The CRIAW Papers
Les Documents de l'ICREF

No. 11

TALKING ABOUT OURSELVES: THE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF THE NATIVE WOMEN OF CANADA

by Barbara Godard

CRIAW
ICREF

CANADIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

INSTITUT CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES
SUR LES FEMMES

151 SLATER, SUITE 408, OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1P 5H3

THE CRIAW PAPERS

The CRIAW Papers comprises a continuing series of publications: original research papers advancing the knowledge and understanding of women's experience.

Such papers may come from the traditional academic disciplines of the humanities, social sciences, and sciences, from interdisciplinary research, or from action-research. CRIAW is particularly interested in broad review articles written from a feminist viewpoint which explore such areas as feminist theory, analysis, policy, and the history of the women's movement. These may include "fugitive" papers which have not been previously published, interdisciplinary papers based on original research and papers broadly outlining the priorities and concerns of the francophone or anglophone feminist research community. Reprints of significant out-of-print articles may also be considered.

Although the range of the CRIAW Papers is wide, the documents are united in that each conforms to certain basic criteria:

— each paper must make a significant contribution to feminist research

— each paper must meet scholarly standards of intellectual quality in relation to evidence, argument, thesis, presentation and form, to the degree that each of these factors is required by the discipline and character of the paper presented

— each paper must be non-sexist in methodology and language

Acceptance for publication under these criteria are judged by the editorial board in consultation with qualified referees. Referees are asked to evaluate individual papers in terms of the general criteria set by CRIAW, as above, and in terms of the specific requirements of the discipline to which the paper is most closely related.

CRIAW believes that the publication of these papers, adhering to these standards, will contribute to the advancement of knowledge about women, and to the advancement of women themselves.

LES DOCUMENTS DE L'ICREF

Les Documents de l'ICREF consistent en une série de documents de recherche inédite et dont le but est d'améliorer les connaissances et la compréhension du vécu des femmes.

Ces documents proviennent soit des disciplines traditionelles telles que les sciences humaines, sociales et naturelles, soit de la recherche interdisciplinaire, soit de la recherche-action. L'ICREF s'intéresse particulièrement aux textes de synthèse qui véhiculent un point de vue féministe, et qui étudient des domaines tels que la théorie et la politique féministes, et l'historique du mouvement des femmes. Ceux-ci peuvent être des documents "fugitifs" qui n'ont jamais été publiés auparavant, des documents de recherche interdisciplinaire, et des textes décrivant les préoccupations et les priorités des chercheuses féministes de chaque groupe linguistique officielle.

La gamme de ces publications est donc très vaste. Toutefois, les documents sont reliés par les critères essentiels suivants:

— chaque document doit contribuer de façon importante à la recherche féministe;
— chaque document doit se conformer aux normes académiques de qualité intellectuelle en ce qui concerne la preuve, l'argumentation, la thèse, la présentation et le format, telles qu'établies par la discipline et la nature du document présenté;
— la méthodologie et le langage doivent être non-sexistes.

Un comité éditorial, appuyé de consultant-e-s, détermine quels manuscrits seront publiés. Les consultant-e-s évaluent les documents individuellement, selon les critères établis par l'ICREF, et en fonction des exigences spécifiques de la discipline à laquelle le document se rapporte le plus.

L'ICREF croit que la publication de ces documents, selon les normes établies ci-haut, permettra d'approfondir la connaissance du vécu des femmes et par ce fait, contribuera à l'amélioration de leurs conditions de vie.

TALKING ABOUT OURSELVES: THE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF NATIVE WOMEN OF CANADA

By

Barbara Thompson Godard

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Barbara Thompson Godard is an Associate Professor in the Department of English at York University in Toronto. She has published many scholarly articles and reviews on Canadian literature, as well as translations of works by Québécois authors.

*****

CRIAW/ICREF gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance of the Women's Program, Secretary of State, in the production of this publication.

The ideas expressed in this document are those of the author.

*****

Cover Design: Julia Ames

©CRIAW/ICREF July 1985
408-151 Slater Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5H3

ISBN 0-919653-11-1

INTRODUCTION

In this paper presented at the 1983 CRIAW Conference, Barbara Godard suggests that it is time for a redefinition of the text to include oral narratives and, ultimately, other forms of cultural production. Drawing on oral narratives, particularly those of native women, the paper further explores the oral text as a model for the woman's text. Although we have recognized that women in the past have created oral and written forms such as songs, poetry, diaries and letters, these forms have been marginalized and valued less than literature written according to socially-constructed norms for public consumption. The paper draws a parallel between the invisibility of native cultural productions and women's artistic activities, both of which have been hidden by Euroamerican emphasis on the written form.

Godard concludes that the oral mode provides models of questions we might ask and ultimately it challenges the idea of the text as a product of an individual. Oral narrative suggests the importance of context, the need to understand gossip and the potentialities of interdisciplinary approaches. Most importantly, this study of oral narrative suggests that our pre-conceived categories and notions of the text must be questioned and altered to include native/women's cultural forms.

Linda Kealey
Anglophone Editor
CRIAW Publications

TALKING ABOUT OURSELVES: THE LITERARY PRODUCTIONS OF NATIVE WOMEN OF CANADA

In a literary session, it seems odd to encounter an allusion to talking instead of writing. The shift is intentional and indeed is the heart of my subject. Moreover, the title of this article indirectly alludes to another title, namely Speaking Together[1], an anthology of brief life histories of native women in Canada. Together the shift and the allusion point in the direction I should like to explore, the nature of women's oral literary productions. While it has become a topoi of feminist literary criticism to challenge the accepted canon,[2] -- Shakespeare, Milton, the epic, etc. -- it is time for us now to redefine the text. In this essay I shall attempt to redefine the woman's text indirectly through an exploration of the oral text of native women. By showing how the oral text may be considered as literature, I hope to provide arguments supporting the inclusion of many of women's cultural productions into the canon.

Re-vision of the canon has resulted in an extension of feminist critical concerns into the so-called "paraliterary" forms: letters, diaries and other private papers, as well as science fiction. Redefining the text on the basis of oral texts leads to even greater dislocations in the traditional discipline of literature. Not only does this stretch the boundaries of literary study into the fields of history (oral history more precisely) and anthropology, fields where the analytical techniques for oral texts have been developed, but it also underlines the dynamic nature of the text, which is not just an icon but a performance, not just a preconstituted meaning for easy consumption but an event in which meaning is actively negotiated. By approaching the woman's text from this perspective, feminist criticism finds an ally in new areas of literary theory.

My own interest in this question arose when I attempted to include the work of native women in a course I teach on Canadian women writers. Native women appear as characters in much of the fiction written by white women, where they are shamans leading the protagonists in their quests toward a new relationship with nature and the cosmos. But where are the works of native people's fiction? If the conventional definition of fiction found within the bound pages of a book is adopted, the cultural production of these women is immediately eliminated. By shifting the definition of the text, however, the filmed performance of traditional

narratives may be included in the course. In this paper I will be addressing two areas of concern. First, I shall explore the theoretical background of this redefinition of the text, and second, I shall give a brief descriptive overview of the literary creations of native women in Canada.

The incentive for redefining the text takes its inspiration from current feminist theories of difference which challenge authority. Here, attempts to think about women meet with attempts to think about native people, both marked by the problems of identity and difference. It was Simone de Beauvoir in The Second Sex who first raised the issue of difference when she cast the relationship between the sexes in the paradigm of the self and the other. Starting with the Hegelian dialectic in which the subject creates itself in opposition to an inessential other, de Beauvoir moves beyond to establish a tradition of creative dislocation. For while she discovers reciprocity present in oppressor-oppressed relationships between classes, races and nations, she cannot find it between males and females. Woman remains eternally the other, different from man who is defined as the norm, as the centre. However, this is not a natural difference. It is the weight of patriarchal tradition that educates women into "nothingness", and denies her transcendence or "being". Man as subject undertakes the work of civilization, creating language, culture and machines, while assigning to the "non-I" the terms of woman, the emotions, the body principle and the "nothingness" that must be overcome when he embarks on any significant enterprise. As object, and not subject of the enunciation, how can a woman speak or write? Excluded from the system of language and from the symbolic imagination, and limited to the margins or blanks in discourse, women's utterances are condemned to the "nothingness", the insignificance from which they originate.

But the system of binary logic may be further deconstructed, as Luce Irigaray has done, by extending de Beauvoir's paradigm towards a difference perceived as two equal entities or as a serial difference, and not just as the pole of absence in an hierarchical binary pair. At the heart of this issue is our logical insistence on the law of the excluded middle which casts our thinking into either/or pairs. Irigaray attacks the very existence of a transcendental subject, showing how the logic of dichotomous opposites (presence/absence, being/nothingness, same/other, identity/difference) leads to the unique valuing of the positive pole, that is of a single term. Duality is an illusion: woman is viewed by man as his opposite, the

negative of his positive, and not in her own right as "otherness" itself. Irigaray underlines the circularity of this situation in which man looks out on the world and sees merely his own reflection. This symmetrical conception of otherness is a theoretical blindness to woman's actual difference which Irigaray suggests would advance a new type of logic: anamorphoses, parodic transformations and paradoxes which are the distortions of echo.[3] Dialectical confrontation must be exploded through parody which subverts our logical structures and is replaced by oxymoronic or multiplistic vision. "Phallogocentrism", in Irigaray's words, is further subverted by the overthrow of the domination of the eye as an appropriating centre in favour of the proprioceptive and active eye.

Feminist theories moving towards the exploration of alterity and difference have problematized language and the text by shifting attention to the ways in which meaning is produced. No longer is an author or speaker perceived as being a transcendent self or bearer of meaning, that is an authority, nor is the text envisioned as a self-contained object. Feminist critics, following the lead of Judith Fetterley,[4] have become aware of the ways in which texts are "read" differently at different periods, according to the social conditions and to the sexual identity of the reader. Finding support in phenomenological practices of dynamic empathetic reading, like that advocated by Virginia Woolf in the The Common Reader,[5] such feminist pluralist strategies attempt to reflect and clarify "lived experience" as a meaningful activity, meaning being created from the dialectical movement of bringing to explicit foreground what is only latently present. The word is rediscovered in the self in an act of creative intentionality. Readers actively and continuously participate in the creation of meaning in texts by bringing their own life and literary experiences to bear upon them. "Life-to-text" interactions find readers using their knowledge of the world and their experience of being a woman in order to make sense of texts, while "text-to-life" interactions involve readers using textual knowledge to make sense of their lives,[6] themselves being socially constructed texts. Women reading are thus actively rewriting the text and simultaneously reading the scripts of their own lives.[7]

The gendered reader who may receive and construct a text is historically formed, shaped in and through language. Reading subjects are caught up in, are formed by and construct meanings, and these processes can be analyzed. Repetition of meanings supports the fabrication of reality which can be known only

through the forms that articulate it. In fact, reality is a fiction produced (coded) by cultural representations. Currently, partriarchal relations set the terms for the forms of subjectivity available in reader-text relations, for woman does not represent but is represented. The work of ideology is to fix meanings as if they were timeless and immutable, above the field of material conditions in which they are constructed. But by posing the problem of sexual difference in relation to representation, the function of representation as the fixing of difference, and woman as that difference, and then by returning to the difference of the existing order and the sameness it asserts through the fixing of difference, the grounding and masking of male domination at the expense of women is uncovered.

It is this active model of women reading in the text-to-life interaction that finds reinforcement in the oral performance situation, as we shall see. But the equation of female difference with oral utterance or individual speech act (private and uncoded) has been made in other contexts. Indeed, orality has become a marker of female difference. "Women form a speech community", we read, "with language skills and attitudes of our own as well as those shared by the wider speech community". Gossip -- traditionally a pejorative term used by men to devalue women's conversation -- may be viewed positively as a specific type of women's language or genderlect, "a language of intimacy"[8] arising from the solidarity and identity of women as members of a social group with a pool of common experience. Circulating orally, outside the circle of male experience or hegemony, this language is not ideologically coded. Women writers explore this oral tradition and offer new contextual definitions for words based on their material meanings. As they defy the conventions of grammar and fiction in their idiosyncrasies, these new meanings have the potential to break the texts for they pose puzzles for the reader. For an increasingly active reader is required to construct meaning in what has been empty space. To do so necessitates the abandonment of a grid of preconstituted values in favour of an empirical investigation of where women are at.

It is with this objective in view that I am leaving behind the conventional literary text to examine women's cultural productions in oral form. Since the beginning of time, women have composed lullabies, made up stories for their children and exchanged anecdotes among themselves. Little of this creative activity has been recorded, for even folklorists often neglect to identify the

specific productions of women. Anon was a woman, as Virginia Woolf succinctly phrased it. As with women's visual artistic activities that have been produced for the family, for a private and limited audience and been devalued by the label "craft" rather than "art", so too these literary productions have been passed under silence. Such has been the fate of the considerable body of artistic activity of the native peoples of this country. Native people themselves have not been invisible in our literature. On the contrary, from the very first novel written in North America (by a woman, incidentally), The History of Emily Montague by Frances Brooke (1769), the Indian has appeared as the Other in another disguise, as a metaphor for women's marginalization and difference, as a figure who must be embraced before authentic selfhood can be attained or before creation can begin. But the works of the native woman (or man, for that matter) are not included in the Canadian canon. The imperializing hubris of Euro-american conventional science has emphasized literature and letters over oral forms of art. Moreover, it has lauded craft over truth and text over event, resulting in the exclusion of much of women's and virtually all of the native people's cultural production.

The issue of the exclusion of oral literary forms from our aesthetic scrutiny is crucial, for herein are perpetuated traditional distinctions between high and popular cultures. Instead we should expose the ideological bias in such a social construction. Appeals to traditional aesthetic values have been used to dismiss women's writing which does not conform to such norms. But even among feminists aware of the ideological basis for evaluation, devaluation of a similar sort has been perpetuated against the cultural productions of minorities. This is made clear in a recent issue of Fireweed, "Women of Colour", where the guest editors discuss the narrow definition of literature held by many feminists that has made it difficult for them to have their work accepted by Fireweed and other mainstream periodicals.

> Prabha: They have their own idea of what we should be saying and until we say those things they pretend to be deaf.
>
> Himani: So, if you don't fit into that, then as far as they're concerned, you're not saying anything. And, they have a particular way of deciding what they'll count as "saying" and that "saying" is not how we speak.... But I think the other question about even illiterate people is not that they don't say things, it's how they say it. There is only one way of "saying" that counts. In that sense, they are forcing all the most middle class, the most male bourgeois ways of speaking and doing things on us. And if you don't do things that way, then you're not doing it, you're not "saying" it right.[9]

Similar experiences of having to conform to mainstream norms in order to be published are described by the native women writers attending the Women and Words conference (Vancouver, July 1983). Jeanette Armstrong relates how she learned in university creative writing classes that "a certain elite kind of way (is) acceptable" and that to reach the public you wrote within that framework, a compromise she refuses to submit to. Maria Campbell also describes how over three hundred pages of the manuscript Halfbreed were thrown out at the insistence of a non-Indian editor, since it was the "kind of material most people are not interested in".[10]

There is evidence of a similar double standard for written and oral forms of literature in what is otherwise a sensitive anthology of Inuit literature. Robin Gedalof reveals this in her introduction to Paper Stays Put:

> The very earliest Inuit writing was simply oral literature recorded on paper, but before long Inuit storytellers and poets began to see the endless possibilities inherent in a written language. Increasingly, their work displayed growing technical control and an extraordinary understanding of the writer's craft.... The movement from recording a traditional chant "verbatim" to writing a complex novel or play in English is not a simple literary process.[11]

That the oral form has equally elaborate conventions or that these bear any resemblance to those of written literature is veiled here in the valuing of craft over event. As we shall see, there are other approaches to this body of material, situated "on the margins of discourse",[12] that explore the interface of oral and written narrative forms and stress their kinship.

In what follows, I shall approach the question of a redefinition of the woman's text obliquely, through an exploration of the oral text of native women. By showing how these latter can be incorporated into our concept of literature, I hope to provide arguments for an inclusion of many of women's cultural productions into the literary tradition. The bridge between the two bodies of texts is the oral tradition in which women have millenia of experience. We are often not very self-conscious of this tradition in our western society. More attention has been paid in English Canada to the oral traditions of the Other and among them those of the native peoples have been extensively collected. It is as much for their availability as for the symbolic presence of the native person in English-Canadian women's writing that I have chosen to examine the native women's texts. A fortuitous con-

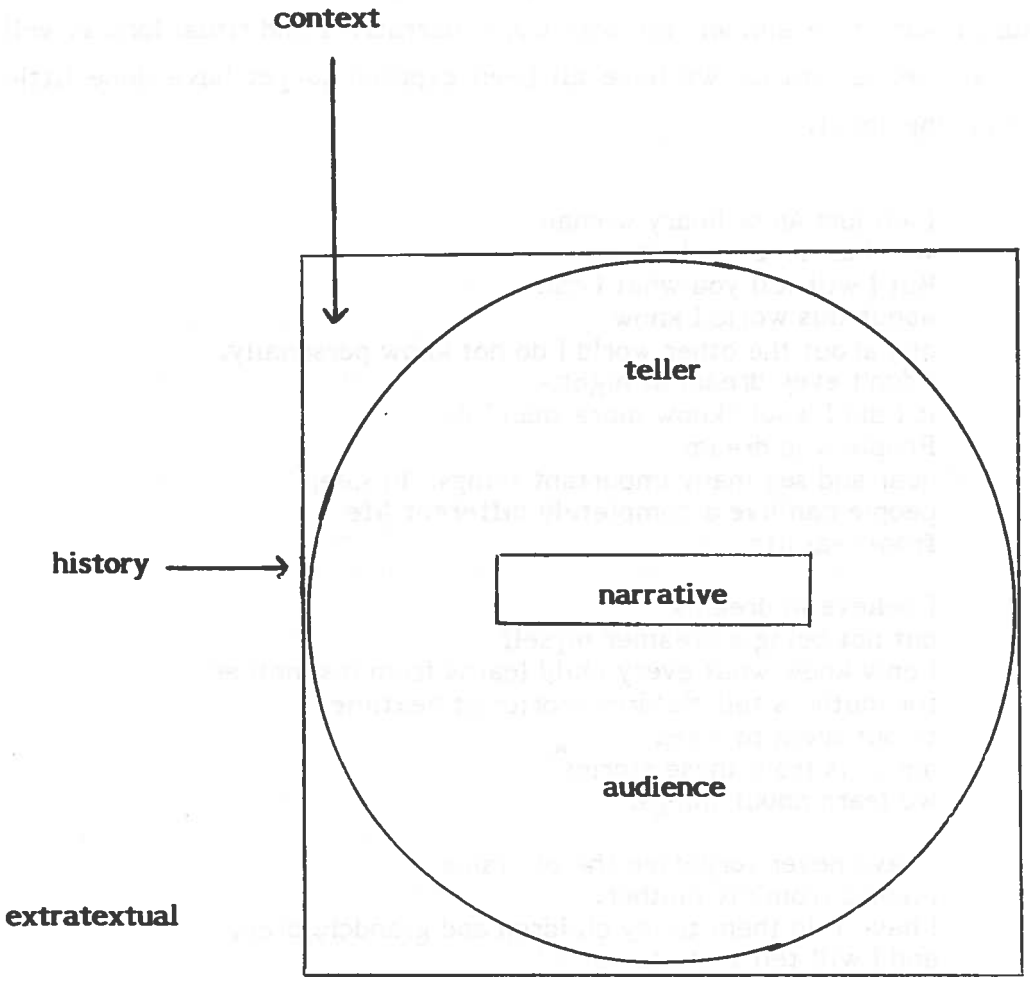
nection between women's creations and those of the native people is made through a title, Songs My Mother Taught Me, which is both the title of a novel by Audrey Thomas about the mother/daughter relationship and the development of a woman artist as storyteller, and the title of an Inuit poem. Anonymously created, this latter song eloquently conveys the nature, impact and performance context of the oral literature I want to examine: the traditional narratives and ritual lore as well as the "life experience" stories we have all been exposed to yet have done little systematic thinking about.

> I am just an ordinary woman
> who has never had visions.
> But I will tell you what I can
> about this world I know
> and about the other world I do not know personally.
> I don't even dream at night -
> if I did I would know more than I do.
> People who dream
> hear and see many important things. In sleep
> people can live a completely different life
> from real life.
>
> I believe in dreams
> but not being a dreamer myself
> I only know what every child learns from his mother,
> for mothers tell children stories at bedtime
> to put them to sleep
> and it is from these stories
> we learn about things.
>
> I have never forgotten the old tales
> I heard from my mother.
> I have told them to my children and grandchildren,
> and I will tell them to you.[13]

It is the voice of this "ordinary woman", most often a grandmother--Nokomis, nani[14]--who speaks to us about "this world" or the other sacred one encountered through dreams. The poet here describes the two basic forms of oral narrative practiced by native women that I shall focus on; the life histories that move towards autobiography and the revelations of the shaman or creation myths that tend towards fiction.

For the literary scholar used to studying a fixed and stable text, oral conditions of performance raise questions and problems about the nature of the text. Before going on to explore these conditions in more detail, I want to offer a

model of an oral text, which I should like to propose as a model for the woman's text.



The oral text/the woman's text[15]

In this diagram, the element in the centre, the narrative itself, is the part that is isolated and frozen in a written transcription of a tale. Absent from such a fixed text are the circumstances of enunciation and the paralinguistic elements of the telling: gestures, intonations, etc. that are important in the organization and aesthetic effect of the oral tale in performance. Most specifically, the dynamic collaboration of audience and teller weaving together the elements of traditional narrative into a new tale and cooperatively constructing meaning cannot be

accounted for in the amputated text, which is but a pale reflection of the original speech act, the event it would claim to transcribe. It is against such a reduction that feminists fight in their insistance on the interactive, communal nature of the woman's text; author-to-reader, reader-to-context, both-to-extratextual history. And the nature of some of these interactions in women's oral texts will be helpful in identifying some of the features of interactions in women's written productions.

Recent developments in anthropology which draw on semiotic theory help us conceptualize oral literature as performance. Additional encouragement for this approach has come from contemporary American sound poets, the meeting of the two theories occurring first in the pages of the oral poetry issue of Boundary 2, before finding their way into critical studies of American native literature.[16] This approach to verbal art conceives it as communication which distributes the emphasis equally between text and context, between text and receiver. In artistic performance, an interpretive frame is set up within which the messages being communicated are to be understood, and this frame contrasts with other frames, including the literal one. The frame accomplished or invoked, that is keyed, gives the receiver instructions or aids in her attempt to understand the messages included within the frame. Performance as frame invites special attention to and heightened awareness of the act of expression.[17] Depending on the particular culture, performance may be keyed by a number of devices including figurative language, parallelism, special formulas, appeal to tradition and disclaimers of performance.[18] Such formal patterns have the power to engage the audience's participation, binding its members to the performer as co-participant in an event. And it is this cooperative element I wish to underline. Such a conception of performance as a way of speaking has implications for a theory of verbal art. We need no longer begin with a text defined as artful on "independent formal grounds". Rather, "performance becomes constitutive of the domain of verbal art as spoken communication".[19] Such a shift in definition also offers a way out of the high/low cultural impasse in which oral literature and women's writing have found themselves. The fact of communication makes it "verbal art", though evidently the nature of the communicative event is different in the contexts of reading and hearing.

The term "event" has been used to refer to a "culturally defined, bounded segment of the flow of behaviour and experience constituting a relevant and hence meaningful context for action".[20] Within the cultures of the native women that are the corpus for my analysis, an event might be a Cree spring walking-out ceremony as we see in Alanis Obomsawin's film, Mother of Many Children,[21] whose speech act is the singing performed by the specialists in this role, the mothers of the children whose song is known as the "walking-out song". Or, as we see in the same film, it might be an Ilawat girl's puberty ceremony, whose speech act would be the storytelling performed by the specialist in this role, the "auntie" who tells the girl about the actions she is to carry out and gives her instructions for her new adult life, and this narrative would be known by genre as the girl's puberty story. And it is here that my analysis runs into difficulties. In order to capture the full significance of the event, I have been obliged to resort to film. For it is in this medium that the complete interchange is recorded for the distant observer. But even here, it is not always the performance event that we see. In the case of the puberty ritual, for instance, drawings by Marie Leo, the girl initiate, have been substituted for action. Instead of being closely associated with performance, the oral text has become a rendering of performance in another mode--a résumé or report of performance, rather than a performance event.

To reconstitute the events or rituals of women's lives is difficult, as I have discovered. Much of the collecting of tales carried out by anthropologists has been divorced from event: this in fact, is implicit in the "fixing" of the text in writing. But much of the collecting has been the response to specific questions by an interviewer rather than being the résumé of an event.[22] Moreover, recording has suffered from the usual patriarchal bias obscuring the very special powers of women's rituals in native society. The very existence of the women's medicine societies has been a long held secret only coming to light in the last few years.[23] As one Cree shaman, Agnes Whistling Elk is quoted:

> There are no medicine men, without medicine women. A medicine man is given power by a woman, and it has always been that way. A medicine man stands in place of the dog. He is merely an instrument of woman. It doesn't look that way any more, but it is true.[24]

It is nearly impossible to reconstruct the events or rituals related to women's secret shamanic knowledge, for most accounts of it, as we shall see, summarize or report a performance, rather than share this performance. Much of the written

material attributed to native women relates to these sacred rituals, and the written stories or poems are perceived by the writers to be transmissions of the traditional material made available on paper for exchange with a more widely flung audience.[25] However, without the performance context, much of the meaning of these texts is lost. Whether presented to us as written text, or as a taped voice recalling the event, transcription effects a divorce from ritual event. All hints of performance have disappeared from the following Inuit shaman's chant presented in a translated text.

"The Great Sea"

The great sea
Has sent me adrift,
It moves me as the wind in a great river,
Earth and the great weather
Move me,
Have carried me away
and move my inward parts with joy.

Uvavnuk[26]

How does this differ from an ordinary poem? Paper Stays Put announces another anthology of Inuit poems and stories. But held fast against the floods of time, the words are unmoored from their meaning which is lodged in a specific context as much as in the text.

Another obstacle to understanding the performance is the fact that much of the evidence about the shamanistic rituals is filtered through the pens of white writers. It is to Anne Cameron that we owe our knowledge of some of the creation stories and of the powers of the daughters of copper woman. While Cameron writes in her introduction to Daughters of Copper Woman that she has chosen a style approximating the one in which the stories were told to her, the fact remains that she is a creative writer with a style of her own. Native women at Women and Words talked about the problems posed for them by white women using their material. As Maria Campbell said, they create a "market" for Indian material. If the Indians themselves do not interpret their tradition in the same way, then they cannot sell their work. The Indian view will never be known. It is with great reserve that the sensitive reader approaches anthropologist Rosamund Vanderburgh's novel Shaman's Daughter. Although it contains many detailed rituals, the fictional-

ized form may be a great distortion of meaning. We are equally suspicious of Lynn Andrew's Medicine Woman because the author is a white American, although she, like Cameron, shows an understanding of the Indian copyright system by stating in her preface that she has been given permission to use these stories. In this book she writes about the shamanic initiation rites she underwent under Agnes Whistling Elk and gives us much detail including the content of the visions, but not the songs and stories.[27]

From the native women themselves we learn some of the songs and stories but nothing about the visionary experience. In The Ways of My Grandmothers, Beverly Hungry Wolf offers the most complete evidence of the rituals in the pictures she has taken of Blood women participating in ceremonies such as the sun tent. She too summarizes and generalizes, offering us brief biographies of her grandmothers, the wise old women of her tribe. As well, she writes out tales--myths and legends--that tell about traditional beliefs and describes the ceremonial dances in which the Motokiks, the ancient society of women, imitate the actions of the buffalo. But about the central spiritual activity during the Sun Dance, the author is most evasive:

> Every year, during the Sun Dance encampment, the members of the group put up a special lodge inside the camp circle. For four days they have their meetings and religious ceremonies, most of which are private. Men take part during only certain of these ceremonies, especially the public dances, when four men with rattles sing the dance songs. The members wear ancient headdresses that they keep inside their medicine bundles throughout most of the year. These, and the Natoas used in the Sun Dance, are the only medicine bundles belonging specifically to women, and they are highly regarded by all the tribe.[28]

Tales of the Mohawk, a more extensive collection of legends, beliefs and rituals, presents the New Year's festivals of this tribe along with traditional rituals for the burial of the dead, for purification before planting, and stories of fairies and ghosts. It was written by Gah-wonh-nos-doh (Forbidden Voice), also known as Alma Greene, who is Clan Mother of the Turtle Clan of the Mohawk. As such, she is the powerful matriarch of this nation, because it was on the turtle's back, as she informs us,[29] that mud was placed to create the first dwelling place for the maiden sent down to the water creatures, she who became the mother of all humans.

Despite her prominent sacred role, Forbidden Voice relates mostly secular narratives and some creation myths, only summarizing and generalizing the activities of the women's societies, which, moreover, have no songs and dances.

> The Society of Otters is a band of women who propitiate the Otters and other water animals. These exercise an influence over the health and fortunes and destinies of men. The Otter, which is the chief of the small water animals, including the fish, is a powerful medicine animal.
>
> The Society of the Otters has no songs and no dances. Its members organize to give thanks to the water animals and to retain their favour. When one is ungrateful, like a wasteful fisherman or hunter who kills muskrats or beaver without offering the sacred tobacco to their spirits, he becomes ill. The members of the society go to a spring and conduct a ceremony, after which they go to the sick man and sprinkle him with spring water, which makes him well again.[30]

This very important ritual is silent. The evidence offered here provides no corrective lens through which to evaluate the shamanistic initiations told by the white women writers.

Another obstacle is posed by the fact that the nature of the performance context of many of the stories has been distorted by a shift away from a ritual to one in which an interviewer, albeit a sympathetic and knowledgeable one, asks pointed questions to elicit desired information. This happens in the Oral History tapes from the native centre at the Spadina Branch of the Toronto Public Library. Indeed, many of the respondents never expand their remarks beyond a direct answer, though some of them, happily, launch into a veritable reliving of their life experiences, which are dramatically narrated. They then become true autobiographies. This is not the case of the narratives of Florence Edenshaw Davidson and Verna Petronella Johnston which have been shaped into formal biographies by the anthropologists who interviewed them, so as to become representative portraits of women of their tribal cultures.[31] Parts of the unedited interviews are given in the appendixes, but these too present problems. Though containing several anecdotes of personal experience, the narrative of Johnston is a résumé rather than recreation, almost devoid of dialogue. More dramatic in its mode of rendering, the unedited snippet of Edenshaw's narrative is too brief to give full range to her storytelling capacity. In presenting this life history project, the anthropologist, Margaret Blackman, does elaborate in detail the interviewing process, carried out in the large kitchen of Mrs. Edenshaw in the presence of a

changing audience, and thus reconstitutes for the reader some of the contextual elements. Moreover, Blackman comments on and evaluates the narrative techniques as they vary according to audience and occasion.

My own narrative could expand at length on the difficulties of finding suitable oral art forms to analyze. A major problem turned out to be the mobility of the taped interviews I wished to study. Sent out for copying, they took four months to return. Not the least of the problems is that posed by language, for I have been obliged to rely on material in translation and a different language shapes the material to its own structures. Equally significant is my outsider position with respect to the ceremonies and rituals that constitute the events for oral art forms. Many native women understandably wish to keep their oral literature to themselves, since it is so closely linked to their religious beliefs. Again and again at Women and Words, the native women insisted that non-Indians not write about Indian things without their permission. According to the Indian copyright system, a storyteller can't use the story of another person unless an exchange has been made, and then this story must always be identified as coming from that person. An understanding of this custom makes clear to us why so many of the storytellers insist on the fact that they are transmitters of tradition, or vehicles for the words of others to be put down in writing. In a very real sense the tales are not owned, but are communal property. Among the native communities, this written material circulates in periodicals such as Sweetgrass and Inuktitut not widely available outside of native communities. Increasingly, native women are beginning to share their stories with a wider world. Native women who see themselves as culture brokers wishing to inform the white world with accurate accounts of Indian ways, or those who are wise old women in the medicine societies, may adopt a younger woman as a granddaughter to initiate and share their stories with her, be she white or native. Florence Davidson, "nani", did this with her "granddaughter", anthropologist Margaret Blackman, as did Agnes Whistling Elk with her initiate, Lynn Andrews. Anne Cameron, in her introduction to Daughters of Copper Woman makes clear her role as writer in a process of transmission. In her case, an exchange or gift has been made and she has been explicitly charged with the sharing of the stories of the women's sacred society. As she writes in her Preface:

> These women shared their stories with me because they knew I would not use them without their permission. Some years ago they gave me permission to write poetry about Old Woman. The summer of 1980 I was told that, if I wanted, I could tell what I knew. The style I have chosen most clearly approaches the style in which the stories were given to me.
>
> A few dedicated women belong to a matriarchal, matrilineal society. These women prefer not to be publicly named or honoured. They prefer that their identity, and the rituals of their society, be kept a secret. I respect their wishes.[32]

Lynn Andrews, too, informs us that she has been instructed to tell about her experience of initiation. As well, all these white "transcribers"--with the exception of Andrews--give the royalties from their books to the native women. Materially, this underlines the fact that the text is communal property and doesn't belong to a single individual. Here the connotations of authority and power, inherent in our usual definition of the text and inherent in our word for writer, are challenged. Un-authored, these texts are perhaps also un-authorized, subversive.

This communal nature of the text, jointly created by both teller and listener in an actively negotiated process of meaning, is also underlined by the native women. Beverly Hungry Wolf explains her role as culture broker for her Blood "grandmothers", sharing the traditional tales, life stories and material culture which they have passed on to her. And Beth Cuthand emphasizes that she is one link in a chain transmitting stories and that the words she uses are not her own, but those of her grandmothers coming through her. One poet insists on being known only by the name of her tribe Loucheux. Indeed, it is only by recognizing this fact that the native woman is empowered to speak. The appropriate storyteller is a grandmother, or a wise old woman. It is as Nokomis (grandmother in Ojibwa) that Verna Johnston speaks in her collection of traditional tales for children, of myths of origins and legends of the naming of Ontario flora and fauna, and in her life story, I Am Nokomis, Too. Indeed, in the latter book, she discusses with anthropologist Rosamond Vanderburgh the inappropriateness of telling her life story as an individual rather than as a collective narrative.

Verna: ...Don't forget that if the spiritual can cure, it can kill too. Bear-walkers are people who do this sort of thing, the bad part of it. You know that I believe this, and it is in a lot of people at Cape Croker. But there are things we don't do, and one of them is writing biographies! It worries me an awful lot, that we are finishing this book. I talked to my doctor about this. I hope it doesn't make me sick again.

Ros: What did she say?

Verna: She didn't say anything! She put me on medication for my nerves!

Ros: Why do you think biographies are bad?

Verna: This is conceit. To have someone write the story of my life, to me is conceited, putting myself over others.[33]

Verna is consoled only when the anthropologist draws a parallel between this telling of Verna's life story and the acceptable activity of being a transmitter of tradition, as she believes herself to be when recording Tales of Nokomis. Johnston's preface to this book elucidates her role in the chain when, from childhood audience, she is transformed into grandmotherly teller.

> These stories were told to me as a child, by a very old Indian lady, of the Ojibwa nation who lived to her one hundred and third year.
>
> During the winter months, I and several other children would stop at her home after school to bring in kindling and water and to pick a basket of frozen apples from the orchard.... After the chores were done, we would gather around her by the hearth. She would bake apples for us and tell us old Indian legends. It wasn't until recently, when I started telling her stories to my foster children, that I realized how little they know of their Indian folklore heritage. They were fascinated by the stories, so I began to put them down on paper.[34]

The didactic intent is clear in this retelling along with the desire to entertain. Jeannette Armstrong and Beth Cuthand made clear their didactic intentions when they spoke at Women and Words; Armstrong insisting she was writing to teach values while Cuthand emphasized the value of using the English language to communicate her tribal traditions with other native groups whose languages she could not speak. Such didactic intentions are at odds with the currently prevailing post-modernist theories of a literature of process and play. This divergence is largely responsible for the devaluation of this native literature. As we can see, these intentions stem from differing aesthetic traditions and notions of the

communicative event. However, by situating the native stories in their context, we enable certain parallels to be made between the communal nature of the native tales and the demands required by the post-modernist processual hermeneutic that a reader be actively engaged in the process of creating meaning.

In her stories, Verna Johnston recreates for the reader the narrative context when, in the first one, "Stories of Nanabush" (the Ojibwa cultural hero), she describes how she came to tell the stories. Attending a school picnic with her grandchildren, Johnston entertains as she instructs the class in their native traditions while they sit in a circle on the grass, the feasting completed.

The connection of food and tale is a frequent one in the material I examined. Particularly evident to the reader of Florence Edenshaw David's narrative or of Daughters of Copper Woman is the kitchen setting in which the tales are told. Connections with potlatch celebrations might explain this conjunction among the west coast tribes, but this only underlines the interconnection of tale and ritual present in all cases. A most striking feature of this is the attribution of the tale to the grandmother or to an old, old woman. Most of the narratives related on the Oral History tapes of the native centre are prefaced or followed by a remark which underlines the authority of the original teller of the story. Jane McKee, for instance, tells us a legend about natives foretelling the arrival of the white men and about inventions such as the airplane and informs us that she heard it from an "old, old woman dead long ago who told her that up north". Legends of how the Great Spirit taught them to make fire and about the healing properties of the willow she "heard from a person in the Indian movement". Much of her narrative focuses on recalling the activities of her grandmother and her mother, both hard workers and strong women. Even into her eighties, her mother walked on snow-shoes to fetch the mail through heavy snow storms, while her grandmother as an old woman would arrive at their place in the spring with a 30lb. bag of maple sugar she had made herself, tapping the trees and cutting the wood herself.[35] The activities of these grandmothers are important to her in shaping her life history. Josephine Roy, another Ojibwa woman, retells the Nanabush stories on tape, explaining that they were told to her by her grandfather,[36] while Lucinda Freeman, a Mohawk woman, tells stories about the supernatural, especially about encountering a mysterious dog on the road late at night, a human in disguise, that were related to her by her stepmother.[37] Stories of personal experience are also related, espec-

ially narratives about prophetic dreams or supernatural visitations,[38] but these arise in response to the interviewer's questions as to whether or not the woman has ever been scared. These will be discussed in the next section, in an examination of personal experience narratives.

The connection with the grandmother, wise storyteller and enabler of life and creativity, is present even in narratives that have their origin in written form and are preeminently autobiographical. It is as though these narrators also feel Verna Johnston's hesitation about telling their own life stories and do so only to justify the wisdom of their grandmothers. Thus even the true autobiography shows the traces of the ethnographic life history, for tribal considerations retain more force than the individual's narrative of feelings. Jane Willis in Geniesh, an autobiography of boarding school life, develops her loving relationship with the grandmother she lived with as a young child in order to illustrate the strengths of the traditional native life destroyed by the boarding schools. Maria Campbell dedicates her biographical narrative, Halfbreed, "to my Cheechum's children". At ninety-six, Cheechum is Maria's haven, alternately professor of metaphysics[39] and instructor in housekeeping,[40] as the twelve-year old girl takes over the management of the household on her mother's death. When Cheechum leaves them for another of her children and a rest from labour, Maria's life falls apart. Eventually pulling herself up from skid row, Maria writes this narrative both in justification of herself to Cheechum and as a demonstration of the power of Cheechum's teaching. As she writes in her final paragraph:

> The years of searching, loneliness and pain are over for me. Cheechum said, "You'll find yourself, and you'll find brothers and sisters." I have brothers and sisters, all over the country. I no longer need my blanket to survive.[41]

Campbell's text weaves itself about the warp of Cheechum's words; it is a communal text and one which, as these lines suggest, is designed to create community. Most native women's narratives are thus perceived by their tellers to be traditional, empowered by the grandmother who is the true author of the text.[42]

The full extent of the ritual dimension of the grandmother's storytelling is evident in the films I have examined, and it goes beyond the context of food and nurturing to provide a link with the sacred. In Mother of Many Children there is a sequence where Augusta Marie Gudine, age 108 according to the narrator's intro-

duction, is telling a female creation myth of the Cree. What strikes the eye in this partially reconstituted performance event is the extreme contrast in the ages of the participants, a fact that is also true in the written narratives. For the storytelling grandmothers are extremely aged, octogenarians at least, as the narrators take pains to inform us. This, added to the evident spiritual content of the tale being told, underlines the initiatory function of storytelling. It is not just secular scripture, but scripture itself. In Ways of My Grandmother this function is even more evident, for the stories are part and parcel of the transference of spiritual powers from shamans to initiates. Not just a gift of motherly love, the tale is also a "window" into the sacred other world, as the anonymous Inuit poet so aptly phrased it.

Our analysis of this particular function of storytelling may be extended to the writing of women in "higher" literary forms, such as fiction. That many women's narratives effect entry into the sacred has been proposed by Carol Christ in her study of women's quest fiction, Diving Deep and Surfacing, and is elaborated in Annis Pratt's study, Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction,[43] which demonstrates the prevalence and types of spiritual quests among women's books. Moreover, a recent study of Margaret Atwood's novel Surfacing,[44] (novel which was included in both of the preceding studies), has explored its use of shamanic rituals. What is evident, in English-Canadian women's fiction, is that much of it aspires to the spiritual function of narrative characteristic of the native women's community. We also find in the novels of Canadian women, evidence of the importance of the traditional wisdom of the mother as textual matrix. In these fictions of female desire, where Demeter is reunited with Kore, the writer/reader are linked by the creative act in a communal narrative which is forged within the storytelling circle.[45] The cyclical nature of such tales, repeated again and again from generation to generation, is suggested in Audrey Thomas' Songs My Mother Taught Me. Framed by the cyclical catch tale "It was a dark and stormy night...", the tail of Thomas' tale is caught up in its reincarnation. A more complex analysis of the interconnections of mother's tales and daughter's retellings is to be found in Alice Munro's Lives of Girls and Women[46] which shows the family link between oral "natural" narratives and formal written novels like Munro's. Both these novels, significantly, are self-reflexive fictions that call for the reader's active participa-

tion in the creation of meaning through shared experience. They thus provid further evidence on which to base my contention that the model for the oral tex may be extended to become a model for the woman's text.

In the last part of this essay I wish to turn to another form of oral narrative away from the myths and legends of the women's medicine stories and toward some of the "natural" narratives with which Munro works, especially the narrative of personal or family experience, life histories that nourish written genres o autobiography, biography and the confessional novel. It is possible that this forn of storytelling has developed as a result of ethnographic studies of women's lives For them to become true biographies, they must become more than representative life and be invested with the teller's own discovery of the pattern o her life. This is certainly true in the written autobiographies that constitute th main form of written narrative for native women.

In this area of investigation, another set of current theories will guide ou analysis, namely linguistic approaches to literature, informed by theories o ordinary language philosophy, that emphasize the common properties of oral an written forms of narrative. Refusing the distinctions commonly drawn betwee literary and non-literary language on the basis of differing functions, this approac stresses the fact that both natural and fictive discourses are transactions operatin through a network of assumptions, of appropriate conditions.[47] As speech theoris Mary Louise Pratt writes, literature is in fact a speech context, dependent o unspoken and culturally shared knowledge of the rules, conventions an expectations in play in that particular context.[48] The collaboration of reader audience in the constitution of the particular experience is of fundamenta importance. "Literariness" is not associated with textual properties but, as th speech act theorists point out, "Our readiness to discover and dwell on the implici meanings in literary works--and to judge them important--is a consequence of ou knowing them to be literary works, rather than that which tells us they ar such."[49] Our generic distinctions are one set of conventions and assumptions tha are part of any transaction. For instance, what we take as a poem, is a structur designed to reward the activity of interpretation, that is the construing--imagining projecting, elaborating--of a particular set of conditions, a context for th utterance.[50] Differences between natural and fictive discourses rest o assumptions about lying and false listening. In the former, the liar is the one wh

says what he does not mean, while in the latter there is an inversion, the "liar" and "false listener" being those who fail to suspend that basic assumption.[51] Other distinctions hinge on presumed differences in the social context between natural and fictive utterances. The former are presumed governed by external grounds established prior to the occasion, whereas the latter, with their relationship between poet and reader, are established on internal grounds.[52] Fictive discourse is thus more "detachable" from context, designed to reach a wider audience, more game-like or ludic in its nature, establishing its own self-contained frame. Speech act theory has been concerned to show the continuities between natural and fictive discourse in terms of functional and formal similarities by demonstrating, as Mary Louise Pratt has done, how the natural narrative speech situation is reproduced and imitated in literary narratives and how our understanding of the latter is determined by our comprehension of the conventions of the former. As Pratt expresses it:

> all the problems of coherence, chronology, causality, foregrounding, plausibility, selection of detail, tense, point of view, and emotional intensity exist for the natural narrator just as they do for the novelist, and they are confronted and solved (with greater or lesser success) by speakers of the language every day.[53]

Most of us are well able to decide on the relative success of the resolution of these problems in natural narrative and this conclusion forms the basis for our aesthetic judgements. Rather than follow Pratt's direction when she moves from extraliterary to literary forms, I shall move in the present context inversely, from the confessional novel, to autobiography, to the oral narrative of personal experience.

The point of focus is what the American socio-linguist William Labov has called "The Danger of Death" event, relived in natural narratives.[54] A literary example of this type of narrative is the "Baptizing" sequence from Alice Munro's confessional novel, Lives of Girls and Women, where Del elaborates on her struggle for survival that occurs when Garnet tries to drown her and bring her life to the same end suffered by so many of the other lively and adventurous women of Jubilee. The Oral History tapes at the Spadina Public Library contain many examples of such narratives, along with other types of family history narratives. Many such narratives were told in answer to a question asked of the respondents

where they were invited to relate their most terrifying experience. The impulse to relate such stories of escape from danger is, I would suggest, at the basis of many of the native women's written autobiographies. The death they face is often real--we have Jane Willis' anecdote of how she was nearly abducted by a man on a lonely road,[55] and Minnie Freeman's anecdote of nearly being run down by cars when she couldn't understand the operation of traffic lights[56]--but is more accurately psychological. These women tell of cultural confict in which their traditional values and sense of self-worth have been destroyed by contact with white civilization. They describe the near death of the self.

In Geniesh, Jane Willis details the deliberate humiliations to which she was subjected in native boarding schools despite her academic brilliance.[57] Jane, like the other biographers, is a survivor. Her sense of humour frames her bitterly ironic anecdotes: it has obviously been an important element in saving her from utter loss of self. As she writes in the final lines, after many years living in white society, she can now hold her head high and proudly proclaim she is an Indian.

> For twelve years I was brainwashed into believing that "Indian" was synonymous with "sub-human", "savage", "idiot", and "worthless". It took almost that long for me to regain my self-respect, to feel whole once again. Now I can, once again, say with pride, "I am an Indian".[58]

In this conclusion, she offers her life as a model for other native women, as a justification for her life story being told.

Maria Campbell has a similar story to tell in Halfbreed. Suffering from a lack of self-respect fostered by her ambiguous cultural tradition, Maria is pulled into the underworld of white urban society, acting out her role as a "no good" Indian and destroying her body through alcohol and drugs. Maria, too, comes back from this death of the spirit to find dignity and meaning in sisterhood with other native people. Minnie Freeman, an Inuit, also becomes a leader and interpreter for her people, functioning as she does in two cultural spheres as a government translator. Her autobiography was first shaped into a play, Survival in the South, a monologue for performance, an art form mid-way between oral anecdote and extended literary treatment. Later the incidents were expanded and reframed as written autobiography in Life Among the Qallunaat. In her work, we see the progression from oral anecdote to written text. But all these narratives I have just mentioned,

although extending beyond the minimal anecdote of natural narrative, are nonetheless woven from linked strands of such anecdotes. And the format they follow exhibits the characteristics of minimal narrative. Past experience is "recapitulated by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the verbal sequence of events" that have occurred.[59] The narrative sequence evolves through abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution, to coda.[60] Written narratives expand on this basic framework in the quantity of detail offered. The orientation--i.e. the setting, or situation--is more extended, given the removal of the restrictions of length on the narrative. So, too, is the abstract, which goes beyond a mere title to sum up the gist of the unfolding action.

Such narratives of the near death of the personality may be transformed into poetry. When this happens, the focus on the complicating action and resolution, characteristic of narrative, shifts to an emphasis on evaluation of the action. We see this, for example, in the poetry of Rita Joe.

I

They say that I must live
A white man's way.
This day and age
Still being bent to what they say,
My heart remains
Tuned to native time.

I must dress conservative in style
And have factory shoes upon my feet.
Leave the ways they say
Are wild.
Forfeit a heritage
That is conquered.

I must accept what this century
Has destroyed and left behind -
The innocence of my ancestry.

I must forget father sky
And mother earth,
And hurt this land we love
With towering concrete.

II

If I must fight
Their war as well,
Or share in conquests
And slip away in drink or drugs,
All wished for wealth
Is mockery to me.

My body yields, wanting luxuries,
But my heart reverts
To so-called savagery.

If we are slow
Embracing today's thoughts,
Be patient with us awhile.

Seeing
What wrongs have been wrought
Native ways seem not so wild.[61]

A more detailed analysis of many such sequences in written narratives where narrators are reliving past experiences would reveal more parallels between written and oral narratives. My purpose though, in communicating with an audience that has reified the literary text, is to point out the aesthetic values in the organization of natural narrative. For just as we form judgements about how "good" a novel is, based on our awareness of the appropriateness of the conditions for that particular speech-act situation, so too we can recognize narrative expertise when we hear it in natural narrative. Knowing the conventions, we can tell when the teller brings it off well, avoiding the pitfalls of trivial experience, long-windedness or digression.

The emotional impact of death makes it a frequent subject in oral narrative. Sometimes, though, the near death relived is that of another person, rather than the teller's own. There are a number of good anecdotes of this type of "The Danger of Death" story, to be found on the Oral History tapes. Josephine Beaucage, for instance, who ran a hunting camp with her husband, has a number of anecdotes to relate about lost hunters though her focus is more on her own role in the story where she is a rescuer.[62] Eliza Kneller tells an extremely well dramatized and detailed narrative about her sister's near death from drowning in the well, which follows the general evolution of the genre, ending with the coda: "Thank goodness he (her grandfather) was there in the bush getting his medicines. Otherwise

couldn't have saved my big sister".[63] Both of these skilled narrators have lengthy stories to tell about "one of the most frightening things that ever happened to me".[64] For Eliza Kneller, this event was "the time she got lost in Buffalo", when she had just taken up a job as a maid and went out for her first day off without knowing the address of the house she was living in. The emphasis in the action is on her wanderings wherein she demonstrates her ability to rely on instinct to get back to this new residence on her own.[65] Josephine Beaucage's narrative involves a hunting incident which, though nearly fatal, has its comic side as well. Out setting new mink traps, she and her husband decide to hunt a deer. One appears on the edge of the ice and is chased by their dog into the water. Josephine loads the gun and shoots, but nothing happens. There is something wrong with the gun so her husband decides to lasso the deer instead. Josephine, terrified, sits in the bottom of the canoe hanging on tightly while the deer tows them around the lake. Finally, her husband manages to hit the deer over the head and they come to shore. Josephine concludes her narrative with a coda that serves as summary: "Never again will I lasso a deer. We could have drowned and nobody would know".[66] The conditions of limited access in which these tapes are kept, with no copying permitted, make detailed analysis of them difficult. Fortunately there are some examples of this type of narrative which have been orally dictated, transcribed and then printed, that offer a better terrain for detailed comment.

These are the life histories related to anthropologists. These have their own limitations: some are much more effective stories than others, for they develop issues that the native woman wishes to expand upon. They allow us, however, to become aware of the characteristic elements of this type of narrative, and by contrast, to appreciate the aesthetic achievement of the "good" tales. Key to these is the development of action and dialogue. The unedited portions of Florence Davidson's narrative are brief and contain no explicit "danger of death" anecdote. There is an equivalent though, in Davidson's central event, where she relates a lengthy reenactment of her reactions to the arrangement of her marriage to a much older man, a fate she feels is akin to death. Indeed, she says: "I wish I was dead".[67] The verb tense is the clue here to the fact that she is reliving the incident to the extent of recreating the varied dialogues for the participants, and dramatizing the action. These features are the distinctive traits of the natural narratives. They are missing, however, from the many autobiographical sketches in Speaking Together, making them thus unsuitable for our analysis. So, too, are they

lacking in Pitseolak's Pictures Out of My Life, a life story which was dictated to Dorothy Eber. An example from this latter narrative that fails to develop a crisis situation will serve as a generalization on the inadequate elaboration of the complicating action which lessens the aesthetic interest for an audience.

> After Ashoona died we were very poor and sometimes we would be out of oil for the kudlik. Things were given to us by other people; we used to get oil from Oshaweetok. We lived in camps near Cape Dorset and my eldest son, Namoonie, did the hunting and sometimes Kalka helped. But for a long time, we were very poor and often we were hungry. We were poor until Sowmilk and the government houses came.[68]

The story has potentials for development, but it has remained general.

By contrast, Marion Tuu'luq, another Inuit visual artist, takes the same problem of hunger and relates a most effective "Story of Starvation", dictated to Susan Tagoona. The narrative is powerful, one that moves us because it demonstrates the strength of a child when all the adults prove incapable. After their father has become unable to walk and strangles himself to ease their burden in a difficult time, Marion is the one who senses out the caches of food that help her and her brothers survive. Marion's resourcefulness and optimism are demonstrated in the action of the narrative when at least twice in their wanderings (she summarizes the other discoveries) she is the first to smell a cache. Older hunters of their group finally catch up with them and they feast as much as they want. The story concludes with a coda that sums up Marion's unquenchable spirit:

> When Nattaq started to talk again about how she thought I might be dead and how she searched the igloo looking for me, I started to laugh. "This girl never runs out of laughs", Angutituaq said.[69]

We appreciate here the aptness of the inversion of the initial situation which was presented for us in the abstract and the orientation of the narrative's opening lines.

> I am going to recount a story that I am sure I have told over and over again in the past. It is not a happy story. At the time it took place, it looked as though we weren't going to survive. I will tell you some of those terrible events.

> My name is Marion Tuu'luq and my story goes back to the time when my father couldn't walk. My father was lame for as far back as I can remember into my childhood. We used to carry him on our backs when we travelled during the summer. In the winter, we pulled him on the quamutik.
>
> One time, while we were at Tipyalike, there were not caribou to be found, and we became very hungry. Being just a young girl at the time, it didn't occur to me that the people I was with were very concerned and afraid.[70]

But beyond our aesthetic satisfaction with the inversion, we are pleased with the narrator's skill in pacing the action and in building suspense:

> I started kicking at the rock, shouting "It's a cache! It's food!" And I would not leave the rock.
>
> "There can't be anything around here. You wouldn't know of any caches around here, you are not able to know!" answered my brother Angutituaq in a scolding voice. But I just kept on kicking at the rock and shouting, "It's food! It's a cache!" For some reason, I just couldn't leave the rock alone.
>
> "It's nothing. It can't be anything!" Angutituaq kept answering back at me.
>
> Then the others started shovelling at the rock, and, true to my words, they uncovered - a cache! As we loaded it on our sled, it seemed as though we were stealing someone else's cache. But we didn't know of anyone who would have a cache, and we were threatened with starvation.[71]

The repetition of proposal and objection by the sister accentuates the tension and emphasizes the importance of actually finding a cache, even as this quarrel aids in the characterization of the participants. Similarly, the sense of guilt that follows the emptying of the cache with its overtones of transgressing taboos, reinforced later in the dream appearance of Marion's father with a specific taboo, heightens the significance of these actions in their connection with the supernatural. This underlines the desperation of their situation when their own efforts are without avail--"threatened with starvation". In this reenactment of the situation, the reader is thoroughly involved, whereas she is not in the summaries and reports of such incidents in the other narratives I have mentioned. Undoubtedly, some of the power of Tuu'luq's story lies in the extremity of the situation--whence the perennial appeal of such narratives--but it also resides in the narrative skills of its teller.

With its dramatic conflict and inversions, Marion Tuu'luq's narrative is the most polished of the ones I shall examine. One that comes close to it is Minnie

Aodla Freeman's play, "Survival in the South", an oral monologue. Its extended abstract and orientation spoken by a "narrator" is the mark of its written form. The storyline, however, is a development of the near death incident. Here, the power of the story comes from its ironic inversion of narrative conventions. A young girl comes down from the arctic to be a government translator, is bewildered by the city and can't find her way about to get to her residence for dinner. She is in danger of starvation because of the overabundance of resources with a consequent blurring of the vision that had helped Marion. The recall of significant detail is again the strength of the narrative.

> I'll just follow those people into the street, I won't pay attention to the names of the streets, I will only look at the signs and colours and shapes. That's how I will remember the way. (Exits then returns to street noises.)
>
> Minnie: Oh! (Lights change to red and traffic bursts in and then out, lights turn green, Minnie moves on.)
>
> Narrator: I am very alone... So many tall buildings, I can't see how far the sun has dropped... Ah, there is a policeman. I will ask him where I live. (She approaches the policeman.)
>
> Minnie: Can you please tell me where Sussen Street is?
>
> Policeman: Speak up ma'am. Where was it?
>
> Minnie: Please, where is Sussen Street?
>
> Policeman: Sussen? That way, ten blocks.
>
> Narrator: Ten blocks. Aukatalangani! My feet are aching, I am so hot, I have to find my way home. I vow to myself tomorrow I will look at my route better. Tomorrow? What is tomorrow? Today is four, the next five, no tomorrow is number five.[72]

The irony of the cultural alienation and death is heightened by the final lines of the play. Arriving in the office, Minnie is asked to tell how her people survive in the north in order to instruct the white men who want to go there. As the narrator comments: "They ask me how to survive, they don't tell me how to survive in the South."[73] An exercise in the absurd, this drama is played out on the fine line between comedy and tragedy, its power heightened by the evident ironic inversion of survival tales.

The aesthetic qualities of these stories stand out in contrast to the one related by Verna Johnston that is presented in oral format (transcribed) in I Am Nokomis, Too. Johnston is remembering the diphtheria epidemic in which she almost died. But the events of her personal experience are suppressed while she gives us the vicarious experience of her brother Frank's death. Not able to encounter her own trial directly, Johnston gives us a reportage of events, lacking in both the expression of the emotions involved and in any dramatization of the events. Without the colourful speech or detailed action, the listener is not invited to participate as fully in the narrative and the communicative event is reduced in force. However, the final lines make a stronger impact. Here Johnston remembers her childhood bewilderment and finds an effective detail to convey it.

> I was already sick with diphtheria myself. I can still remember where the stairway went up in that stone house. Right at the foot, to one side, was the casket with Frank. I'd go upstairs and then I'd think about Frank lying there, and then I'd creep down and feel his toes or feel his hands. It was hard for me to understand why he was stiff and so cold.[74]

Johnston can elaborate a more effective narrative, as she does immediately on the conclusion of this incident which serves as a springboard to what is obviously a much more terrifying and vivid event for her, the time when her brother put phosphorescent plants on some old skulls and scared her nearly to death as she was coming home late in the dark. Although there is still no dialogue to expand the complicating action, there is an extensive orientation to build up suspense and a prolonged description of the result, namely the repetition of the initial action as "those fire-breathing skulls followed me everywhere for weeks".[75] Finding an apparition on the road is one of the most frequently told superstitions on the Oral History tapes and occurs in the tales of Forbidden Voice.[76] However, these other versions make nothing of the psychological impact of the event. Repetition in Johnston's story serves to indicate her obsession. As she concludes, the consequence was that she become a nervous wreck and required medical treatment.

Strong emotion and effective repetition in this story compel our attention. Johnston is not as skilled in the use of these aesthetic elements as Mary August Tappage, a B.C. "poet" of Shuswap descent. Through her use of repetition, Tappage creates poems of great power. Spareness of detail, rather than amplification, is the secret of her best poems. In this they contrast with Marion Tuu'luq's story.

Although Tappage has written, or rather dictated to Jean Speare, many moments of strong emotion, such as being a mid-wife helping other women to give birth, her work making baskets and other related traditional creation stories or stories about cultural heroes, she has based several poems on situations of death. In both the cases I am referring to, the death of her grandmother and of her son, Tappage relates a vicarious experience. But quite clearly in this case, we are listening to a personal narrative of spiritual or emotional death as well. This deep involvement of the speaker is conveyed through the repetition of phrases which implies meditation on the impact of the incident. In this poetry, the emphasis is on the evaluation of action rather than on its elaboration, though the narrative element is common to both poem and tale.

> I was packing water from the spring 'way down the hill.
> I heard someone yell; I heard him calling me.
> I dropped my buckets and I ran, my God!
> I ran through high grass and bush; I fell, I ran and I fell again.
> I found him lying there in the grass, yes, I found him.
>
> (. . .)
> Is what killed him, I guess. His lunch was smashed.
> George threw it away and we took him down to hospital at the Lake, but they couldn't do nothing.
> He died at eight o'clock that night same day.
>
> When I carry water from the spring sometimes
> I hear him calling from over there. But he's not there, no.
>
> I buried him at the Mission. I buried my son at the Mission.[77]

What is not said is as important as what is said in this poem, as is evident in the brief comment on the son's death. But the repetition in the refrain-like final lines allows the unspoken emotion to well up to the surface and draws attention to the way the deep feelings linger on in the mind of the speaker. It is the psychological impact of the event that is important here. In this poem, as in "Smallpox" which tells of her grandmother's death, Tappage reveals her awareness of form in the shaping and ordering of the events. Here she circles back in the poem to the fatal spring where the tragic action took place while in "Smallpox" she counterpoints the survival of the young girl from smallpox to the ultimate death of the old woman from flu. This contrast is accentuated by another between the strong young girl who survives and her brother who dies of smallpox. The details given about this experience are very similar to the ones Johnston remembers, namely, his extreme

cold and the presence of a ladder to be climbed.[78] Some of the credit for the spacing of the words on the page to create these effects for readers is due to Mary Speares, who edited the book from her conversations with Augusta. These poems may most aptly be thought of as found poems, occurring here in the oral mode, rather than in cookbooks or newspapers from which such poems more usually come.

While there are many functions of storytelling such as ludic tales and tales of the supernatural, my focus here has been on sacred tales connected with ritual, and natural anecdotes from life histories, two types of tales which are found in both oral and written modes of narrative. What is clear in both cases, however, is the extent to which the written form controls our perception of oral tales. In the case of the sacred tales, as we observed, the fullest development of this material is in the fiction of white women whose use of the tales is not governed by taboos about repeating women's sacred lore in the presence of men. While some of the sacred rituals seem to be silent, as Alma Greene describes them for us, others are deliberately shrouded in silence. Attempts have been made to keep the tales tied to an event, to restrict their repetition.

The same strictures are present in life histories. Most of those available have been recorded by anthropologists or students who have selected venerable old women for their knowledge of tribal customs, not for their storytelling capacities. While a close relationship appears to develop between Margaret Blackman and Florence Davidson and between Rosamond Vanderburgh and Verna Johnston, with their dialogues extending over several years, this is not the case between interviewers and informants for the Spadina Oral History tapes. In this case, interviews were conducted among the senior citizens in residence at Wigwaman Lodge and others belonging to the native centre in Toronto. They told their friends about the project and other informants volunteered to be interviewed. Very few of them were good storytellers investing enough of themselves in the interview to change it from a question and answer session into a life history, in which the informant attempts to make sense of her own life. Only in a few cases were to be found the fully developed narratives, complete with dialogue and action, some of which I have outlined here. Significantly, the most satisfying tales are those recorded spontaneously among native women, as in Marion Tuu'luq's collaboration with her friend Susan Tagoona and in Augusta Trapper's tales, which were recorded with an aesthetic objective in mind. On the contrary, most of the written autobiographies

were highly satisfying, shaped as they were by the teller to her own aims of understanding her life. With the exception of Alice French's autobiography, which was briefer than the others, these were the works in which the native woman teller became most fully an individual, though even here she remained careful to ground her telling in the words of her grandmother and tribal custom.

We can indeed evaluate the aesthetic qualities of oral narratives, as I have tried to show, and we do so with the tools we bring to written texts--an appreciation of humour, irony, pathos, an awareness of a refined sense of timing, and a delight in the formal consolations of repetition and contrast. Certainly we also respond to the authenticity and depth of the emotion expressed and find pleasure in the freshness of the language conveying it. We also discover that oral narratives fulfill many of the same functions as written ones, providing a window into the sacred and making sense of the things that happen to us in our daily lives. But it is time now to move away from the analysis of specific texts and the delineation of two major narrative modes, to address again the implications of these discoveries about the interwoven relationship of written and oral narratives in our call for a redefinition of the text. What does all this mean for the investigation of women's literary productions?

If we remain within the traditional boundaries of the discipline of English literature, this literature of native women in the oral mode provides models for new kinds of questions to ask. We might be encouraged to look more closely at the contexts in which stories are exchanged. We might first be curious to see just who becomes a writer, and on what basis such authority is claimed. It would seem from our investigation that women in the native tradition are empowered to speak because of the special wisdom they possess as dreamers with knowledge of the sacred lore and myths of their tradition, and thus they may become teachers of the young. They are also empowered to speak when they become culture brokers or leaders of their people moving between white and Indian worlds. As the poem said, they have special insight into "other worlds": they are in fact mediators as well as shamans. We might also want to further explore the communicative event from the perspective of the audience/reader, to see precisely what the contribution of the reader is in a collaborative written creation. What is the nature of the community being established through this joint participation? Are there parallels to the ritual being enacted in the oral event involving teller and listener? What is the

nature of this commonwealth of women? The answers to these questions would help give us an understanding of women's speaking and writing, as a communicative event and would illuminate the ways in which meanings are constructed in active negotiation. In both cases, a concept of the text as a closed entity created by a single person would be challenged.

The ultimate implication of this challenge to the text is an attack on the discipline itself. The new text is mobile, changing, not fixed, a specific, non-repeatable moment. The new image of the literary scholar would be the woman with the tape recorder running around recording life-histories and conversation. We would thus be in a better position to initiate an analysis of the modes of fiction based on a thorough understanding of gossip, the foundation of the novel, as Virginia Woolf suggested. An even more appropriate mode of investigation would be the movie camera which would allow for the complete reconstitution of the communicative event. Here the literary scholar joins forces with the anthropologist, the historian of popular culture and the film-maker. Traditional disciplinary boundaries have been stretched, as women's studies perpetually claims it must do, in order to create knowledge in what has been empty space simply because our preconceived grids and questions have made us blind to what is really here. What is here, as I hope the body of this essay has shown, is a delight in and skill at a variety of narrative modes ranging between oral and written forms.

FOOTNOTES

1 Speaking Together: Canada's Native Women (Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1975).

2 Judith Sloman, "The Fragmentary Genres: Women Writers and Non-Canonical Forms." Canadian Newsletter of Research on Women. 7, 2 (1978), pp. 26-29.

3 Luce Irigaray, Speculum de l'autre femme (Paris: Minuit, 1974), pp. 178-179

4 Judith Fetterley, The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978).

5 Virginia Woolf, The Common Reader (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1925); see also the analysis of Woolf by Wolfgang Iser in The Implied Reader: Patterns of Communication in Prose Fiction From Bunyan to Beckett (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1975).

6 Marilyn Cochran-Smith, "What is Given is No More Than a Way of Taking: Children Learning to Make Sense of Texts." Paper prepared for World Congress of Sociology, August 1982, pp. 6-7.

7 For an interesting discussion of this see Rachel Brownstein's Becoming a Heroine (Hammondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

8 Deborah Jones, "Gossip: Notes on Women's Oral Culture". Women's Studies International Quarterly. 3, 2/3 (1980), p. 94. See also Mair Verthuy, "Y-a-t-il une spécificité de l'écriture au féminin?" Canadian Women's Studies/Cahiers de la femme. 1, 1 (Fall/Automne 1978), pp. 73-78.

9 Himani Banerjee, Prabha Khosla, et al. "We Appear Silent to People Who Are Deaf to What We Say." Fireweed. 16 (1983), p. 11.

10 Jeannette Armstrong, Maria Campbell, and Beth Cuthand. "Writing From a Native Women's Perspective." Women and Words, Vancouver, July 2, 1983. Available on tape from the Women and Words Society, Vancouver.

11 Robin Gedalof, ed. Paper Stays Put (Edmonton: Hurtig, n.d.), p. 9, my emphasis.

12 Barbara Herrnstein Smith. On the Margins of Discourse (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1978).

13 Anon. "Songs My Mother Taught Me" in Edward Field, ed. and trans. Eskimo Songs and Stories (New York: Delacorte, 1973).

14 "Nokomis." Patronella Johnston. Tales of Nokomis (Don Mills: Musson, 1975) and "Nani." Florence Edenshaw Davidson. Margaret Blackman. During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press; Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1982).

15 This model is adapted from Jeanne Demers and Lise Gauvin. "Frontières du conte écrit: quelques loups-garous québécois." Littérature. 45 (février 1982), p. 8.

16 Boundary 2, 3.3 (1975), on oral poetics. Brian Swann, Smoothing the Ground, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983.

17 Richard Bauman. Verbal Art as Performance (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House, 1977), p. 15.

18 Ibid., p. 16.

19 Ibid., p. 11.

20 Ibid.

21 Alanis Obomsawin. Mother of Many Children. National Film Board of Canada.

22 For more detailed discussion of the tradition of ethnographic interviewing and its omissions see Gretchen M. Bataille and Kathleen Mullen Sands, American Indian Women: Telling Their Lives (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp. 9-12 and 29-46.

23 Ibid., pp. 33-40, esp. p. 40. Again this book offers evidence of the taboos about telling these stories to a male anthropologist.

24 Lynn V. Andrews. Medicine Woman (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981), Preface.

25 Beth Cuthand, Op. Cit. speaks of this. "We come from a tradition of storytelling . . . the use of words on paper (is) merely an extension of storytelling tradition." She also says that in writing it is "not our own words coming, . . . the grandmothers come and write through us."

26 Uvavnuk. "The Great Sea," in John Robert Colombo, ed. Poems of the Inuit. (Ottawa: Oberon, 1980), p. 21. The notes in the volume identify the sex of the "poets".

27 For further development of this point see my article "Listening for the Silence: Native Women's Narratives" in The Native in Canadian Literature, edited by Thomas King and Helen Hoy. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 1986.

28 Beverly Hungry Wolf. The Ways of My Grandmothers (New York: William Morrow, 1980), p. 132.

29 Alma Greene/Forbidden Voice. Tales of the Mohawks (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1975), p. 4.

30 Ibid., p. 108.

31 Margaret B. Blackman. During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson (Seattle: University of Washington Press; Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre, 1982) and Rosamond Vanderburgh, I Am Nokomis, Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston (Toronto: General Publishing, 1977).

32 Anne Cameron. Daughters of Copper Woman (Vancouver: Press Gang, 1981), n.p.

33 Vanderburgh. I Am Nokomis, Too: The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston, pp. 190-191.

34 Verna Patronella Johnston. Tales of Nokomis (Don Mills: Musson, 1975), n.p.

35 Jane McKee. Tape OHT 83-040. Oral History Collection, Spadina Public Library, Toronto.

36 Josephine Roy. Tape OHT 83-032. Oral History Collection. Spadina Public Library, Toronto.

37 Lucinda Forman. Tape OHT 82-001. Oral History Collection. Spadina Public Library, Toronto.

38 Jane McKee, for instance, relates how in a dream she saw tall buildings and a bridge swaying in San Francisco and was awakened in terror. Thinking she heard a noise outside, she loaded a gun and went out to the old ice house. There was no bear, nothing. Coming back in, she noticed the clock said 4:30. When she got up again later in the morning and turned on the radio, she heard that there had been an earthquake in San Francisco at 4:30 a.m. She couldn't believe what she heard. This experience is related as the most terrifying one she ever had. OHT 83-040.

39 Jane Willis. Geniesh (Toronto: New Press, 1973). Maria Campbell Halfbreed (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1973), p. 83.

40 Ibid., p. 85.

41 Ibid., p. 184.

Note how this conclusion confirms Estelle Jelinek's description of women's autobiography with its aim to clarify self-worth. "Men's autobiographies embellish to project a self-image of confidence, despite all difficulties. This is contrary to the self-image projected in women's autobiographies. What their life stories reveal is a self-consciousness and a need to sift through their lives for explanation and understanding. The autobiographical intention is often powered by the motive to convince the readers of their self-worth, to clarify, to affirm, and to authenticate their self-image. Thus the idealization or self aggrandizement found in male autobiographies is not typical of the female mode."

Estelle Jelinek. "Introduction." Women's Autobiographies: Essays in Criticism (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), p. 15.

42 Note here also the desire to reconnect with this mother by repeating her words, not by destroying them through a reshaping of them in a new text. However, there are a few different narratives--autobiographies or biographies about women married to famous men or involved in politics, such as Anahero's Devil in Deerskins about her life with Grey Owl or Johanna Brand's biography of Micmac Anna Mae Aquash, Wounded Knee activist.

43 Carol P. Christ. Diving Deep and Surfacing (Boston: Beacon Press, 1980). Annis Pratt. Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981).

44. Marie-Françoise Guédon. "Surfacing: Amerindian Themes and Shamanism," in Sherrill Grace and Lorraine Weir, eds. Margaret Atwood: Language, Text and System (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1983), pp. 91-111.

45. For a further discussion of this issue, see my article "My (M)Other, My Self: Strategies for Subversion in Atwood and Hébert." ECW, 26 (1983), pp. 13-44.

46 Audrey Thomas. Songs My Mother Taught Me (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1973). Alice Munro, Lives of Girls and Women (Toronto: McGraw-Hill-Ryerson, 1971). For further development of this theme see "'Heirs of the Living Body': Alice Munro and the Question of a Female Aesthetic," in The Art of Alice Munro: Saying the Unsayable, Judith Miller, ed. (Waterloo: University of Waterloo Press, 1984).

47 Smith, Op. Cit., p. 105.

48 Mary Louise Pratt. Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), p. 86. See also John R. Searle, Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969) and J.L. Austin, How to Do Things with Words (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962).

49 Ohmann, quoted in Pratt, Ibid., p. 87.

50 Smith, Op. Cit., pp. 74-75.

51 Ibid., p. 114.

52 Ibid., p. 115.

53 Pratt, Op. Cit., p. 67.

54 William Labov, quoted in Pratt. Ibid., p. 40.

55 Willis, Op. Cit., pp. 155-157.

56 Minnie Aodla Freeman, "Survival in the South", see forward, p. 36.

57 Willis, Op. Cit., pp. 87-88.

"Finally she gave me a look of disdain. 'I heard you, Janie,' she said. 'You should be ashamed of yourself. Such a low mark is nothing to be proud of.'

'But eighty-eight was the highest mark in math', I whispered hesitantly, hoping to regain some of the confidence and pride I had felt just seconds earlier.

'That may be so, but for you that is a very low mark. You've done much better than that. And you have the nerve to wave your papers around proudly.' She went on mercilessly. 'If you keep getting such low marks, pretty soon you'll flunk out of school.'

I walked away from the happy crowd, feeling like the low man on the totem pole. I actually believed her."

58 Ibid., p. 199.

59 Labov, quoted in Pratt, Op. Cit., p. 44

60 Ibid., p. 45.

61 Rita Joe, The Poems of Rita Joe (Halifax: Abenaki Press, 1978), pp. 9-10.

62 Josephine Beaucage, Tape OHT 83-037. Oral History Collection. Spadina Public Library, Toronto.

63 Elizabeth Kneller, Tape OHT 82-006. Oral History Collection. Spadina Public Library, Toronto.

64 The words are Josephine Beaucage's, Op. Cit.

65 Elizabeth Kneller, Op. Cit., Tape OHT 82-007.

66 Josephine Beaucage, Op. Cit.

67 Margaret Blackman, Op. Cit., p. 160.

68 Pitseolak, Pictures Out of My Life (Montreal: Design Books; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), n.p.

69 Marion Tuu'luq, "Story of Starvation", in Gedalof, Op. Cit., p. 128.

70 Ibid., p. 121

71 Ibid., p. 123

72 Minnie Aodla Freeman, "Survival in the South", in Gedalof, Op. Cit., p. 110.

73 Ibid., p. 112

74 Vanderburgh, I Am Nokomis, Too, p. 169.

75 Ibid., p. 170.

76 This may be predominantly a Mohawk genre as it occurs on the tape of Lucinda Freeman, Op. Cit. See also, "A Meeting With Old Nick", "Gilbert and the Ghost", "The Ghost and the Hand", "The Spooky Road", Alma Greene, Op. Cit., pp. 141-146.

77 Jean E. Speare, ed. The Days of Augusta (Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1973), pp. 44-45.

78 Ibid., pp. 30-31.

Smallpox

I

It must have been about 1860, that smallpox time. My grandmother told me. She lived through it. Not many did.

She said that lots of Indians lived on this high bench and that's where they are all buried. They died like flies, yes.

And for years after, a flag used to wave about the graveyard, but that's gone now. But no one goes near it anyhow.
No one wants to go near it.

How they got it she says was from a man on foot coming through the country. A white man. A miner, maybe, in those days.

He camped near the Indians and they gave him food and were good to him. And I guess he thanked them by giving them this nice blanket--a Hudson's Bay blanket, my grandmother says.

Well, that man didn't have smallpox--no, he didn't have it. But they figured out later that he must have carried it with him in that blanket.

They all got it anyway after he left. It cleaned them out.

II

Well, my grandmother's young brother got this smallpox. They were young in those days. She didn't get it because she stayed away from the others. She was living in an underground house.

Her brother called to her. "Make a fire out here for me", he called.

My grandmother tells him to "come in".

"I told you not to go over there", she tells him. "I told you to stay away!"

Well, I guess he was dying, see, and it wasn't long till he died.

And my granny-- I guess she had one of these ladders, you know, to get out of her house, made out of a tree, a limb left on this side and a limb left on that side right up for the feet to go on--well, my granny says she carried him out, yet, over her shoulder and she buried him.

She had quite an effort you know, but I guess she was strong in those days.

Anyhow, she lived and they died.

III

Then the 'flu came, yes. Years after, the 'flu came. It was when the soldier boys were coming home. My grandmother was old then, old and weak, I guess. It took here, yes.

She lived through the smallpox, but not the 'flu. That 'flu finished her.

I was sick with the 'flu. I couldn't get up and help nobody! I couldn't help granny.

I raised up in bed after they told me and I looked out the window. I saw my granny's coffin. It was bouncing around in the back of the rig. They were hauling her down to the graveyard to bury her. About a mile down the hill.

I couldn't go. But I saw her go. I saw my granny go.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

PRIMARY SOURCES

TAPES

I have made use of the Oral History tapes of the Native Heritage Project undertaken by the Spadina Branch of the Toronto Public Library. Inverviews were carried out with both men and women elders of the native community. My list here includes only those tapes of interviews with women, who formed the majority of the informants.

Lucinda Forman	OHT 82-001
Verna Johnston	OHT 82-003
Eliza Kneller	OHT 82-004 -007
Elmira McLeod	OHT 82-008 -015
Dora Meawasige	OHT 82-016
Ella Rush	OHT 82-017
Hellie Sylvester	OHT 82-020
Marie Taylor	OHT 82-022
Veronica Goneau	OHT 83-027
Elsie Gattie	OHT 83-028
Mary Weigwams	OHT 83-029
Mildred Redmond	OHT 83-030
Josephine Roy	OHT 83-032
Katherina Green	OHT 83-033
Clara Pratt	OHT 83-034
Edith Tasse	OHT 83-036
Josephine Beaucage	OHT 83-037
Rachel Robinson	OHT 83-039
Jane McKee	OHT 83-040
Eva Owl	OHT 83-041
Margaret Eagle	OHT 83-042
Lydia Somers	OHT 83-047
Margaret Jeffries	OHT 83-048

Jeannette Armstrong, Maria Campbell, Beth Cuthand. Writing From a Native Women's Perspective. Women and Words, Vancouver, 1983

FILMS

Alanis Obomsawin. Mother of Many Children. National Film Board of Canada, 106c 0177 518.

BOOKS

Anahereo. Devil in Deerskins: My Life With Grey Owl. Toronto: New Press, 1972.

Andrews, Lynn V. Medicine Women. San Francisco: Harper & Row, 1981.

Blackman, Margaret B. During My Time: Florence Edenshaw Davidson. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1982.

Blythe, Aleata E. The Ballad of Alice Moonchild and Others. Winnipeg: Pemmican, 1981.

Brand, Johanna. The Life and Death of Anna Mae Aquash. Toronto: James Lorimer, 1981.

Campbell, Maria. Halfbreed. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 1973. Little Badger and the Fire Spirit. Illustrations by David Maclagan. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977.

Cameron, Anne. Daughters of Copper Woman. Vancouver: Press Gang, 1981.,

Clutton-Brock, Elizabeth. Woman of the Paddle Song. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1972.

Freeman, Minnie Aodla. Life Among the Qallunaat. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1978. "Survival in the South" in Paper Stays Put. Robin Gedalof, et. Edmonton: Hurting, n.d. pp. 101-112.

French, Alice. My Name is Masak. Winnipeg: Peguis, 1976.

Greene, Alma. Forbidden Voice: Reflections of a Mohawk Indian. Toronto: Hamyn, 1971. Tales of the Mohawks. Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1975.

Hungry Wolf, Beverly. The Ways of My Grandmothers. New York: William Morrow, 1980.

Joe, Rita. Poems of Rita Joe. Halifax: Abenaki Press, 1978.

Johnston, Patronella. Tales of Nokomis. Illustrations by Francis Kagige. Don Mills: Musson, 1975.

Jordan, Mary. De la soeur, Sara Riel. St. Boniface: Editions des Plaines, 1980.

Klugie, Garry. "The Poverty and the Poetry: A Native Woman's Life History." Canadian Women's Studies/Cahiers de la femme. 4, 2 (Winter 1982), pp. 39-41.

LaRoque, Emma. Defeathering the Indian. Agincourt: The Book Society of Canada, 1975.

Lecomte, Père Edouard. Catherine Tekakwitha: une vièrge iroquoise. Montréal: Imprimerie du Messager, 1930.

Pitseolak. Pictures Out of My Life. From recorded interviews by Dorothy Eber. Montreal: Design Books; Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971. Bilingual edition.

Robinson, Helen Caister. Mistress Molly, The Brown Lady: Portrait of Molly Brant. Toronto: Dundurn, 1980.

Salerno, Nan F. and Rosamond M. Vanderburgh. Shaman's Daughter. New York: Dell, 1981.

Speaking Together: Canada's Native Women. Ottawa: Secretary of State, 1975.

Speare, Jean E., ed. The Days of Augusta. Photography by Robert Kesiere. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1973.

Thomas, Dorine. Rubaboo. Winnipeg: Pemmican, 1981.

Tuu'luq, Marion. "A Story of Starvation". As told to Susan Tagoona. In Paper Stays Put. Robin Gedalof, ed. Edmonton: Hurtig, n.d., pp. 121-128. Reprinted from Inuit Today, VI, 9 (1977).

Vanderburgh, R.M. I Am Nokomis, Too; The Biography of Verna Patronella Johnston. Toronto: General, 1977.

Williams, Sophia and Saul. Wegamow Notebook. Toronto: Amethyst Publications, 1978.

Willis, Jane. Geniesh: An Indian Girlhood. Toronto: New Press, 1973.

POEMS AND STORIES IN ANTHOLOGIES

Field, Edward, ed. and trans. Eskimo Songs and Stories.
New York: Delacorte Press, 1973.
Anon. "Songs My Mother Taught Me".

Gedalof, Robin, ed. Paper Stays Put. Edmonton: Hurtig, n.d.
Evaloardjuak, Lucy. "In the Spring When the Sun Never Sets", p. 149.
Idlout, Leah. "The Little Arctic Tern, the Big Polar Bear", pp. 21-26.
"Wonderful Life", pp. 57-58.
Kappie, Leonie. "Marble Island", pp. 72-73.
Panegoosho, Mary. "Morning Mood", p. 93.
Tapatai, Mrs. Louis. "Akulak the Shaman", pp. 80-82.
Tataniq, Leah and Joanasie Salomonie. "The Faithless Wife", pp. 160-161.

Colombo, John Robert, ed. Poems of the Inuit. Ottawa: Oberon, 1981.
Akjartoq. "I Call Forth the Song", p. 44.
Anon. "Girls Song", p. 46.
Anon. "The Old Woman's Song", p. 46.
Haqumyaq. "Let Me Go and Dance", p. 25.
Hupa. "A Big One", p. 43.
Kaneyoq. "The Great Land", p. 100.
Kibkarjuk. "Imaiya", p. 28.
Kivarjuk. "I am But a Little Woman", p. 49.
Milukatak. "Down Here", p. 32.

Takornaq. "All is More Beautiful", p. 20
Tamoxuina. "Rejoicing", p. 33
Tuglik. "Greet We Those", p. 28
Uvavnuk. "The Great Sea", p. 21
Uvulunuaq. "I Should Be Ashamed", p. 50.

Day, David and Marilyn Bowering, eds. Many Voices: An Anthology of Contemporary Canadian Indian Poetry. Vancouver: J.J. Douglas, 1977.
Anderson, Marcia. "Whiteman . . . Give Me Give Me", p. 22. "Walk to the Waterhold", p. 23.
Bonneau, Jeannette Armstrong. "In-Tee-Teigh", p. 90. "King of the Winged", p. 91.
Bruce, Skryos. "To Bryan", p. 74. "In a Letter from my Brother Atlantis", pp. 75-6. "Marionne Marionne", p. 77.
Crowe, Eleanor. "Shadows", pp. 37-38.
Daniels, Shirley. "Drums of My Father", p. 47.
Erickson, Sheila. "The Holy Woman in the Mountain", p. 95. "In My Dreams", p. 96.
Loucheux. "I Close My Eyes", p. 93.
Yellowbird, Lydia. Two poems, p. 98.

SECONDARY SOURCES

Baskin Cyndy. "Women in Iroquois Society". Canadian Women Studies/Cahiers de la femme. 4, 2 (Winter 1982), pp. 42-46.

Demers, Jeanne et Lise Gauvin. "Frontières du conte écrit". Littérature. 45 (février 1982), pp. 5-23.

Larson, Charles R. American Indian Fiction. Alberquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1978.

Petrone, Penny, ed. First People, First Voices. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.

Pratt, Mary Louise. Toward a Speech Act Theory of Literary Discourse. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.

Sanders, Thomas E. and Walter Peek. Literature of the American Indian. Beverly Hills: Glencoe Press, 1973.

Smith, Barbara Herrnstein. On the Margins of Discourse: The Relation of Literature to Language. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Verrall, Catherine with Leonore Keeshig-Tobias. Resource/Reading List. Toronto: Canadian Association in Support of the Native Peoples, 1982.

CRIAW ICREF

MEMBERSHIP INFORMATION

CANADIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

The Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women was founded in April, 1976, as a response to International Women's Year and at the beginning of International Women's Decade (1976-1985). CRIAW's creation met the need for an organization for research on women and women's experience in Canada.

STRUCTURE

CRIAW is a non-profit organization with members across the country and abroad. The Board of Directors works on a voluntary basis. Each province and territory is represented by an elected member; in addition, there are six directors-at-large. The Executive Committee is composed of the President, Past President, President-Elect, Secretary and Treasurer. CRIAW's bilingual national office and staff are located in Ottawa.

PURPOSE

CRIAW's purpose is to encourage, co-ordinate and disseminate research into women's experience. In the past, generalizations about Canada, its people, its economy, its politics, have too often been based on research by men about the experience of men. Until the experience of women has also been studied and evaluated, until we know just where it is different from and where it is similar to the experience of men, we will have a limited view of Canadian reality.

OBJECTIVES

— To promote the advancement of women through feminist research

— To encourage and facilitate communication and information exchange among academic women, community workers, women's groups, and concerned individuals

— To disseminate research results through publications such as **The CRIAW Papers, Feminist Perspectives** and conference proceedings

— To sponsor and assist research in areas of vital interest to Canadian women

ACTIVITIES

CRIAW BANK OF RESEARCHERS: A computerized bank of résumés, listing researchers from all disciplines who are committed to the advancement of women.

RESEARCH GRANTS-IN-AID: Small annual grants to innovative proposals promoting the advancement of women.

RESEARCH ASSOCIATE STATUS: To assist unaffiliated researchers applying to funding agencies.

THE CRIAW PAPERS: Original research papers and review articles drawn from various disciplines, advancing the knowledge and understanding of women's experience.

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES: A series of topical, provocative issue-oriented papers exploring women's experience and concerns.

NEWSLETTER: A quarterly publication that offers information and opportunities for communication among individual and group members.

PRIZES: Three prizes are awarded annually: the **Marion Porter Prize** for the year's best feminist research article; the **Robertine Barry Prize** for the best feminist article in the popular press; and the **Muriel Duckworth Award**, presented to the feminist woman, who, through her action-research in the field of social justice, including peace work, has contributed significantly to the advancement of Canadian women.

HONORARY MEMBERSHIPS: Lifetime memberships in CRIAW presented annually to persons who have made a significant contribution to feminist research or promoted research furthering the advancement of women.

CONFERENCE: A national general meeting and conference held annually, including research networking sessions.

OTHER ACTIVITIES: Collaboration in organizing events such as the 1982 national conference on "Women and the Impact of Microtechnology" and various research seminars.

FOR MORE INFORMATION OR TO OBTAIN
A PUBLICATIONS LIST
PLEASE CONTACT:

CRIAW/ICREF
408-151 Slater St.
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5H3
(613) 563-0681 or 563-0682

CRIAW/ICREF MEMBERSHIP AND DONATION

NAME: _____

ADDRESS: _____

_____

POSTAL CODE: _____

TEL. (Area Code) _____ (Bus.) _____ (Res.) _____

AREAS OF INTEREST: _____

_____

Please indicate language preference for mailings and correspondence:

☐ English ☐ French ☐Bilingual

New Membership ☐ or Renewal ☐

FEE SCHEDULE

Members are asked to check the category of contribution appropriate to their financial situation and interest in supporting the work of CRIAW. All fee categories provide full membership and all members receive the same services. Membership fees above **$15.00** are tax-deductible.

FEE SCHEDULE		CHECK HERE
$ 15.00	(Individual membership)	☐
25.00	"	☐
35.00	"	☐
50.00	"	☐
75.00	"	☐
100.00	(Institutional membership)	☐
_____	Donations (Please fill in amount) (No membership requested)	☐

Donations of any amount help to fund our many activities and are most welcome. All donations are tax-deductible. Make cheque or money order payable to the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women, 408-151 Slater Street, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3.

ICREF
CRIAW

RENSEIGNEMENTS POUR DEVENIR MEMBRE

INSTITUT CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES SUR LES FEMMES

L'Institut canadien de recherches sur les femmes fut fondé en 1976 dans la lancée de l'Année internationale des femmes et le début de la Décennie internationale des femmes (1976-1985). Comme aucun organisme canadien ne tentait de coordonner la recherche sur les femmes et leur expérience de vie au niveau national, l'ICREF fut créé pour combler cette lacune.

STRUCTURE

L'ICREF est une organisation bénévole sans but lucratif, avec des adhérentes à travers le pays et à l'étranger. Le Conseil d'administration est formé de bénévoles élus par les membres. Il se compose d'une représentante par province ou territoire et de six représentantes indépendantes. La présidente, la présidente sortante, la présidente désignée, la trésorière et la secrétaire forment le Bureau de direction. Le siège social bilingue de l'ICREF est situé à Ottawa.

BUTS

L'ICREF s'est donnée comme mandat de coordonner, stimuler et diffuser des travaux de recherche portant sur des domaines négligés de la vie des femmes du Canada. Jusqu'à maintenant les données sur le Canada, ses groupes ethniques, son économie et sa politique ont presque toujours été élaborées à partir de recherches effectuées par des hommes et leur expérience. Tant que l'expérience féminine ne sera pas prise en considération et tant qu'on ne saura pas à quel point elle diffère ou non de l'expérience masculine, notre vision de la réalité canadienne restera partielle et partiale.

OBJECTIFS

— Promouvoir l'amélioration de la condition des femmes par la recherche féministe

— Encourager et faciliter un échange d'information et de communication entre des académiciennes, des travailleuses communautaires, des groupes de femmes et des personnes intéressées

— Diffuser les résultats des recherches à l'aide de publications tels les **Documents de l'ICREF**, **Perspectives féministes** et les Actes des colloques de l'ICREF

— Commanditer et aider les recherches dans des domaines d'intérêt vital aux femmes canadiennes

ACTIVITÉS

BANQUE DE CHERCHEUSES DE L'ICREF répertoire informatisé de curriculum vitae de cheuses provenant des diverses discipline intéressées à l'amélioration des conditions de vi femmes.

SUBVENTIONS DE RECHERCHE: Subventions projets de recherche innovateurs visant à amé les conditions de vie des femmes.

STATUT DE CHERCHEUSE ASSOCIÉE: Pour ap dans leur recherche de fonds des chercheuses affiliées à une institution.

DOCUMENTS DE L'ICREF: Une série de docur de recherche émanant des diverses disciplin dont le but est d'améliorer les connaissances compréhension du vécu des femmes.

PERSPECTIVES FÉMINISTES: Une série d'essa d'articles d'actualité sur le vécu des femmes.

BULLETIN: Publication d'un bulletin trimestriel veut un outil d'information et de communication les individus et groupes membres.

PRIX Trois prix sont présentés annuellement: **Marion Porter** pour le meilleur article de rech féministe; le **prix Robertine Barry** pour le me article féministe dans la presse populaire; le **Muriel Duckworth** pour la féministe qui, p recherche-action dans le domaine de la j sociale, y compris le pacifisme, a contribué de marquante à l'amélioration de la condition fémini Canada.

MEMBRES HONORAIRES: Attribution annuel titres honorifiques à vie à des personnes qui se distinguées par leur contribution ou leur promoti la recherche féministe.

COLLOQUE: Organisation d'un colloque et assemblée générale annuelle; qui comprenc session d'échanges pour la création d'un rése chercheuses féministes.

AUTRES ACTIVITÉS: Participation à des événe tels que la conférence nationale sur "Les femn l'impact de la micro-électronique" et l'organisati séminaires de recherche.

POUR PLUS DE RENSEIGNEMENTS OU POUR OBTENIR UNE LISTE DES PUBLICATIONS, VEUILLEZ VOUS ADRESSE

ICREF/CRIAW
408-151, Slater
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5H3
(613) 563-0681 ou 563-0682

ICREF/CRIAW
ADHÉSION ET DON

NOM: _____

ADRESSE: _____

_____

CODE POSTAL: _____

TÉL: (Ind. Rég.) _____ (Bur.) _____ (Rés.) _____

DOMAINE D'INTÉRÊT: _____

_____

Veuillez indiquer votre préférence linguistique pour la correspondance:

☐ Anglais ☐ Français ☐ Bilingue

☐ Nouveau membre ou ☐ Renouvellement

TAUX DE COTISATION

Les membres sont priées de cocher la catégorie de co applicable à leur situation financière et à leur intérêt à appuye de l'ICREF. Chacune des catégories de cotisation equivaut à u adhésion à l'ICREF et suppose un égal acces aux services. L cotisation supérieurs à **15,00$** sont déductibles d'impôt.

TAUX DE COTISATION	CO
15,00 $	(membre individuelle)
25,00	"
35,00	"
50,00	"
75,00	"
100,00	(institution)
_____	don (pas d'adhésion)
	(Veuillez inscrire le montant)

Les dons nous permettent de financer nos nombreuses activités et sont grandement appreciés. Tous les dons sont déductibles d'impôt. Libellez votre che mandat de poste a l'ordre de l'Institut canadien de recherches sur les femmes, 151 rue Slater, piece 408, Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5H3.

ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CRIAW

THE CRIAW PAPERS -- A series of original research papers advancing the knowledge of women's experience.

No. 1A Sport, Sex Roles and Sex Identity, M. Ann Hall, 1981.

No. 1B Le sport, les rôles et l'identité selon le sexe, M. Ann Hall, 1982.

No. 2 Canadian Women in Politics: An Overview, M. Janine Brodie, Jill Vickers, 1982.

No. 3 Women and Culture: Selected Papers from the Halifax Conference/La femme et la culture: Recueil de textes choisis et présentés à la Conférence à Halifax, 1982

No. 4 Recording Angels: Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1959, Margaret Conrad, 1982.

No. 5 La mère dans la société québécoise. Etude éthique d'un modèle à partir de deux journaux féministes: "La Bonne Parole" (1913-1958) et "Les tees de Pioches" (1976-1979), Monique Dumais, 1983.

No. 6 Sexism in Research and its Policy Implications, Margrit Eichler, 1983.

No. 7 Feminism Applied: Four Papers/Féminisme appliqué: quatre documents, 1984.
*Special sale: $1.00

No. 8 Tournier ou l'art d'invalider la femme, Micheline Beauregard, 1985.

No. 9 Will Women Change Technology or Will Technology Change Women?/Les femmes changeront-elles la technologie ou la technologie changera-t-elle les femmes?, Ursula Franklin, 1985.

No. 10 Principes d'une stratégie de recherche pour les femmes, Margrit Eichler, 1985.

No. 11 Talking About Ourselves: The Literary Productions of Native Women of Canada, Barbara Thompson Godard, 1985.

No. 12 Horizontal and Vertical - the Dimensions of Occupational Segregation by Gender in Canada, Gale Moore, 1985.

No. 13 "Why Do Women Do Nothing to End the War?" Canadian Feminist - Pacifists and the Great War, Barbara Roberts, 1985.

No. 14 Canadian Prairie Women's History: A Bibliographic Survey, Susan Jackel, and Women and Men in Western American History, by Susan Armitage.

No. 15 Literary Mothers and Daughters: A Review of Twentieth-Century Poetry by Canadian Women, by Diana M.A. Relke, 1987.

Price: $3.00/member, $4.00/non-member, for each paper.

ORDER FORM

Title	#	Price	Quantity	Total

Postage: add $0.75 for one publication
$1.00 for 2 to 3
$2.00 for 4 or more

Postage: _____

Total: _____

Contact the office for details of discounts on bulk orders.

Make cheque or money order payable to: CRIAW/ICREF, 151 Slater St., Suite 408, Ottawa, Ont. K1P 5H3.

NAME: _____ ADDRESS: _____

ORIGINAL RESEARCH PAPERS FROM CRIAW

FEMINIST PERSPECTIVES — A series of topical, issue-oriented papers and essays.

No. 1 Lament for a "Patriarchy Lost"? - Anti-feminism, Anti-abortion and R.E.A.L. Women Canada, Karen Dubinsky, 1985.

No. 2 Les tâches liées au soin des enfants, Michelle Duval, 1985.

No. 3 Bilan et perspectives de recherches féministes/Feminist Research: Overview and Outlook, Francine Descarries-Bélanger, Micheline de Sève, 1985.

No. 4A The Pro-Family Movement: Are They For or Against Families?, Margrit Eichler, 19

No. 4B Le mouvement pro-famille est-il pour ou contre les familles?, Margrit Eichler, 1

No. 5A Le mouvement des femmes hier et aujourd'hui, Micheline Dumont, 1986.

No. 5B The Women's Movement Then and Now, Micheline Dumont, 1986.

No. 6 But What Will They Mean for Women? Feminist Concerns About the New Reproductive Technologies, Linda S.Williams, 1986.

No. 7 Sex-role Learning and the Woman Teacher: A Feminist Perspective, Rosonna Tite, 1

No. 8 Challenging Unions: Feminist Process and Democracy in the Labour Movement, Miria Edelson, 1987.

No. 9 Gender-sensitive Theory and the Housing Needs of Mother-led Families: Some Conce and Some Buildings, Fran Klodawsky and Suzanne Mackenzie, 1987.

Price: $2.50 per paper.

ORDER FORM

Title	#	Price	Quantity	Total
_____	____	_____	_____	_____
_____	____	_____	_____	_____
_____	____	_____	_____	_____
_____	____	_____	_____	_____

Postage: add $0.75 for one publication
$1.00 for 2 to 3
$2.00 for 4 or more

Postage: _____

Total: _____

Contact the office for details of discounts on bulk orders

Make cheque or money order payable to:CRIAW/ICREF, 151 Slater St., suite 408, Ottawa, Ontario, K1P 5H3.

NAME: _____ ADDRESS: _____

_____ _____

THE CRIAW PAPERS

INFORMATION ABOUT SUBMISSIONS

Papers may vary in length, according to the character of the material presented, from 25 to 70 pages. They should be typed, on standard-sized paper (8½" x 11"), with double-spacing, adequate margins, and footnotes (where appropriate) grouped together at the end and double-spaced. Preparation and format must be according to standard academic guidelines in the discipline employed. **THREE** copies are required.

Submission should be made to:

Publications Committee
The CRIAW Papers
CRIAW/ICREF
Suite 408
151 Slater Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5H3

Authors will be notified of the receipt of their papers by the Ottawa office, and, in due course, of the editors' decision. Papers can be submitted in either official language.

CRIAW will purchase, from the author of an accepted paper, a license to publish a set number of copies. Copyright will remain with the author.

SOUMISSION A LA SERIE

LES DOCUMENTS DE L'ICREF

La longueur des manuscrits peut varier selon la nature du texte présenté, soit de 25 à 70 pages. Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés sur du papier 8½ x 11, à double interligne, avec des marges adéquates et les notes, s'il y en a, regroupées à la fin à double interligne. La préparation et le format doivent être conformes aux normes académiques de la discipline employée.

TROIS (3) copies doivent être soumises à l'adresse suivante:

Comité des publications
Les Documents de l'ICREF
ICREF / CRIAW
151, rue Slater, pièce 408
Ottawa, Ontario
K1P 5H3

Les auteur-e-s seront avisé-e-s de la réception de leur manuscrit et de la décision des éditrices. Les manuscrits peuvent être rédigés dans l'une ou l'autre des deux langues officielles.

L'ICREF payera une redevance aux auteur-e-s dont les textes seront publiés. Ceux-ci retiendront leurs droits d'auteur-e.

CRIAW
ICREF

CANADIAN RESEARCH INSTITUTE
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF WOMEN

INSTITUT CANADIEN DE RECHERCHES
SUR LES FEMMES

151 SLATER, SUITE 408, OTTAWA, ONTARIO K1P 5H3