

Non-Native Primitive Art: Elizabeth Cleaver's Indian Legends

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Elizabeth Cleaver has illustrated quite different materials: her own retelling of the Hungarian legend *The miraculous hind*; the folk tales of French Canada adapted by Mary Alice Downie in *The witch of the north*; the many different poems of *The wind has wings*, an anthology compiled by Downie and Barbara Robertson; and most notably, four picture books of Indian legends retold by William Toye.¹ But her pictures are always recognizably hers. They are always collages that combine drawn images and found objects, and they all use startlingly bright colours, made all the more startling because the collage technique makes separations between figures and ground so abrupt. Cleaver's backgrounds tend to be subtly textured, her figures solid patches of less textured colour that seem relatively flat and unmoving. The intense energy of her pictures comes, not from their accurate depiction of action or even of mobile faces, but from their surprising discontinuities.

While Cleaver's work is especially consistent in the four picture books containing William Toye's retellings of Indian legends, those legends come from three quite different cultures. The publishers identify *How summer came to Canada* as Micmac, *The fire stealer* as Ojibway, and *The mountain goats of Temlaham* and *The loon's necklace* as Tsimshian. But the Tsimshian of the West Coast were a tightly organized society with complex clan relationships, while the Ojibway of the north shore of Lake Superior spent much of their time apart from each other in separate hunting territories. Not surprisingly, traditional Tsimshian culture emphasized status and lineage; the more solitary Ojibway focussed on the difficulties of living in an often hostile world.² Surely Cleaver's illustrations misrepresent stories from such different sources by evoking much the same mood.

But misrepresentation might be inevitable. The problem begins before illustrations, in the old controversy about how culture-bound Native American materials might be and about how successfully they might be evoked for those of us immersed in the values of contemporary Euro-American culture. According to Ruth Landes, "in the world view provided by Ojibwa religion and magic, there is neither stick nor stone that is not animate and charged with potential hostility to man, no accident that is accidental or free of personalized intent, nor one human creature to be taken for granted."³ In such a world, Nanabozho's theft of fire, retold in *The fire stealer*, is not just a more common-

place, more expectable event than it might appear to be when understood by the values I take for granted, but also, as the act of a *real* superhuman being, a more significant one. Among the Tsimshian, meanwhile, the mistreatment of animals described in *The mountain goats of Temlaham* is not merely a violation of the sentimental concern we like to feel nowadays for those we think of as needing our protection, but a serious crime both against beings greater than mere men and against the communal food supply.

In *Once more upon a totem*, Christie Harris offers paradoxical advice to those who want to retell such stories: they “must change the old text sufficiently to make it really come to life for people who do not know the region, the old culture or the ways behind the action. Yet they must keep the new text deeply true to the old story.”⁴ She does not explain how both are possible; and she goes on to offer illustrators the same paradoxical guidelines, saying that storytellers “need illustrators as dedicated as themselves to depicting the culture authentically.” The difficulty of both being authentic and being an illustrator who “depicts” a culture different from one’s own becomes clear in Douglas Tait’s pictures for the Northwest Coast legends in *Once more upon a totem*. While Tait uses the imagery of Northwest Coast Native art, he manipulates it according to the conventions of Euro-American art. He overlaps the traditional figures as they never overlapped in traditional art; and he provides them with backgrounds, so that they become representational figures in scenes with the depth of perspective. As these symbolic representations “come to life” — as life is understood to be represented in Euro-American representational art — they turn into rather silly-looking cartoons.

Sheila Egoff suggests that Cleaver’s illustrations for *The mountain goats of Temlaham*, a legend from the same Northwest Coast area, are authentic: “The figures of people, animals and birds are stylized in the totemic silhouette shapes of Indian art; they are frozen and static in a ceremonial, ritualistic sense. This aura of Indian mystery is also present in the linocuts of totem poles and longhouses, which are sombre, black and dramatic against the white pages.”⁵ Now, while books on primitive art frequently show the images of Northwest Coast art as black figures on white grounds, no such images appear in *Mountain goats*. Perhaps Egoff’s faith in Cleaver’s authenticity let her see something that isn’t there. In fact, the vibrant background colours of *Mountain goats* are a good part of what makes Cleaver’s pictures seem so unlike Native art; Northwest Coast art used only black, yellow, a brownish red, and rarely, blue green.⁶ Furthermore, Cleaver’s pictures for *How summer came to Canada* are similarly vibrant, whereas the Micmac originally had dyes only for red, white, black, and yellow, and words for no other colours;⁷ and while the Ojibwa favoured red, yellow, green, blue and brown,⁸ they certainly didn’t favour the intense values of those colours found in *The fire stealer*.

In any case, Cleaver’s pictures are inauthentic simply because they are representational. The people who produced these legends had little represen-

tational visual art. Since the Micmacs who told *How summer came to Canada* have been in contact with European civilization for 450 years, it's hard to tell what their original culture may have been like; but the objects our own prejudices cause us to recognize as art among their artifacts are mainly decorative. Even the floral patterns of "authentic" beadwork sold as tourist souvenirs are European in origin. It seems that French nuns taught the Natives how to do the beadwork, and the Micmacs originally favored geometric patterns, particularly the double curve found in native artifacts from across Eastern Canada.⁹ The presence of that curve on Summer's cap in Cleaver's picture of her is the only thing in *How summer came to Canada* that could be safely identified as Micmac. Even then, the Carmen Miranda flowers on top of the hat rather spoil the authenticity.

While what we identify as authentic Northwest Coast art was influenced by such things as the availability of European adzes and ideas,¹⁰ it is clearly unlike Euro-American art. It contains black formlines in curves surrounding unpainted spaces, strong bilateral symmetry, and the use of eye-shapes at joints representing, for instance, knees and elbows. Representations always fill the space available, so there is a strong sense of pattern. Also, this art is exclusively interested in human, superhuman, and animal subjects, depicted symbolically and always shown complete; no landscape or vegetation appears, and no heads are shown separated from bodies. The meaning of these figures is implied by small details: a beaver by large incisors, a hawk by a curved beak turning inward at the bottom. Except for these distinguishing details, figures might look much like each other; and because joints contain eye-shapes, it is sometimes hard to determine which parts of the highly patterned fields are heads, and which are bodies.

In Cleaver's illustrations for *Mountain goats* and *The loon's necklace*, people and animals are represented, not by conventional details, but by what conventionally represents figures in Euro-American art: their outlines. There are no formlines, and no excess eyes. Perhaps most significantly, Cleaver's figures have a ground; they have depth and occupy space. The pictures have clearly defined tops and bottoms; we understand that incomplete trees and bodies continue past the edge that cuts them off, and that smaller things and things closer to the top are further back in the space depicted.

Nevertheless, the totem pole on the title page of *Mountain goats* accurately represents one originally used as a ceremonial entrance to the Tsimshian village of Kitwancool; appropriately, the hole was called "place-of-opening."¹¹ The village pole on the cover and on page three seems to be modelled on one depicted in a photograph taken in 1909 and reproduced in Garfield and Wingert's *Tsimshian arts*, even though Cleaver's imaginary village contains traditional Tsimshian lodges, while the photograph, disappointingly, shows European cabins. The hunters of page four wear traditional wood hats, the one on page six a chief's ceremonial head-dress that seems out of place on a hunting expedi-

tion. But the use of authentic chilkat robes during the ceremony later in the book is accurate; and so is the background of the pictures depicting that ceremony, a rendering of a painted wooden screen of the sort used in Tsimshian dancing society performances. Nancy-Lou Patterson's *Canadian Native art: arts and crafts of Canadian Indians and Eskimos* contains a photograph of the particular screen Cleaver depicts.

In *Mountain goats*, then, Cleaver uses the conventions of Euro-American representational art to depict people using the objects of Tsimshian art. Her pictures imply a detached point of view that prevents involvement. Like viewers of a travelogue about people with customs different from our own, we *observe* these people and comment on how interesting their artifacts and customs are.

While the Ojibway had little we would recognize as representational art, Cleaver acknowledges the culture of *The fire stealer* by including representations of some of the mysterious rock paintings found throughout Ojibway territory. The rock in the background of the first page of the story contains, on the left, a set of images found eighty miles north of Red Lake in the Lake Winnipeg watershed that may depict a shaman, a porcupine, and a canoe; and on the right, a moose found at Lac La-Croix, west and south of Quetico Park.¹² No one knows who made any of these rock paintings, so there's no way of knowing if these images are relevant to *The fire stealer*. I suspect Cleaver chose these particular images merely because they are clearer than many of the other rock paintings.

Selwyn Dewdney, who found many of the rock paintings, suggests that their imagery is similar to the pictographic symbols used to set down the secret rituals of the Midiwiwin, the Ojibway secret society. The secrecy of these images makes them highly incommunicative; according to one informant, "if it were an easy matter . . . to guess what the signs mean they would soon steal our birchbark books. Hence all our ideas, thoughts and persons are represented in various mysterious disguises."¹³ Similar mystery surrounds the images of Tsimshian art, the patterns of which become so complicated that even different Tsimshian people interpret some of them differently.

Since totem poles and birchbark scrolls were primarily means of communicating information visually and were only secondarily meant to be aesthetically pleasing, we might assume a similarity between these objects and picture books: both tell stories by visual means, both have the practical purpose of expressing information. But the ambiguities of both Ojibway pictographs and Tsimshian symbols suggests that the primary function of visual images in these cultures was not communication. Intensely preoccupied with the legendary history of their ancestors as a means of defining social position, the Tsimshian used art "to illustrate the actors and incidents [of that history] so that they would be readily recognized by observers familiar with the tales."¹⁴ Unlike Cleaver's pictures, these pictures are meant to remind initiates of what they already know, not inform newcomers about what is unfamiliar to them.

Ojibway pictographs were even less communicative. Norval Morriseau reports how his first attempts to draw the stories of his people in an imagery based on the pictographs were condemned by friends, who believed the spirits did not want these things communicated to outsiders: “Although I am an Ojibway artist and I paint the ancient art forms of the Ojibway, no Indian would ever take the step I took, for fear of the supernatural. I have in a way broken a barrier.”¹⁵ In *The voices of silence*, André Malraux sums up a significant difference between primitive art and illustration: “like the Byzantine artists, these artists might be described as manufacturers of the numinous — but the numinous object is manufactured only for people who can put it to appropriate use.”¹⁶

Given its numinous purpose, North American Native art was not much interested in depicting the way things look. Franz Boas compares the conventional imagery of most Northwest Coast art with the realism of a head made to be used in a ceremony depicting decapitation. That they could make such representations but usually chose not to suggests that their art was more symbolic than illustrative — that what an image represented was meaning and not appearance; it’s not surprising that they should have reduced the appearances of animals to assemblies of disconnected elements, or that their art emphasizes symmetry of pattern over verisimilitude.

But picture book illustration is a representational art, almost singlemindedly concerned with the way things look. The assumptions behind picture books are ones common in Euro-American culture: that differences in specifics like place and time influence both the characters of people and the meaning of events; that surface appearances therefore help to make people and events what they are by creating differences that matter; that such differences are noteworthy enough to be recorded; that they are noteworthy not just because surface appearances create feelings and attitudes but because they also *mirror* interior feelings and attitudes; and that therefore, the way things look is highly evocative of what they mean. In Cleaver’s books as in most picture books, we see both how the characters look and where they act. The figures occupy space because we believe that people are significantly influenced and explained by the spaces they occupy. As we look at Cleaver’s pictures, we stand outside and apart from her characters; and we understand how the appearances of places and people explain the events occurring to those people in that place. In other words, if these images are symbolic it is a symbolism that demands a relationship between appearance and meaning. The Tsimshian people who knew the conventional imagery representing a mountain goat could identify a symbolic mountain goat in a confusing field of disconnected symmetrical patterns; but Euro-Americans, trained to identify objects by standing back and perceiving their outlines, can recognize Cleaver’s mountain goat because it has the outline of a mountain goat.

While Egoff’s comment that Cleaver’s animals and people in *Mountain goats* are “stylized in the totemic silhouette shapes of Indian art” is wrong, it is suggestive. For while the qualities Egoff finds in Cleaver’s work are not Native,

they are certainly ones we identify with the art we call primitive: it is stylized, static, and mysterious. In fact, these are the qualities European artists chafing at the restrictions of traditional representational art in the first years of this century came to admire in African art. According to E.H. Gombrich, "it is easy to see when we look at one of the masterpieces of African sculpture . . . why such an image could appeal so strongly to a generation that looked for a way out of the impasse of Western art . . . their work possessed precisely what European art seemed to have lost . . . intense expressiveness, clarity of structure, and a forthright simplicity of technique."¹⁷ Cleaver's pictures are intensely expressive, clear in structure, and simple in technique. Her work is "primitive" in the way a Matisse is primitive, not the way Tsimshian art is primitive. In fact, her imagery is frequently reminiscent of Matisse. Her picture of the Fairies of Light and Sunshine and Flowers dancing around their queen Summer in *How summer came to Canada* is clearly modelled on Matisse's *The dance*; the figures form the same grouping, and Summer's face could have been drawn by Matisse. Ironically, Cleaver evokes the primitive for those of us familiar with Euro-American culture by evoking a by now traditional art of our own culture that tried to evoke primitive art.

In some ways, Cleaver's work does evoke the Native cultures of the legends it depicts. But it does so in terms meaningful within Euro-American culture. For instance, for the Ojibway, birchbark was charged with significance, not just as the material of cooking vessels and wigwam coverings, but also of the scrolls used in the sacred rites of the Midiwiwin. Cleaver's use of real birchbark in the collages of *The fire stealer* evokes Ojibway culture; it also evokes Nanabozho the fire stealer himself, for another legend credits him with giving the birchbark its marks in a fit of anger. But Cleaver evokes these things with a technique quite alien to Ojibway culture, or for that matter, to any culture not equipped with scissors and glue. Furthermore, the same pictures contain artifacts made of real birchbark and drawn birchbark on the drawn trees; Cleaver implies a distinction between the natural material and human uses of it that would have made little sense in traditional Ojibway culture.

Similarly, all four of Cleaver's Indian books suggest the basic cosmology of many Native North American cultures, the idea that the world consists of a series of interacting layers of what we would call physical and spiritual reality; for the Eskimo, Beaver, Sioux, Hopi, Tewa, and others, the world beyond what we ordinarily perceive "is above and below the horizontal plane of our everyday world."¹⁸ Cleaver suggests that by showing people moving against a background of quite untraditional coloured layers. While horizontal layering is common in Euro-American landscape painting, Cleaver's simplified layers seem symbolic; so her pictures refer to two different traditions but represent neither. In fact, the use of layered colours and layered landscapes on the title pages and on the last pages of all four books suggests how significant a part landscape plays in Cleaver's interpretation of these legends.

The focus on setting in *How summer came to Canada* is logical; the story is about the seasons and masterfully evokes the way different things look differently at different times of the year. Surrounded by huge symbolic snowflakes and simplified representations of snow-covered bushes against rich layers of bluish green and reddish purple, Cleaver's stiff figure of Glooskap almost disappears. He is too static to compete with his energetic setting.

More significantly, Cleaver's Winter and Summer are not actual beings whose presence is acknowledged by meteorological changes; they are personifications of the facts of meteorology, extensions of the landscape rather than the landscape being extensions of them. When Winter first appears, his blue torso does actually extend from a bluish-green background, and while he looms gigantically against the red and orange sky in Glooskap's dream, his blue-green colour still makes him part of the background. On the next page, Cleaver shows Winter's defeat as the triumph of background over figure, as his diminished form almost disappears in abstract layers of the same red and orange and blue-green. Summer is also an extension of the landscape. When she first appears her robe is the yellow of the sky above her; later, when she stands out against the blues and whites of winter, her yellow robe is echoed by a yellow sun not present in earlier winter pictures.

The subtle detail of the actual foliage Cleaver includes in these pictures draws attention because it is so different from the boldly outlined shapes of the drawn objects, and it confirms the focus on natural landscape. The winter pictures emphasize the actual bits of cedar rather than the drawn rabbits and wigwams; and when Cleaver wants us to pay attention to Glooskap, she puts him in a landscape containing no actual foliage but with actual leaves on his head.

The pictures of Glooskap's dream contain no actual foliage; actual grass appears only as Glooskap and Summer leave her home, and it acts like a barrier they must pass through before they can enter the world containing actual cedar on the next page. It seems that both Glooskap's dream and Summer's home are places of the imagination, places that affect reality but are not themselves quite real; Cleaver's use of actual foliage implies a distinction between the mundane and the imagined, a distinction that explains the relationship between the layers of the title page, of Glooskap's dream, and of the last page. The title page is an abstract layering of pretty but meaningless colours; the last page shows a landscape built on the same layers of colour in the same order, and containing actual cedar. The abstract has become representational, just as, perhaps, the myth has affected reality, and Summer and Winter have become imaginative explanations of summer and winter. The dream, which shows the same colours in a disorderly jangle and the shapes of both landscape elements and supernatural beings but no actual foliage, may represent the transition; dreams are where reality meets imagination.

The last page of *Mountain goats* duplicates the layers of the last page of *How summer came to Canada*. But this time the landscape contains people, and

Cleaver's focus in this book is on people rather than backgrounds; specifically, on the relationships of natural and conventional behaviour, as represented by the differences between Cleaver's personal style and the Tsimshian artifacts she depicts, and by careful use of pictorial dynamics.

The orange sky seen through the totem pole on the title page is echoed on the next page both by the village and by the large totem that divides the picture. The orange of totem and village interrupts the natural green of the landscape; its connection with the heavens implies a preoccupation with rituals that evoke the supernatural and ignore physical reality. Not surprisingly, the totem separates the village from the naturalistically outlined goats. On the next page, the goats disappear in a collage of disorderly natural forms as they run from the hunters. While the hunters have moved into this relative chaos past the restraining rigidity of the totem on the left, they bring its influence with them in the embroidery on their garments. But the conventionalized bird of the totem is muted in comparison to the heavy black outline of the real raven beside it; and the black of that destructive raven is echoed by the hunter's dog and by their spears. The picture implies a natural bloodlust emerging from cultural conventions that condone it.

As the allowable violence of hunting gives way to the chaos of needless torment, the pictures contain no Tsimshian elements, no restraining borders, no layers; just chaotic shapes. But when the boy helps the goat, he does so in a world returned to the order of layering, and within a framework of natural trees on the left and a ritual totem on the right; both suggest order, and both represent forces beyond the merely human and merely anarchic.

The four strangers who appear on the next page combine these natural and supernatural forces. They move out of the trees, spirits of the wild come to avenge unnatural human behaviour; and their ritual robes contain naturalistic goat outlines. They represent a balance lost by the villagers, who use supernatural ritual to condone unnatural violence. While the villagers wear ritual garb as they move past the protection of their totem into the strangers' territory, the totem has come to represent what is *not* supernatural about them; no longer orange, it has become the green the earth was before. The sky is no longer orange either, but the purple of the strangers' garments; the balance has shifted.

In the central sequence of the book, the action takes place against a ritual screen, in a territory divorced both from ordinary reality and the truly supernatural — just as a church is neither of earth or of heaven but connects the two. The only unritualized portions of these pictures are the goat headdresses of the chief and the asymmetrical fire his dancing is compared to; paradoxically, the supernatural breaks through convention by taking on naturally organic or anarchic forms. Cleaver uses collage to good effect as the ceremony reaches its climax; the screen is literally torn apart as supernatural forces emerge from the ritual patterns that evoke them.

In the next picture, the totem once more implies a restraining safety; it saves the boy who clings to it, while those who misused ritual to condone violence fall past it to their violent deaths. As the boy himself plunges down the mountain in his own supernaturally sanctioned defiance of the natural, backgrounds and border disappear as they did earlier in the scenes of violence; and as he returns to safety, he does so against a landscape returned to layers and borders. The village totem on the left separates the boy from the goats, and another totem on the right separates him from the village he heads toward. He occupies a space between goats and village, between the natural/supernatural and the human; a space defined by ritual objects. The village totem has itself achieved balance in this balanced picture; it is the colour of neither sky nor of earth, but a mixture of both. The last picture echoes that balancing of natural and supernatural, as the boy preaches good sense to his people in an orderly, layered landscape, his robe embroidered with the naturalistically outlined goat that has come to represent the supernatural strangers.

In *Mountain goats*, Cleaver uses conventions quite alien to Tsimshian art to depict Tsimshian artifacts. While her pictures for *The loon's necklace* have few Tsimshian elements, they do convey some of the feeling of Tsimshian art. Only one totem pole appears, and it doesn't stand out as do the totems in *Mountain goats* because the totem, the trees, and the people are all drawn with the same heavy black lines against solid grounds. These heavy black lines, used throughout the book, are not quite formlines, but they are enough like them to provide a consistent Tsimshian feeling. That consistency involves even the old hag and her robe; her face and her robe are both the same colour, and the face embroidered on her robe looks much like her own, something Cleaver uses to advantage when she shows the hag from behind, so that the demonic embroidered face replaces her real one.

As in Cleaver's other books, the characters in *The loon's necklace* are static single-coloured shapes that interrupt layered landscapes. But since the landscapes and figures are drawn similarly, and since the colours are quieter, the energy of these pictures derives less from startling contrasts than from a consistent point of view. Almost every picture shows the characters moving through similar landscapes as seen from a similar distance; even when there is a close-up of the old man, he appears against a background consistent in scale with the others in the book, so that he seems to come closer and the background remains the same distance away. As in the theatre, the action seems to unfold within settings. Only four of the openings show two scenes rather than just one, and even these are composed to form one picture; the setting continues across both pages even though we see the same characters twice. For instance, the old man dives with the loon on one opening that shows the two characters twice. The four figures form a semi-circle that swoops down and up again, the loon's beak pointing the way. That sort of implied action confirms the sense of theatre; it's like watching actors move against a fixed backdrop. These pic-

tures seem to comment on the story less than the pictures in the earlier books; but they combine the conventions of Tsimshian art and Euro-American techniques of visual storytelling, particularly those derived from stagecraft, to tell a Tsimshian story in Euro-American terms. They are less an interpretation of the story than a translation of it into the idioms of another culture — the closest Cleaver comes to the ideal Christie Harris suggested.

While the pictures in *The fire stealer* are similar to those in *The loon's necklace*, Cleaver once more makes a distinction between figures and background. Devoid of heavy black lines and carefully textured, the backgrounds seem quite representational; drawn in the same style as both people and trees in *The loon's necklace*, the people seem like unmoving intrusions in a mutable world. Perhaps they evoke a traditional Ojibway alienation from a hostile environment; these people do not seem to belong in these landscapes. Nor do their artifacts, the things made out of actual birchbark.

But one element of landscape is depicted similarly to the people: birch trees. That's probably inevitable in the pictures which show Nanabozho turning into a birch; but birches have heavy black lines throughout the book. Birches do have black lines, of course; but Cleaver uses that fact of nature to imply the symbolic connections between her hero and birches. She uses actual birchbark in the same way. In *The fire stealer*, people, birches, and the things people make from birch all stand out in a way that draws attention to their connections with each other.

The fire stealer returns to the colour dynamics of Cleaver's earlier books. The first opening shows a world without reds, the closest being the red-orange of the rock in the background. Red is the colour of fire, of course; but Cleaver makes the people who sit by fires and are warmed by them red also. Outside her father's wigwam, the girl is brown; inside she is reddish brown. Later, Nanabozho's people are the reddish orange of the forest fire he started; and on the last page, a typical layered landscape repeats the layers of the first page, except that, now that fire has entered the world, fire colours in rocks and trees interrupt the layers. This picture adds fire to the landscape, just as the last picture in *Mountain goats* added people and the last picture in *How summer came to Canada* added landscape to mere abstract layers. Not surprisingly, the last page of *The loon's necklace*, Cleaver's most internally consistent book, merely echoes the layers of the first page, but from a slightly different point of view; we look up at a flying loon instead of down at a floating one.

All four of these books are subtle and highly personal statements about the legends they contain. Cleaver uses the visual conventions of Euro-American art to evoke something like the feeling of the Native materials she illustrates; at least, something like that feeling for those of us familiar with the conventions of Euro-American art. These books succeed not because they are in any way authentic, but because they show a mastery of techniques quite alien to Native art.

NOTES

- ¹*The miraculous hind* was published by Holt, Rinehart and Winston (Toronto, 1973); *The witch of the north* by Oberon (Ottawa, 1975); *The wind has wings* by Oxford (Toronto, 1968). The Indian legends, all published by Oxford, are *How summer came to Canada* and *The mountain goats of Temlaham* (both 1969), *The loon's necklace* (1977), and *The fire stealer* (1979).
- ²I apologize for these gross generalizations; they are based on material found in Viola E. Garfield and Paul S. Wingert's *The Tsimshian Indians and their arts* (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1966), Ruth Landes' *Ojibwa religion and the Midéwiwin* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), and Norval Morriseau's *Legends of my people: the great Ojibway* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1965).
- ³p. 21.
- ⁴(McClelland and Stewart, 1973), p. 194.
- ⁵*The republic of childhood: a critical guide to Canadian children's literature* (Toronto: Oxford, 1975), p. 260-1.
- ⁶Garfield and Wingert, *The Tsimshian Indians and their arts*.
- ⁷Wilson D. and Ruth Sawtell Wallis, *The Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955).
- ⁸Landes, *Ojibwa religion*.
- ⁹Wallis and Wallis, *The Micmac Indians*.
- ¹⁰Nancy-Lou Patterson, *Canadian Native art: arts and crafts of Canadian Indians and Eskimos* (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan, 1973), p. 6.
- ¹¹Norman Bancroft-Hunt, *People of the totem: the Indians of the Pacific Northwest* (New York: G.P. Putnam's, 1979), p. 39.
- ¹²See photographs of these in Selwyn Dewdney and Kenneth E. Kidd, *Indian rock paintings of the Great Lakes*, 2nd. ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967).
- ¹³Dewdney and Kidd, p. 27.
- ¹⁴Garfield and Wingert, p. 59.
- ¹⁵Morriseau, p. 69.
- ¹⁶Trans. Stewart Gilbert (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953), p. 567.
- ¹⁷*The story of art*, 12th ed. (London: Phaidon, 1972), p. 447.
- ¹⁸Dennis and Barbara Tedlock, "Introduction", *Teachings from the American earth: Indian religion and philosophy* (New York: Liveright, 1975), xiv.

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