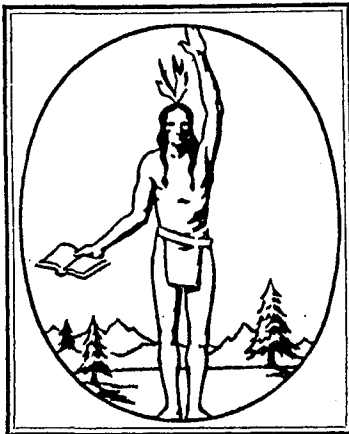
That which has made the greatest noise is a tax of three pence a pound upon tea; but your law of last June laid a tax of the same sum every year upon the Baptists in each parish, as they would expect to defend themselves against a greater one. And only because the Baptists at Middleboro' have refused to pay that little tax, we hear that the first parish in said town have this fall voted to lay a greater tax upon us. All America are alarmed at the tea tax; though, if they please, they can avoid it by not buying the tea; but we have no such liberty.... But these lines are to let you know, that we are determined not to pay

either of them; not only upon your principle of not being taxed where we are not represented, but also because we dare not render that homage to any earthly power, which I and many of my brethren are fully convinced belongs only to God. Here, therefore, we claim charter rights, liberty of conscience. And if any still deny it to us, they must answer it to Him who has said, 'With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.'

If any ask what we would have, we answer: Only allow us freely to enjoy the religious liberty that they do in Boston, and we ask no more.

We remain hearty friends to our country, and ready to do all in our power for its general welfare.

*Indians
of
early New England
wrote
this unique
book*



Letters of Eleazar Wheelock's Indians

The Aboriginal Mind under the Puritan Civilization

Edited from originals by JAMES DOW MCCALLUM

NOT a single volume of genuine American literature is in existence today! This is a startling statement, but true when we realize that the Indians, discovered by the colonists in eastern America, were the real Americans. These redmen built no traceable cities. They erected almost no monuments. They created no culture. And they left no first-hand literature. The sagas of a few of these wild tribes have been written; their ballads and their songs collected; but their habits and their customs are known only through the eyes of the white man. If these real Americans left any records, written by themselves, that we might have a direct insight into their customs, habits, and opinions, such literature is almost unknown.

First book of the new Dartmouth College Publications

But in *THE LETTERS OF ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIANS* we have, for the first time, an authentic and extraordinary record of the Indian point of view written by the Indian himself. In this book, the Indian of the eighteenth century New England demonstrates (consciously and unconsciously) just how and in what degree his aboriginal mind was affected by the social and religious organization of the Puritans. That a book of this historical significance and unique character should now be published is the result of two circumstances.

The first has to do with the origin of the data. When Eleazar Wheelock, an eighteenth century Connecticut divine, was inspired by holy zeal to spread further the gospel of John Calvin, he embarked upon an original but gigantic task. The task was to educate and Christianize the untamed redskin. Wheelock had unfailing courage. In his home in Lebanon, Connecticut, he founded an Indian charity school which he conducted from 1754 to 1769. But his fervor for his mission then led him to the founding of *Dartmouth College*, and the removal to the wilderness of New Hampshire, nearer his supply of students and further from the softening and evil influences of civilization. Of all pre-Revolutionary colleges in America, *Dartmouth* is the only one that owes its inception and existence to the ambition, perseverance, and genius of one man. The remarkable story of its founding can be traced in this book. To Wheelock's school came Indians from the New England and other tribes in the colonies and Canada. These uncouth savages, buckling under the unbending discipline of this rare disciple of Calvin, gained in one way or another a group of religious and moral notions. With these, Wheelock sent them into the uncharted field to convert their heathen brothers. It was during these years of elementary schooling and missionary work that the Indians penned scores of quaint and curious letters to Wheelock and to others. They told of what they found, how they felt about it, what they did about it. They wrote of their tribulations and their temptations; of their lusts

and fits of temper; of their moral vagrancies and spiritual falls from grace; of their weaknesses and their triumphs. In short, like little children confessing to a great father, they made, in these letters, frank avowals of their inner lives and, in a naïve fashion, told what they saw with their eyes.

The second circumstance is the fact that this rare collection of original letters, including a number written by Wheelock to the Indians and to several of his noted contemporaries, has been preserved in the archives of Dartmouth College, and that a scholar has been able to devote his time to the study and editing of this important historical material.

For the general reader Professor McCallum, the editor, has created an interesting book by allowing the Indians to speak for themselves. He states: "*At times the editor has been obliged to prompt them by means of footnotes but his ambition has been to gather these contemporaries of Pontiac around a council fire (which to them would have been quite novel), that they might by themselves confess their sins, carry on their courtships, and express their religious convictions. . . . The reader who is not accustomed to such material will be amused at first as though he were watching some captive animal perform his tricks.*" It is material of this kind that makes the book incalculably rich in intense human interest.

The publication, for the first time, of genuine Indian letters written over one hundred and fifty years ago is a significant event. The book constitutes a notable contribution to New England history and to *Americana* in general. To the collector and to the student it presents a new store of source material. To all college libraries or libraries that make any pretention toward a collection of American documents, it is invaluable.

THE LETTERS OF ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIANS has been designed and printed by the *Stephen Daye Press* for the *Dartmouth College Publications*. It is a beautiful volume of 328 pages, printed in Baskerville type on fine rag paper, size 6½ x 9½,

bound in heavy linen buckram, and illustrated with several reproductions of original letters and a frontispiece of the founding of *Dartmouth College*.

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THE LETTERS OF ELEAZAR WHEELOCK'S INDIANS constitutes the first volume of the new *Dartmouth College Manuscript Series*. This series, edited by a board of editors composed of Leon Burr Richardson, Harold Goddard Rugg and James Dow McCallum, includes a valuable uncollated collection of original manuscripts pertaining to early New England history which has gradually come into the possession of *Dartmouth College*. Much of this material is regional in character but a great deal has a more general significance. New titles will be announced from time to time.

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Corn Mother

Now let me tell you a story. It is a story from this land, told to me by my elders. When I was young and growing up I heard many stories and this is one:

When Kloskurbeh, the All-maker, lived on earth, there were no people yet. But one day when the sun was high, a young man appeared and called him "Uncle, brother of my mother." This young man was born from the foam of the waves, foam quickened by the wind and warmed by the sun. It was the motion of the wind, the moistness of water, and the sun's warmth which gave him life--warmth above all, because warmth is life. And the young man lived with Kloskurbeh and became his chief helper.

Now, after those two powerful beings had created all manner of things, there came to them, as the sun was shining at high noon, a beautiful girl. She was born of the wonderful earth plant, and of the dew, and of warmth. Because a drop of dew fell on a leaf and was warmed by the sun, and the warming sun is life, this girl came into being--from the green living plant, from moisture, and from warmth.

"I am love," said the maiden. "I am the giver of strength, I am the nourisher, I am the provider of men and animals. They all love me."

Then Kloskurbeh thanked the Great Mystery Above for having sent them the maiden. The youth, the Great Nephew, married her, and the girl conceived and thus became First Mother. And Kloskurbeh, the Great Uncle, who teaches humans all they need to know, taught their children how to live. Then he went away to dwell in the north, from which he will return sometime when he is needed.

Now the people increased and became numerous. They lived by hunting, and the more people there were the less game they found. They were hunting it out, and as the animals decreased, starvation came upon the people. And First Mother pitied them.

The little children came to First Mother and said, "we are hungry. Feed us." But she had nothing to give them, and she wept. She told them, "Be patient. I will make some food. Then your little bellies will be full." But she kept weeping.

Her husband asked, "How can I make you smile? How can I make you happy?"

"There is only one thing that will stop my tears."

"What is it?" asked her husband.

"It is this: you must kill me."

"I could never do that."

"You must, or I will go on weeping and grieving forever."

Then her husband traveled far, to the end of the earth, to the north he went, to ask the Great Instructor, his uncle Kloskurbeh, what he should do.

"You must do what she wants. You must kill her," said Kloskurbeh. Then the young man went back to his home, and it was his turn to weep. But First Mother said, "Tomorrow at high noon you must do it. After you have killed me, let two of our sons take hold of my hair and drag my body over that empty patch of earth. Let them drag me back and forth, back and forth, back and forth, and back and forth, over every part of the patch until all my flesh has been torn from my body. Afterwards, bury my bones, gather them up and bury them in the middle of this clearing. Then leave that place."

She smiled and said, "Wait seven moons and then come back, and you will find my flesh there, flesh given out of love, and it will nourish and strengthen you forever and ever."

So it was done. The husband slew his wife and her sons, praying, dragged her body back and forth as she had commanded, until her flesh covered all the earth. Then they took up her bones and buried them in the middle of it. Weeping loudly, they went away.

When the husband and his children and his children's children came back to that place after seven moons had passed, they found the earth covered with tall, green, tasseled plants. The plant's fruit--corn--was First Mother's flesh, given so that the people might live and flourish. And they partook of First Mother's flesh and found it sweet beyond words. Following her instructions, they did not eat all, but put many kernels back into the earth. In this way her flesh and spirit renewed themselves every seven months, generation after generation.

And at the spot where they had buried First Mother's bones, there grew another plant, broad-leafed and fragrant. It was First Mother's breath, and they heard her spirit talking, "Burn this up and smoke it. It is sacred. It will clear your minds help your prayers, and gladden your hearts."

And First Mother's husband called the first plant *Skarmunal*, corn, and the second plant *utarmur-wayeh*, tobacco.

"Remember," he told the people, "and take good care of First Mother's flesh, because it is her goodness become substance. Take good care of her breath, because it is her love turned into smoke.

Remember her and think of her whenever you eat, whenever you smoke this sacred plant, because she has given her life so that you might live. Yet she is not dead, she lives: in undying love she renews herself again and again."

Thus is the story of Corn Mother. See you next time.