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"Of Glooskap's Birth, and of His Brother Malsum, the Wolf": The Story of Charles Godfrey Leland's "Purely American Creation"

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INTRODUCTION

I first ran across Charles Godfrey Leland's *The Algonquin Legends of New England or Myths and Folk Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes*[1] when I was looking for stories about Kluskap, the Abenaki and Micmac culture hero. An important source of stories since its publication in 1884, *Algonquin Legends* showcases the story of Kluskap and his evil twin, Malsum the Wolf, how they came into the world, what they did here, how Kluskap fought and killed his brother. Here, it seemed, was a key story in the Kluskap cycle. Yet I was suspicious. When set in its cultural context, the story exuded incongruity. For example, this kind of story, a story of beginnings, ought to be the linchpin of the precontact Abenaki and Micmac worldviews.[2] But as far as we can know of those worldviews, it is not. Too suspicious to make any use of it at that time, I set the story aside.

When I returned to Leland's Kluskap-Malsum story, it was with the idea of quickly discrediting the story (by means of this incongruity, bolstered by internal textual evidence), so I could move on to the question of why Leland did what he did. Instead I found

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myself simultaneously fascinated and repulsed by the way a well-meaning folklorist of the late nineteenth century treated the stories and the storytellers he encountered. As a consequence, this study is about the way a particular "Indian" story came to prominence and the impact it continues to have.

THE STORY, ITS HISTORY AND POPULARITY

The first section in Leland's *Algonquin Legends* is entitled "Glooskap, the Divinity"; the first chapter is the story called "Of Glooskap's Birth, and of His Brother Malsum, the Wolf." It tells of the intra-uterine discussion the twins had as to how they would be born; of Kluskap's choice to be born the usual way; of Malsum's decision to break through his mother's side; and of their mother's consequent death. This inauspicious beginning led to an exchange of information, each brother asking the other what single weapon could kill him. In response to his brother's question, Kluskap admitted he could be killed by a blow from an owl's feather; Malsum, the Wolf, said he could be destroyed by a fern root. Time passed. One day, overcome by evil, Malsum struck Kluskap with an owl's feather as he slept. Kluskap awoke and, though angry, told his brother that it was really a pine root that would kill him. Soon after, armed with a death-dealing pine root, Malsum again whacked his brother. Unaffected, the latter drove his brother into the woods. Wolf then learned from a sneaky and ambitious Beaver that Kluskap could be killed by a flowering rush, a cattail. Hearing from the same double-crossing Beaver that Malsum was again plotting to kill him, Kluskap found his brother and, with a deadly fern root, fought and killed him. The body of the evil brother formed the Monts Chic-chocs of the Gaspé. Leland's first story ends with Kluskap lamenting his dead brother.

Nearly everyone in maritime Canada, it seems, has heard of the story of Kluskap and Malsum. They may have seen a dramatization of it on the CBC television program *Indian Legends*, or they may have read of it in school, most likely in one of Kay Hill's two books, popular retellings of the Kluskap stories. One of these books features a full-page illustration of the two giant brothers, one human, one wolf-headed, flailing away at one another with cattail and fern root.[3] That storytellers and their audiences, both predominantly Western and Christian, would feel comfortable with this cosmic battle of Good and Evil is of course not surprising.

Scholars, too, have recognized the significance of this story. In her seminal piece on the mythology of the Algonquian peoples, Margaret Fisher argued that despite the fact that both Kluskap and Nanabozho, the Ojibwa culture hero, had a wolf brother, "the differences in the relationship are more striking than the resemblances." On the basis of this, Fisher argued that the Kluskap material should be treated separately from the Nanabozho cycle.[4] Another scholar, Bernard Hoffman, whose ethnohistory of the Micmac people remains one of the most thorough studies to date, thinks the twin story important enough to use it as the first of nine typical characteristics of the Kluskap cycle of stories.[5]

Perhaps the most influential use of Leland's Kluskap-Malsum story is the late Joseph Campbell's in his *Historical Atlas of World Mythology*. Scholars who are able to stir popular imagination have a tremendous impact. Currently, Campbell reigns as one of the most compelling voices in the popular conversation about mythology. Abridging and recasting the story in a section on "Abnaki Tales," Campbell uses it to demonstrate that although "next to nothing is known about [their] religious beliefs," this mere folk tale points to the Abenaki and Micmac's participation in what he calls "the basic myth of aboriginal America": the Contending Twins.[6]

In addition to storytellers, scholars, and popularizers, native people still know this story. In 1962, Geraldine Hegemann recorded a version of the Kluskap and Malsum story from Viola Solomon of the Tobique Reserve;[7] and Noel Knockwood, a Micmac pipe carrier, retold the Kluskap-Malsum story in an interview for *TAWOW* magazine in 1977.[8] Clearly, the Kluskap-Malsum story is influential, widely and well known.

Despite its fame, the story is missing from many collections, and, in fact, it appears only twice in *Algonquin Legends* itself. Given its place of significance in Leland's work, one would expect to find references to the story throughout the collection. The Kluskap twin story, however, occurs only once more in the book; references to Malsum, the evil Wolf twin, occur not at all.[9] Leland's book was the first published collection of Micmac and Abenaki stories, but it was far from the only one.[10] The Kluskap-Malsum story does not occur in Abby Alger's collection[11] nor in any of Stanley Hagar's,[12] both dating from the end of the nineteenth century. While it figures prominently in the book John Dyneley Prince and Leland authored jointly, Prince does not include it in any of his own work, nor for that matter in any of the stories he contributed to *Kulóskap*

the Master.[13] For his eighty-seven-story collection published in 1894, Baptist missionary Silas T. Rand could find only one Kluskap twin story.[14] Later I will have more to say about this story, a story known to Leland when he wrote *Algonquin Legends*.

Twenty-five years after Leland recorded it, the Kluskap-Malsum story seems to have disappeared. Two important story collections from this time have no new mention of Kluskap and Malsum. In 1911 and 1912, Wilson Wallis was doing anthropological work among the Micmac people. The same years saw William H. Mechling collecting stories from the Maliseet people in New Brunswick. Apart from the single story from Rand that Mechling reprints in *Malecite Tales*, there is nothing of the Kluskap-Malsum story in the work of either scholar.[15] Similarly, there is no mention of Kluskap and Malsum in the four stories Truman Michelson collected from Micmacs in Restigouche, Québec in 1910,[16] nor in the short Micmac collection made by Frank Speck on Cape Breton Island in 1915, nor in the Maliseet collection by the same anthropologist in 1917.[17] In 1923, Elsie Clews Parsons recorded a substantial number of Micmac stories from Nova Scotia; the Kluskap-Malsum story is nowhere to be found.[18] According to Fisher, the story is not known at all to the Penobscot people.[19] In fact, after Leland I can find no mention of the twins Kluskap and Malsum in ethnological material until they turn up in the 1962 story I noted earlier.[20] The Kluskap-Malsum narrative is most certainly popular and well known today, yet it seems to be virtually absent from important story collections.

This discrepancy between my expectation of a wide distribution of a story so popular and central and the story's absence from so many of the important collections of the last one hundred years confirmed my early suspicions about Kluskap and Malsum and led me to try to determine where Charles Leland had learned of the story.

LELAND'S SOURCES

Leland makes much of his reliance on what he learned from "the Indians." He can, he says, "give the name of the aboriginal authority for every tale except one" (p. iv). Indeed he spent the summers of 1882 and 1883 on Campobello Island visiting the tents of Passamaquoddy people camped near his hotel. From among his Passamaquoddy consultants who told him stories, Tomah Joseph

was his most important.[21] Leland also visited Passamaquoddies and Penobscots in the surrounding area and lists eight others as "authorities" (pp. ix–x). Leland will sometimes give credit to one of these authorities in the texts or notes of *Algonquin Legends* (pp. 119, 122, 165); almost always he gives the name of the nation or nations (Micmac, Passamaquoddy, Penobscot) from which the story comes. Although Leland showcases "Of Glooskap's Birth" in *Algonquin Legends* by making it his lead story as well as by arraying it with notes and extensive annotation, strangely he lists no nation and no "aboriginal authority" either in the text or notes.

Besides the records of stories he was told, Leland worked from written manuscripts, primarily from Lewy (or Louis) Mitchell,[22] who, in 1883, was the "Indian member of the Legislature of Maine" and about thirty years old (p. x). In addition, a number of other people provided Leland with written manuscripts. Most significant of these was Silas Rand, who lent Leland his nine-hundred-page manuscript, published after his death as *Legends of the Micmacs*. These written manuscripts provided the bulk of the data for Leland's *Algonquin Legends*; it was from these written sources that Leland learned of the story of Kluskap and his evil twin, Malsum.

When he sat down to compose "Of Glooskap's Birth," Leland apparently had four main sources before him.[23] He alludes to two of them in a note at the end of the chapter: "For this chapter and parts of others I am indebted to the narrative of a Micmac Indian, taken down by Mr. Edward Jock; also to another version in the Rand MS" (p. 17).[24]

In actuality, two of the sources—a story from Peter Solis, a Maliseet from the Tobique community in New Brunswick, and a story from Gabe Aquin, a Maliseet from the community at St. Mary's across from Fredericton—came in letters from Edward Jack, an experienced New Brunswick civil engineer and self-styled "woods cruiser." A third source was a story from Gabriel Thomas of "Frederickton" that Leland found in Silas Rand's manuscript.[25] Leland's fourth, unnamed source was *The Maritime Provinces*, listed in the "Authorities" section of *Algonquin Legends* as "*Osgood's Maritime Provinces*"(p. x).[26]

In fact, Leland had the Osgood book first. On 19 February 1884, Rand wrote Leland, obviously in response to an accusation the latter had made. Rand protests that he is "innocent of any *secret* in the matter of Glooscap [Rand's emphasis]"; that he had never seen the Osgood book.[27] To understand why Leland might accuse the good missionary of keeping from him a secret about Kluskap, one

should be aware that the existence of traditional stories among the largely Roman Catholic Abenaki and Micmac was not generally known until the publication of *Algonquin Legends*.[28] The secret Leland accused Rand of withholding is, I deduce, a story on page 41 of *The Maritime Provinces*, a guidebook for tourists in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[29] In the Osgood story is the following:

> In this vicinity [the Kennebecasis River] dwelt the two Great Brothers, GLOOSCAP and MALSUNSIS, of unknown origin and invincible power. Glooscap knew that his brother was vulnerable only by the touch of a fern-root; and he had told Malsunsis (falsely) that the stroke of an owl's feather would kill him. It came to pass that Malsunsis determined to kill his brother (whether tempted thus by Mik-o, the Squirrel, or by Quah-beet-e-sis, the son of the Great Beaver, or by his own evil ambition); wherefore with his arrow he shot Koo-koo-shoos, the Owl, and with one of his feathers struck the sleeping Glooscap.

Kluskap was, of course, uninjured. There follows, in the Osgood story, Malsunsis's attempt on his brother's life with a pine root, then the intervention by the deceitful Beaver, who finally went to Kluskap to confess his betrayal. The decidedly nineteenth-century, nonnative style—"it came to pass," "tempted thus," "wherefore with his arrow"—continues to the conclusion of this part of the story: "[B]y reason of these tidings, Glooscap arose and took a root of fern and sought Malsunsis in the wide and gloomy forest; and when he had found him he smote him so that he fell down dead. And Glooscap sang a song over him and lamented."[30]

The editor of *The Maritime Provinces*, M. F. Sweetser, admits in the preface that "the handbook is a guide to assist the traveler in gaining the greatest amount of pleasure and information while passing through the most interesting portions of Eastern British America . . . with economy of money, time, and temper."[31] In the guidebook's scheme, the place of Indian stories as attractive informational embroidery to enhance the traveler's pleasure in the passing landscape is clear. That Leland recognized the problem of using a tourist guidebook as a source for Indian stories is apparent when he lists it last in the "Authorities" section with this terse annotation: "In this work there are seven short extracts relative to Glooskap given without reference to any book or author" (p. x). By the time he wrote *Algonquin Legends*, Leland had been alerted to

the need to document carefully the source of each story, due to the danger of passing on counterfeit tales. In a 19 May 1884 letter to Leland, T. W. Higginson reported that "on the Pacific coast, the army officers used to amuse themselves by inventing legends and teaching them to the Indians who afterwards repeated them" to the story collector, known to Higginson. He went on to caution Leland: "It is therefore important not only that you should satisfy yourself of the genuineness in each case, but that you should give such full particulars of the source from which they come as to satisfy others."[32]

Sometime after the February exchange about the "secret" Osgood story, Rand sent Leland his whole collection of stories in manuscript, probably in part to dispel any suspicion of deception he thought Leland might harbor and perhaps to ensure that the gentleman would continue to send financial contributions to Rand's impoverished mission to the Micmac.[33] In Rand's manuscript, Leland found the Thomas story. Unlike the Osgood version, this one knows of Kluskap's beginnings: Kluskap is a twin who talks with his brother before birth about how they want to be born. The younger decides to break through his mother's side and does, thereby killing her. In addition, in the Thomas story, the brothers exchange information about deadly weapons (this time a cattail flag and a handful of bird's down); the younger tries to kill the older but is unsuccessful; Kluskap kills his brother instead. Unfortunately, the Thomas story came with this note by Rand: "The following information respecting Glooscap was given me by Gabriel Thomas of Frederickton. I question, however, whether it does not refer to some other fabulous person."[34] Rand's annotation in fact called into question the validity of this story fragment.

In his attempt to establish the story's authenticity, Leland first turned to his most reliable source of written material, Lewy Mitchell. Mitchell seems to have responded with a long story called "The Origin of Gloscop By Lewy Sock Toma."[35] Unfortunately, this was not what Leland wanted. This story has the right title, but its content is incongruous with its label. Mitchell's consultant, Lewy Sock Toma, was able to tell him a great deal about Kluskap, about how, from his babyhood, his jealous brothers tried, using Power, to kill him; how Kluskap, using his stronger Power, lived on through all their deadly games. But there is nothing about his birth, his evil twin brother, the exchange of information about deadly weapons, or Kluskap's eventual defeat of his twin brother.

Then Leland received, in a 13 January 1884 letter from Edward Jack, a story from Peter Solis about a nasty beaver that Kluskap fought and destroyed, thereby helping to make the world safe for humankind. Tacked onto the end of this story was the following: "Glooscap had a brother who was very bad and caused him great trouble at last he became so wicked that he had to kill him, after death he was turned into the Shick-shock Mountains."[36]

Leland's interest was no doubt piqued by this brief reference, so he wrote Jack immediately, apparently asking for a fuller version of the story. It took Jack nearly two months to respond. He began, "Your last letter has remained unanswered until I could get hold of my Indian . . . ." Although Jack had made Leland wait for the response, he was able to guarantee the authenticity of the story: "I give it to you just as it came from his own lips as he sat in front of the fire in my room this evening smoking his tobacco mixed with willow bark, he has any quantity of Indian lore."[37] The consultant Jack was referring to here was Gabe Aquin. In Aquin's story, Kluskap and his unnamed brother are twins whose prebirth discussion leads to the death of their mother. In the exchange of information about death-dealing weapons, Kluskap tells his brother that bird's down will kill him, when, in fact, it only stuns him. The brother tells him the truth—cattails can kill him. The Aquin story details the battle (the down only stunned Kluskap; the cattail killed his brother) but then goes on to tell of Kluskap's uncle, Turtle, who "got so big in his own opinion" that he tried to destroy his nephew. The story ends with a reference to Wolf, but not the evil wolf twin of the Leland version: "Glooscap had two dogs one was the Loon (paqueem) and the Wolf (mol-som) . . . . The Loon and the Wolf were so fond of Glooscap that they are still lamenting for him."[38]

Nonetheless, the Aquin story was enough for Leland. After all, it seemed to confirm the basic outlines of the Thomas-Osgood compilation. A story for which he did not have an "aboriginal authority" had been validated. Besides, as Leland says in the acknowledgment paragraph that follows "Of Glooskap's Birth," "The story is, in the main points, similar to that given by David Cusick in his History of the Six Nations, of Enigorio the Good Mind, and Enigonhahetgea, Bad Mind . . . ."[39]

LELAND'S CONSTRUCTION

Once he received Jack's record of Aquin's story, Leland proceeded to construct "Of Glooskap's Birth." From the Thomas story he took the first part, paraphrasing Rand's record of the original up to Malsumsis's first attempt on Kluskap's life.[40] At this point in "Of Glooskap's Birth," Leland began paraphrasing the Osgood story, which he did to Kluskap's lament at the end.[41] And from the Solis version, the fragment Jack first sent, he took the validation line about the Monts Chic-choc of the Gaspé.[42]

While Leland's paraphrasings are, to put the best face on them, "free," and although passing them off as Indian is reprehensible, at least he did not make substantial alterations in these story fragments . . . except twice. The first time is his "correction" of Kluskap's brother's name. Osgood's version of the story has Kluskap's nontwin brother as Malsunsis; Leland's version calls him Malsumsis, "Little Wolf" or, as Leland has it, "Wolf the Younger." No other version of the Kluskap story available to Leland calls his brother by that name. Nor did Leland at first. Corrections to his handwritten manuscript of *Algonquin Legends* show he changed the spelling of Malsunsis to Malsumsis. I suspect he found the Maliseet word for wolf at the end of Aquin's Kluskap twin narrative[43] and thought Malsunsis should be Malsumsis. By blithely making this correction instead of questioning the recorded quality of the Osgood story fragment, Leland, with two strokes of his pen, secured the twin brother's future as a wolf. The second alteration is more serious. Leland added the following to the list of reasons Kluskap's brother became fratricidal: "for in those days all men were wicked" (p. 16). Here Leland's rendering literally rewrites Abenaki and Micmac sacred history.

Although an extreme instance, Leland's construction of "Of Glooskap's Birth" is consistent with the editing methods he used on the stories he received. The Gabe Aquin version of the Kluskap twin story is a good example.

While he had used it to confirm the authority of the suspect Osgood-Thomas compilation, Leland, in all likelihood, recognized that the Aquin story was too different from the others simply to blend it into his own version. Nonetheless, he included it in *Algonquin Legends* as "The Tale of Glooskap as told by another Indian . . . ," no doubt thinking the Aquin story too good to waste, not only as a story but also as a way to underscore the centrality of the Kluskap-Malsum twin story (pp. 106–109).[44] When he retells

Aquin's story, Leland alters the text considerably. Aquin's story is a long one, and Jack's record gives almost no punctuation, nor is it as legible as is usually the case, but it begins like this:

> Glooscap & his brother were twins they talked to one and other before they were born, the youngest said to the oldest they must be born right away, they must get out into this world, the oldest said we must wait he could not stop him the other however he must get into the world. So he went out of his mother's side, this killed the mother, they agreed to gether [?] after this; after a few years the younger brother asked the older what would kill him (the older) he thought a long time, he did not tell him what would kill him dead but only what would stun him, he then told him that down (feathers) would kill him The older then asked the younger the same question, the younger told the truth as to what would kill him (the younger) which was cattails (bullrushes) . . . .[45]

And here is Leland's version of the same section:

> In the old time. Far before men knew themselves, in the light before the sun, Glooskap and his brother were as yet unborn; they waited for the day to appear. Then they talked together, and the youngest said, "Why should I wait? I will go into the world and begin my life at once." Then the elder said, "not so, for this were a great evil." But the younger gave no heed to any wisdom: in his wickedness he broke through his mother's side, he rent the wall; his beginning of life was his mother's death. Now in after years, the younger brother would learn in what lay the secret of the elder's death. And Glooskap, being crafty, told the truth and yet lied; for his name was Liar, yet did he never lie for evil or aught to harm. So he told his brother that the blow of a ball or handful of the down of feathers, would take away his life; and this was true, for it would stun him, but it would not prevent his returning to life. Then Glooskap asked the younger for his own secret. And he, being determined to give the elder no time, answered truly and fearlessly, "I can only be slain by the stroke of a cat-tail or bulrush" (p. 106).

A comparison of the remainder of the two texts shows similar differences throughout.

There is another problem with Leland's treatment of the Aquin story. Leland labeled the story Micmac despite Jack's unambiguous statement that Gabe Aquin was a Maliseet (p. 109). When, in

the note to the story, Leland quotes Jack, "'I give it to you,'" he writes, "'just as it came from an Indian's lips, as he sat before the fire in my room this evening, smoking his tobacco mixed with willow bark. He has an endless store of Indian lore,'"[46] it is hard not to be suspicious even of these words. In fact, Leland has altered Jack's own words three different times in that brief quotation.[47] Clearly, Leland cannot be trusted, at least where Kluskap and his twin are concerned.

Despite these abuses, Leland was not, I think, deliberately trying to deceive readers—even the reviewers of the day noticed his heavy editing hand.[48] Leland himself is often quick to admit where his blue pencil lands. He is willing, he writes, to omit part of a story because it is repeated elsewhere (p. 94); to change *guns* to *arrows* in a story that is "evidently very ancient" (p. 253, n. 1); to choose between variant endings, rejecting one as a "senseless termination" (p. 320); and everywhere to reduce many versions of a story into one.[49]

While he is straightforward about admitting what he is doing, he often calls it something else, claiming in the preface, for example, that future ethnologists "will be much more obliged to me for collecting raw material than for cooking it" (p. iv). As well, he is not forthright about why he is editing the stories he has collected. This is a complex question, but even a superficial glance at Leland's editing principles indicates that he was concerned to make the best story possible out of the data at hand. By *best story* I mean one that read well by late nineteenth-century standards. According to these standards, Leland's stories were a good "read."[50] Nonetheless, he could not practice his craft without doing violence to the integrity of the stories he collected.

LELAND'S METHODS AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

This disregard in his editing for the integrity of the Indian stories raises questions about the way Leland went about collecting the stories for his book. As mentioned earlier, Leland included in his *Algonquin Legends* stories he recorded in the summers of 1882 and 1883. In his comments about the work of recording these stories, he is careful to establish his versions as accurate and authoritative: "I have taken very great pains . . . in all the tales written down from verbal narration, to be accurate in details, and to convey as well as I could the quaint manner and dry humor which characterized the

style of the narrator" (p. 119). The authority of these stories came in large measure, according to Leland, from the unique relationship he had with the Indians. He writes, "[I]f Tomahquah [Tomah Joseph] and others fully expressed their feelings to me, it was because they had never before met with a white man who listened to them with such sympathy" (pp. 119–20).[50]

Elizabeth Robins Pennell, Leland's niece and biographer, witnessed some of the exchanges between her uncle and Tomah Joseph. Twenty years after the event, she wrote, "I was allowed to sit there while Tomah told his stories, and the Rye [Leland] made his notes, interrupting every now and then, with that emphatic outstretched hand of his, to settle some difficulty or get the uttermost meaning of the last 'By Jolly!'... of Tomah [an exclamation he used] when the drama grew too intense even for the traditional stolidity of the race."[52] It is worth noting here that although Leland's language skills were formidable, they did not include Passamaquoddy, at least not enough of the language to hear and understand Tomah Joseph's stories.[53] Joseph told the stories in English.

Leland elaborated on his story-gathering method in a 22 March 1902 letter to his collaborator, John Dyneley Prince, in which he discussed the similarities between working among the secretive Shelta-speaking Gypsies and the taciturn Passamaquoddies:

> In both Shelta and Wabanaki there was only a few years ago *extraordinary secrecy* and reticence, just as there was 20 years ago among the Gypsies, as regarded letting anybody learn Rommany. But as I had gone through and through the Gyps with success, I was to a degree qualified for Injuns. I wonder how many *drinks* I took first and last in the pursuit of Rommany and Indian philology and traditions! . . . I solemnly believe that those among the learned who despaired of getting at Rommany and Passamaquoddy did not go to their tents with a bottle of beer in either pocket and a half-pound of tobacco, and sit over the fire in the real loafer attitude by the hour! [The emphases are Leland's.][54]

From the correspondence he received from his Passamaquoddy consultants, it would seem Leland's story-gathering methods involved more than gifts of alcohol and tobacco. Leland engaged Tomah Joseph in finding silver trade brooches and other articles of material culture.[55] In late summer 1883, Joseph wrote Leland, thanking him for the dollar he had sent with his last letter.[56]

Another consultant, John Gabriel, who like Joseph is listed in the "Authorities" section of *Algonquin Legends*, had written Leland earlier in the same year explaining that the winter had been hard, that he had not been well, that baskets were not selling in Eastport, and, because he had bills to pay, he would like a loan of ten dollars "till you come to Campobello next summer." He concluded with this appeal: "I would ask you more if I think I get. I need about—$25.00. If you would do so you will greatly oblige."[57] This correspondence from the men who told him stories begins to clarify Leland's comment in a note late in *Algonquin Legends* regarding the loss of "the early and grand mythology" of "the Indians": "a few hundred dollars expended annually in each State would result in the collection of all that is extant of this folklore" (p. 308).

If the correspondence with the Passamaquoddy who shared hospitality and stories with Leland in their tents begins to clarify this comment, the letters from the Passamaquoddy man who provided Leland with a multitude of written stories draw it into sharp focus. These letters from Lewy Mitchell reveal just how much money Leland spent obtaining Passamaquoddy stories. The rate he established early on in the relationship was one dollar for every eight pages of manuscript. "You say," writes Mitchell, "you will allow Dollar for Every 8 Pages. Some of the Paper is little Smaller than the other But I make a allowance in writting my writting is very fine you will get good many words in my Stories."[58] Mitchell was the middle man who recorded stories from his consultants, consultants whom he sometimes had to pay: "I wished you Can advance me $12.00 in Cash. These Stories I am getting I have to pay out Some money to get them. If you Can furnished the money I can get you good Stories and get you valuable information Relating to the Passammaquoddy indians."[59] At the heart of Leland's story-gathering method, then, was the exchange of money for information.[60]

Not surprisingly, once Leland came to employ Mitchell to procure stories for him, he brought his own storytelling standards to bear on Mitchell's work. In a penciled letter dated 12 March 1884, Mitchell begins, "I am very Sorry that you dissatisfied with my Stories." Apparently, the issue for Leland was length. Mitchell goes on, "I did not understand you only want 8 Pages Stories the way I understood you if the Story is very long you allow more than Dollar. Of Course that means more than Eight Pages. That is the Reason why I Send you two long Stories instead of four as you ordered."[61] By ordering stories of a certain length, no doubt to

conform to his readers' expectations and perhaps to keep his project within budget, Leland was no longer merely gathering stories; he was shaping them. This helps explain, I think, how "Of Glooskap's Birth" came into being.

While neither Mitchell's manuscripts nor Joseph's stories figured directly in the compilation of "Of Glooskap's Birth," Leland's editing and story-gathering methods did. Remember that at a critical point in piecing together the story of Kluskap's beginnings, when all he had was a couple of very tentative story fragments, when the heretofore reliable Lewy Mitchell had let him down, Leland received Gabe Aquin's story from Edward Jack, apparently giving him confirmation of the general outline of his Kluskap twin story. It turns out that Jack shared some of Leland's story-gathering methods. In a letter to Leland, Jack explained his arrangement with Aquin: "I usually give him $1 for an evenings talk."[62] It is important to recall, too, that Aquin's Kluskap twin story did not come spontaneously in one of these evenings, but rather its topic was almost certainly suggested by Leland. It is in the letter accompanying Aquin's story that Jack says, "Your last letter has remained unanswered until I could get hold of my Indian, I have found him and forward you some information."[63] My best guess is that the information Jack waited two months to obtain had been requested by Leland with some specificity. He was able to ask specifically about Kluskap and his wicked twin brother because he had the suggestive but unreliable texts of Osgood and Thomas. I can recreate the sequence of events, then: Leland, believing this story of Kluskap and his evil twin was an important esoteric story tradition, wrote his consultants in Maine and New Brunswick for more information. Lewy Mitchell provided a too-long story with the right title but the wrong information.[64] Edward Jack, with Gabe Aquin's help, gave Leland what he wanted.

I do not mean to give the impression that Leland simply commissioned the story from Aquin through his middleman, Jack. This uncomplicated line of transmission is belied by the relationship between Gabriel Aquin and Edward Jack, a relationship worth discussing briefly. It is easy to reconstruct this relationship from Jack's point of view. Not unlike many of the professional ethnographers whose work followed in his tentative, amateur footsteps, Jack often refers to his main consultant, Aquin, using the term *my Indian*. His use of the possessive pronoun does not indicate that Jack was not fond of Aquin; quite the contrary. His

admiration, even affection, is clear when he writes Leland, "[H]e is *by far* the most intelligent Indian that I ever met, he will not get drunk & bother you he is very polite . . . is a *good* hunter and speaks English *remarkably* well."[65] His use of the possessive pronoun does indicate that, for Jack, the relationship is unequal—the possessive expresses both affection and dominance.[66]

Being certain of how Aquin viewed his relationship with Jack is more difficult—Aquin did not read or write. Although he was renowned as a hunting guide and remembered as the founder of the St. Mary's Reserve in Fredericton, relatively few of his words have been recorded. Still, there is enough of a record to make an informed guess as to how he saw Edward Jack. Probably in his seventies in the late 1880s, Gabe Aquin was remarkable in many ways. In 1883, he had gone on the first of three voyages to England; on this one, he represented Canada at the Great International Fisheries Exhibition. To prepare for his exhibit, "he took with him his wigwam, spruce boughs for a bed, his canoe and paddles, moccasins, snowshoes, baskets, in fact samples of about everything the Indians made."[67] Although he was, from the organizer's perspective, part of the exhibit, he was far from passive. Aquin is reported to have made a distinction on this visit between two types of women whom he took on canoe rides on the South Kensington ponds. There were, he reported on his return, the "real ladies" like Princess Beatrice and the daughters of the Prince of Wales, who sat quietly in the bottom of the canoe; and there were the "make-believe ladies" who insisted on sitting on the cross bar, exclaiming loudly, and often upsetting the canoe—no great tragedy in the shallow water, but no doubt an annoyance to Aquin.[68] From this distinction, one can begin to get a sense of how Aquin assessed the Europeans and Euro-Canadians he encountered. While in England, Gabe Aquin was invited to the homes of high-ranking army officers whom he had befriended thirty years earlier in the British garrison town of Fredericton. From these friendships, he apparently had acquired an appreciation for things British and a corresponding disdain for things colonial.[69] This explains why, when ordering provisions for hunting parties of significant gentlemen, Aquin insisted on Cross and Blackwell's pickles and Lea and Perrin's sauces.[70] On this evidence, it is most likely that Aquin, in the late 1880s, found Edward Jack a likable provincial, a man tolerable because, while a local, he at least knew how to behave like an English gentleman.

At this point, it is worth pausing to remember that Gabe Aquin

is "the Indian" whose lips and willow-laced pipe tobacco certified the Osgood-Thomas Kluskap twin story as authentically aboriginal. When Jack was listing Aquin's qualities, he neglected to note that he was well traveled and well connected. Aquin was indeed an "aboriginal authority" but a sophisticated, cosmopolitan one, recently returned from a lengthy journey during which he hobnobbed in some of the finest homes of London and regularly met with royalty.[71]

While it is most likely that Aquin's version of the Kluskap twin story represents a minor Maliseet story tradition, perhaps influenced by a similar but more significant tradition among the Iroquois,[72] there are other possibilities. Of these, most intriguing is the prospect that one of the people in a hunting party Aquin led into the New Brunswick woods had a copy of Osgood's guidebook for tourists and had shared the Kluskap-Malsum story around the campfire. Another possible factor in the Aquin story is the bind in which Leland's request, filtered through Jack, put Aquin. From Jack's point of view, his "intelligent Indian" knew everything there was to know about Maliseet culture. Aquin was almost certainly aware of Jack's assessment of him. If Jack presented Leland's request in a way that presupposed the existence of this "significant, secret" story (for example, "I know the story exists; tell it to me"), then to say "I don't know" would be tantamount to calling these gentlemen liars.[73] In order to avoid that unpleasantness, perhaps Aquin ad-libbed a little. By putting together all the Kluskap stories he knew, then tacking on a vaguely remembered twin lead-in, Aquin would have accommodated the persistent Jack as best he could.[74]

While these possibilities exist, it is most probable, as I noted earlier, that the story of Kluskap and his wicked twin brother—their birth, the exchange of secrets about deadly weapons, and the brother's eventual death at Kluskap's hands—was at best a minor story tradition known to the Maliseet communities around Fredericton and perhaps other areas, but not to the Penobscot, Passamaquoddy,[75] or Micmac. Whatever the origin of the story, Leland's decision to showcase it, to make it the lead story and centerpiece of *Algonquin Legends*, gave it a status it did not have before. The story's current fame and popularity are rooted in Leland's decision.[76] The reasons he undertook to shift this story from periphery to center will have to await this study's sequel, the paper I thought I was writing when I began this one.[77] The impact of Leland's undertaking can, however, be treated now.

THE DIFFERENCE LELAND HAS MADE

Leland's promotion of the Kluskap twin story continues to have an impact in three areas: (1) scholarship, (2) the self-understanding of native people, and (3) the interrelationship of native and nonnative peoples. Whatever else it is, Leland's disregard for the integrity of the traditions he studied is bad scholarship that has encouraged more bad scholarship. A relatively recent, outrageous example is a book that, using Leland's stories as a primary source, purports to prove that Kluskap was really a fourteenth-century Orkney nobleman named Henry Sinclair who overwintered in Nova Scotia.[78] I have already noted the example of Joseph Campbell. The process of how Leland came to compose "Of Glooskap's Birth," indeed his story-gathering and editing methods in general, serve to remind students of Native American religions to be careful, even suspicious, when considering sources and to be tentative about their findings.

I have to be tentative myself about the impact of Leland's promotion of the Kluskap twin story on the self-understanding of native people. There is some evidence that some Abenaki and Micmac peoples have appropriated the Kluskap-Malsum story, that their creative response has been to make this story their own. Despite some excellent work,[79] we still do not know very much about the process whereby native peoples of this region melded their traditional, pre-European contact way of life with Roman Catholicism. The existence of the story on the predominantly Roman Catholic Tobique Reserve as late as 1962 would indicate it was still useful to some Maliseet people at that time, most probably in the process of creating a religious alliance or coevolution. Among the minority of Maliseet, Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot who are traditionalists—people who understand themselves to be rediscovering and following traditional, pre-European contact spiritual ways—I have heard the Kluskap-Malsum story from only one elder. Despite the fact that he has been telling the story for over ten years, I have heard no other traditionalist tell the story either spontaneously or when questioned. I gather from this that Abenaki and Micmac traditionalists generally have not found this story particularly meaningful.

There is one other dimension to the impact of this story on native self-understanding. In my experience, native students in the courses I teach on Native American religions are often interested in discovering more about their "Indianness," by which they

seem to mean at least something not European or Euro-Canadian. Turning to stories as a key, they will usually find *Algonquin Legends*.[80] When Abenaki or Micmac students who want to discover more about their Indianness find Leland and his lead story about Kluskap and his evil wolf brother Malsum, they may be distracted—if not thrown—from their path by taking seriously Leland's implied claim that this story was once central in their ancestors' lives.[81] At the very least, the vilification of Malsum, the Wolf, which is central to Leland's story, runs counter to the positive characterization of Wolf in many other stories, including Aquin's Kluskap twin story. Further, the dualism of the story—the radical distinction between good and evil—as well as the notion that in the past all humankind was wicked seem out of place beside the host of other stories where these views are not evident. Finally, whatever wisdom this relatively minor story imparted to its hearers about what we today call "family violence" has been obliterated by the editorial standards Leland imposed on both his data and his consultants.

The third area in which Leland's promotion of the Kluskap twin story has had an impact is the interrelationship of native and nonnative peoples. By shifting this story to the center of Abenaki and Micmac traditions, Leland has distanced nonnatives even further from understanding the native people whose land they occupy as part of the spoils of conquest. Leland, of course, was not concerned a hundred years ago with this problem. According to the popular wisdom of his time, based on the culmination of a history of conquest, the Indian was destined for extinction (pp. iv, 3, and 8).[82] What has happened instead is that Abenaki and Micmac people have coevolved with the society they call "dominant." They have done this despite the dominant society's consistent misunderstanding of their religious traditions. The nonnative's understanding has been skewed by the history of conquest, a history that produced and was in turn driven by distorting stereotypes of Indians.[83] As a consequence, the process of trying to understand the people that have lived longest on the land now called North America—in this study's case the Maliseet and Micmac, the Passamaquoddy and Penobscot—is fraught with difficulty. Leland's decision to promote the Kluskap twin story to the center of Abenaki and Micmac story traditions has compounded the difficulty. This promotion, then, perpetuates that conquest history in ways Charles Godfrey Leland could never have foreseen.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. Charles Godfrey Leland, *The Algonquin Legends of New England or Myths and Folk Lore of the Micmac, Passamaquoddy, and Penobscot Tribes* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1884). Unless otherwise stated, quotations from Leland will be from this work in this edition, hereafter cited as *Legends*.

2. Sam D. Gill, *Native American Religions: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1982), 20–22, 35, treats this phenomenon and details the significance of a similar Seneca story for the Iroquois worldview. Another excellent treatment of the relationship of the story of beginning to worldview, this time with a similar story of a linguistically related nation, is found in Christopher Vecsey, *Traditional Ojibwa Religion and Its Historical Changes* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1983), 96–100.

3. Kay Hill, *More Glooskap Stories: Legends of the Wabanaki Indians*, illustrated by John Hamberger (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978 [1970]), 6; *Glooscap and His Magic: Legends of the Wabanaki Indians* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973 [1963]). There is a cassette of the latter, read by Rita Moreno (New York: Caedmon, 1979), CDL 51607.

4. Margaret W. Fisher, "The Mythology of the Northern and Northeastern Algonkians in Reference to Algonkian Mythology as a Whole" in *Man in Northeastern North America*, ed. Frederick Johnson (Andover, MA: Robert S. Peabody Foundation for Archeology, 1946), 229.

5. Bernard G. Hoffman, "Historical Ethnography of the Micmac of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1955), 395.

6. Joseph Campbell, *Historical Atlas of World Mythology, vol. 2: The Way of the Seeded Earth, part 2: Mythologies of the Primitive Planters: The Northern Americas* (New York: Harper & Row, 1989), 173, 180–87. Of the fourteen Abenaki and Micmac stories Campbell "abridged and recast," Leland's versions account for two-thirds of the titles. Campbell also finds Leland's theories on the relationship of this and other stories to the Norse epics worth comment. Leland is the only collector of Abenaki and Micmac stories whose theories Campbell repeats.

7. Edward D. Ives, ed. "Malecite and Passamaquoddy Tales," *Northeast Folklore* 6 (1964): 16–18.

8. "The Words and Thoughts of Noel Knockwood on Micmac Religion and Cultural Ways Prior to European Contact," *TAWOW* 5:2, Micmac People edition (April 1977): 39.

9. It is absent not only from "The Story of Glooskap as told in a few Words by a Woman of the Penobscots" (Leland, *Legends*, 65) but also from the manu-

script, "The Storey about Gloosakap," the one Leland refers to in the "Authorities" section as "a curious manuscript in Indian English" (*Legends*, x). The manuscript is in the Pennell-Whistler Collection, Library of Congress, container 373.

10. Campbell Hardy, *Sporting Adventures in the New World; or Days and Nights Moose-hunting* (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1855), included a number of Micmac stories in volume 2 (pp. 215–76), but his was not solely a collection of stories. In any case the Kluskap-Malsum story is not among them.

11. Abby L. Alger, *In Indian Tents: Stories Told by Penobscot, Passamaquoddy and Micmac Indians to Abby L. Alger* (Boston: Roberts Bothing, 1897).

12. Stanley Hagar, "Micmac Customs and Traditions," *American Anthropologist* 8:1 (1895 [OS]): 31–42; "Micmac Magic and Medicine," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 9:34 (1896): 170–77.

13. Charles Leland and John Dyneley Prince, *Kulóskap the Master and Other Algonkin Poems* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company, 1902). In his introduction, Prince calls Kluskap "a purely American creation" and "a god-man of truly Indian type"; and Malsum the Wolf "the Ahriman of the Wabanaki" (p. 33). Neither Prince's "Passamaquoddy Texts," vol. 10, ed. Franz Boaz (New York: American Ethnological Society, 1921), 1–85, nor his "Some Passamaquoddy Witchcraft Tales," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Association* 38 (1899): 181–89 contains a mention of the Kluskap twin story.

14. Silas T. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs* (New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1884), 239–40.

15. Wilson D. Wallis and Ruth S. Wallis, *Micmac Indians of Eastern Canada* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955). Although they gathered some stories in 1953, Wilson Wallis collected most of the stories in *Micmac Indians* in 1911–12. William H. Mechling, *Malecite Tales: Memoir 49* (Ottawa: Canada Department of Mines, Geological Survey, 1914). In his "The Malecite Indians with Notes on the Micmacs," *Anthropologica* 7 and 8 (1958–59 [OS]): 1–275 and 1–430, Mechling says that the birth of twins is a bad omen, an "idea reflected in the mythology, where Gluskap and Malsum are twin brothers." He goes on to note that the mother of twins is "always likened to a dog, a particularly odious comparison" (p. 26). I think Mechling got it wrong here. For Micmacs and Maliseets, dogs were creatures of some power; the comparison, even in 1911 or 1912 when Mechling recorded it, would, in all likelihood, not have been "odious," but auspicious. I am grateful to Ruth Holmes Whitehead for pointing out the importance of dogs to Micmac and Maliseet people.

16. Truman Michelson, "Micmac Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 38 (1925): 33–54. The first note indicates that the stories were published with the permission of the Bureau of American Ethnology. *The Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, 1906–07* (Washington, DC: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1912) includes Michelson's "Preliminary Report on the Linguistic Classification of Algonquian Tribes," in which he indicates that he visited the Micmacs of Restigouche "in the season of 1910" (p. 225).

17. F. G. Speck, "Some Micmac Tales from Cape Breton Island," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 28 (1915): 59–69, and Frank G. Speck, "Malecite Tales," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 30 (1917): 479–85.

18. Elsie Clews Parsons, "Micmac Folklore," *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 38 (1925): 55–133.

19. Fisher, "Mythology," 229.

20. Ives, "Malecite and Passamaquoddy," 16–18. The Kluskap twin narrative is missing from native sources as separate in time as Joseph Nicolar's *Life and Traditions of the Red Man* (Fredericton, NB: St. Anne's Press, 1979 [1893]) and John Joe Sark's *Micmac Legends of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown, PEI: Ragweed Press and the Lennox Island Band Council, 1988).

21. This is clear both from internal evidence in *Legends* and the letters from Joseph to Leland. While Leland spells Joseph's name as "Josephs," in correspondence Joseph spells his own name without the *s*.

22. Leland always refers to Mitchell as "Louis," but with one exception, Mitchell signs his letters "Lewy." Fifty years later, Fannie Hardy Eckstorm, working with the same consultant, calls him "Lewey" (Eckstorm, *Old John Neptune and Other Maine Shamans* [Orono: University of Maine, Marsh Island Reprint, 1980 (1945)], 83).

23. I have reconstructed the process whereby Leland "recovered" "Of Glooskap's Birth" largely from archival material, primarily from the papers of Charles G. Leland in containers 365–73, Pennell-Whistler Collection of the Papers of Joseph and Elizabeth Robins Pennell and James A. Whistler, Library of Congress; hereafter referred to by container number. This was necessarily a one-sided affair, for, while Leland was careful about keeping the correspondence he received, others apparently were not (Edward Jack, for example). Because Leland wrote so frequently in late 1883 and the first half of 1884 and because his correspondents were so prompt in responding or apologetic when they were not, it is not difficult to piece together the pattern of correspondence from just the one side. Any archival work depends on generous and knowledgeable archivists. I want to acknowledge Linda Hansen, formerly of the Archives and Special Collections Department, Harriet Irving Library, and Chuck Kelly of the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, for generously sharing their knowledge.

24. While the typesetter read "Jock" for "Jack" and the editor missed it, the error is clear from the original manuscript in container 372. Leland's handwriting is not always easy to make out. See also *Legends*, vii, ix, and 109.

25. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 339–40. This story was probably collected between September 1857 and September 1858. See "Relation of a Visit to St. John, Submitted to the Committee of the Micmac Missionary Society" in Ninth Annual Report of the Committee of the Micmac Missionary Society, from September 30, 1857 to September 30, 1858, Halifax: 1858, 11–13. Thomas probably came from the community at St. Mary's and was probably a Maliseet, although Rand includes the story in his collection, *Legends of the Micmacs*. In 1911–12 Mechling, however, claims Thomas's stories for his *Malicite Legends*. Michel R. P. Herisson (*An Evaluative Ethno-Historical Bibliography of the Malecite Indians* [Ottawa: National Museums of Canada, 1974]) states categorically that Rand's volume "actually contained some [stories] of a Malicete origin, or given by Malicete informants" (p. 103). Herisson lists Thomas and his "Glooscap's Origin" as the first example of five such stories (p. 104). Herisson also reports that E. Tappan Adney thought that some of the stories Leland labeled Micmac were in fact Maliseet—"Leland in his haste to complete the work, had misnamed some of the myths, attributing them incorrectly to the Micmacs" (p. 66). I note that nowhere in *Legends* does Leland make reference to the Maliseet people. He may have been told (and believed) that they were Passamaquoddy with an accent.

26. M. F. Sweetser, ed., *The Maritime Provinces: A Handbook for Travellers* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1883).

27. Container 373.

28. Even after the publication of *Algonquin Legends*, some who knew Passamaquoddy individuals well doubted the very existence of these stories. See Fannie Hardy Eckstorm's description of her father's skepticism in *Old John Neptune*, pp. 26–30.

29. The first edition of *The Maritime Provinces* was published in 1875; the newest edition Leland could have seen was published in 1883. All these editions to that date featured the Kluskap twin story on page 41.

30. *The Maritime Provinces*, 41. It is not clear why the last sentence is in quotes. It suggests these words are directly quoted from a consultant, but Osgood gives no information on the consultant, his or her nation, or when and where the story was collected.

31. *The Maritime Provinces*, iii.

32. 19 May 1884, container 366.

33. 21 December 1883: "I sent a postal card in response to your last, thanking you very much for your kind donation. It came very opportunely I assure you," container 373.

34. Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 339.

35. This is in one of the many manuscripts written by Mitchell; container 373.

36. Container 373.

37. Letter from Edward Jack to Leland, 18 March 1884.

38. Container 373.

39. The fact that Cusick's story was an Iroquois story did not slow Leland up a bit. This is consistent with his unitary view of "the Indian." In his "Authorities" section, Leland cites this as "David Cusick, Sketches of Ancient History of the Six Nations. Lockport, N.Y.[:Turner and McCollum], 1848." The story he cites is on pages 13–16.

40. In his paraphrase, Leland retains only two phrases: "how they had best enter the world" and "burst through this mother's side" (Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, 339; Leland, *Legends*, 16). The rest is Leland's wording.

41. Leland retains more of the original Osgood paraphrasing but seems to favor language like Malsunsis's disdainful rebuke to Beaver, "Get thee hence; thou with a tail like a file, what need hast thou of wings?" Osgood, 41; Leland, *Legends*, 17.

42. See Sam D. Gill's brief discussion of explanatory elements as a symbolic way of validating a story's power to define the world in *Native American Religions* (p. 48).

43. Ibid., 10. The spelling corrections are on pages 49–54 of the handwritten manuscript in container 372.

44. Like the Gabriel Thomas version, Aquin's has Kluskap telling his unnamed brother the means of his death only once, although the means are reversed. (Curiously, in a later version which Jack attributed to Aquin and published in the *Journal of American Folk-Lore* 8 (1895): 193–208, the means of death agree.) Although Leland usually worked hard to obliterate the distinctive characteristics of different versions, I suspect he found in this case it was worth trading consistency for the support Aquin's story gave his "Of Glooskap's Birth."

45. Container 373.

46. 16 April 1884, container 373: "My indian's name is 'Gabe' he is a Melicite . . . ." I am convinced that Edward Jack made every effort to quote Gabe Aquin accurately. For instance, he resists sending Leland the story of the beginning of

the relationship of humans and the calamus root, although he remembers it "tolerably well," because "it will be better to get it from the Indian's own lips" (4 May 1884, container 372). Unlike his letters, his records of stories are scrawled and without punctuation as if they were written very quickly.

47. Here are his changes: "an Indian's" for "his own" in the original, "before the fire" for "in front of the fire" in the original, and "an endless store" for "any quantity" in the original. Small changes, perhaps, but Leland puts quotation marks around Jack's words.

48. "The Algonquin Legends of New England," a review in *The Athenaeum*, 31 January 1885, 6–7; a review in *The Spectator*, 25 July 1885, 976–78. The latter is an otherwise positive review.

49. As, for example, pages 31–35, where he labels a story Micmac but weaves in Passamaquoddy material, retaining his own voice throughout. In a note appended to a story entitled "The Lazy Indian" in "Algonquin Indian Stories Collected and Written by Lewis Mitchell a Passamaquoddy Indian for Charles G. Leland" (ms., container 372), Leland wrote that the story "forms a part of other [Thunder] legends. It will be a very difficult matter to bring them into harmony."

50. That Leland was considered a raconteur par excellence is without question. He was best known in his time for the popular *Breitmann Ballads*, and his *Memoirs* in two volumes elicited enthusiastic reviews that quoted some of the more "vivacious" passages at length. Walter Lewin, review in *The Academy*, 27 January 1894, 75–76; E. G. J., review in *The Dial*, 1 January 1894, 9–11; and a review in *Book News*, January 1884 (xii, 137: 196–97), which says, "[A]ll of this, we must say, is told in a manner so highly engaging as to constitute sufficient excuse for its incessant and flagrant egotism."

51. I admit having some difficulty reconciling these lofty sentiments with his statement in the introduction that "the most ancient and mythic of these legends have been taken down from the trembling memories of old squaws who never understood their inner meaning, or from ordinary senaps who had not thought of them since boyhood . . . " (p. 13).

52. Elizabeth Robins Pennell, *Charles Godfrey Leland: A Biography*, vol. 2 (New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906), 234–35.

53. In the preface to *Kulóskap the Master*, Leland gives an assessment of his skill in Passamaquoddy: "I regret that, though I had certainly acquired some knowledge of 'Indian,' it was, as a Passamaquoddy friend one day amiably observed, 'only baby Injun now, grow bigger some day like Mi'kumwess s'posin' you want to'. . . . " (Leland and Prince, *Kulóskap*, 12).

54. Quoted in Pennell, *Leland*, 248–49.

55. Letters of 16 October 1882 and 30 April 1883, container 373.

56. 6 August 1883, container 373.

57. 30 March 1883.

58. 29 February 1884, container 372.

59. 3 May 1884, container 373. Mitchell consistently spells Passamaquoddy with an extra *m*.

60. This kind of exchange is, or course, not unknown in anthropological fieldwork, a fact that invests the usual term for consultants, *informants*, with a more malignant connotation. Leland's work is antecedent to developed notions of anthropology and fieldwork.

61. 12 March 1884, container 373.

62. 16 April 1884, container 373. To put this dollar into some context, here is

what anthropologist Dr. Vincent Erickson and consultant Dr. Peter Paul say: "A birchbark canoe brought its maker between $15 and $18 in 1890, and this went a long way to keep a family going through the winter. That year, men loading the wood boats in Fredericton earned $1.50 a day" ("Indian-White Partnership Recalled," *The Daily Gleaner* [Fredericton], 23 March 1974).

63. 18 March 1884, container 373.

64. It is worth noting that the "Origin of Gloscap by Lewy Sock Toma" is some sixteen pages long. The story is not dated, so there is no way to know for certain if it is one of the too-long stories Leland complained about. We can be sure that as Mitchell was apologizing for Leland's dissatisfaction in his 12 March letter, Leland was still waiting to hear from Edward Jack. It is not irresponsible, I think, to speculate that Leland was dissatisfied not only by length but also by content. Leland may have suspected that Mitchell was withholding the "secret" story from him.

65. 16 April 1884, container 373; emphases are Jack's. See also Edward Jack, "The Abenakis of Saint John River," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute* 3, 5–6 (1891): 195–205, 198, where he refers to Aquin as "my friend."

66. Yi Fu Tuan argues that these are "anodynes": "Affection mitigates dominance, making it softer and more acceptable, but affection is itself possible only in relationships of inequality" (*Dominance and Affection: The Making of Pets* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984], 5).

67. Susan K. Squires, "Reminiscences of the St. Mary's Indian Reserve and Its Inhabitants Fifty Years Ago," read before the York-Sunbury Historical Society Ltd., January 1937, MC 300 MS2 128, Archives of the Province of New Brunswick, 14. Susan Squires's father, Samuel Dayton, ran a general store less than a half mile from the St. Mary's Maliseet community from 1853 to 1893. Squires sometimes helped out in the store and, in her late teens, kept the books for a number of years. Her daily journey from home to school took her past the Maliseet "camp" twice a day.

68. Squires, "Reminiscences," 15.

69. Austin Squires, "The Great Sagamore of the Maliseets," *Atlantic Advocate*, November 1968, 51.

70. Squires, "Reminiscences," 16.

71. It is also worth noting that Aquin called himself a Roman Catholic, as would, almost certainly, his ancestors of the previous two hundred years.

72. Margaret Fisher suggests this in "Mythology," 229. See also Horatio Hale, "Huron Folk-Lore," *The Journal of American Folk-Lore* 1:iii (1888): 177–83.

73. It is likely that Leland, at least, presented his request this way. He had already done so to Rand when he discovered the Osgood story. The one possibility that seems remote is that Aquin needed the one dollar that evening or the dollars that would follow a successful retelling of the story. Gabe Aquin returned from England with enough tips and cash presents to open a bank account (Squires, "Reminiscences," 15–16).

74. That Aquin himself found the Kluskap material alien is evident from his claim that the Kluskap cycle of stories came from the Micmacs and that Kluskap's uncle spoke Micmac (Jack, "The Abenakis . . . ," 202).

75. While there is no evidence of the Kluskap-Malsum story among the Passamaquoddy people, one story reveals an awareness of one of the motifs, the deadly cattail revealed as the sole cause of death. It is a Lewy Mitchell story (*Legends*, 185) that features a trickster, in this case Raccoon. Raccoon deters a fierce

club-wielding enemy, a Black Cat, by telling him that a club cannot kill him, that only a cattail will. The Black Cat charges into the woods, returns with a cattail, and smashes Raccoon over the head with it. "It burst and spread all over the Raccoon's head, and, being wet, the fuzz stuck to him. And the Black Cat, thinking it was the Coon's brains and all out, went his way" (*Legends*, 183). The motif of the trickster escaping destruction by convincing his or her enemies to use a harmless weapon recurs in Leland's collection and is widespread generally. Notice that both of the deadly weapons in the Aquin and Thomas versions of the Kluskap twin story—cattail and bird's down—would behave similarly in such a situation. My best guess is that this motif, like so many others, accrued to the Kluskap stories as he became more prominent. See Ruth Holmes Whitehead, *Stories from the Six Worlds: Micmac Legends* (Halifax: Nimbus, 1988), 220, for a brief history of Kluskap in Micmac religiousness.

76. Kay Hill, the most prolific contemporary popularizer of the Kluskap stories, derives most of her Kluskap-Malsum material, as well as much of her theoretical framework, from Charles Godfrey Leland. See Kay Hill, *Glooscap and His Magic*, 8.

77. What we have discovered about Leland thus far raises questions whose answers may well prove significant not only for the history of scholarship of native people, but also for our own scholarship. For example, why did Leland sabotage his own research methods, and why did he distort his findings? What was his agenda? Responses to these and similar questions are the focus of my future research.

78. Frederick J. Pohl, *Prince Henry Sinclair: His Expedition to the New World in 1398* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1974).

79. Kenneth M. Morrison, *The Embattled Northeast: The Elusive Ideal of Alliance in Abenaki-Euramerican Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984); and Kenneth M. Morrison, "The Mythological Sources of Abenaki Catholicism: A Case Study of the Social History of Power" in *Religion* 11(1981): 235–63.

80. I saw my first copy of the hard-to-come-by *Algonquin Legends* outside a library in the hands of a native student. It was a photocopied, loosely bound, untitled copy. After some negotiation, I was allowed to make a photocopy from the photocopy. When, some years later, some of my pages turned up missing, I found another photocopied version from which to copy those missing pages, again from a native student from another reserve.

81. Whether Ruth Holmes Whitehead's excellent retelling of twenty-nine Micmac stories in *Stories from the Six Worlds: Micmac Legends* can redress this distortion only time and book sales will tell. The Kluskap-Malsum story does not appear in Whitehead's collection. In fact, only three of the stories feature Kluskap at all.

82. Leland and Prince, *Kulóskap*, 15.

83. Gill, *Native American Religions*, 6–10.