

AFTERWORD  
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PLOTTING NORTH AMERICAN HISTORY  
WITH A NEW COMPASS

In 1931 Mary Austin pointed out that "in the United States, the first-born literature of our native land, such as becomes among all other peoples a proud and universally accepted literary heritage," is disregarded, that most Americans "know more of Beowulf than of the Red Score of the Delaware, more of Homer than of the Creation Myth of the Zuni, more of Icelandic sagas than of the hero myths of the Iroquois and Navajo."<sup>1</sup> Throughout her long and prolific career, which included over 30 books and some 250 periodical publications, she attempted to address this ignorance in many genres—essays, poems, plays, stories—but nowhere so thoroughly as in *The Trail Book* (1918), her effort to expose children—and adults—to a multicultural history of North America, made up of "prehistoric trail stories, each one illustrating one of the pre-Columbian cultures" and their encounters with various emigrants to the continent.<sup>2</sup>

Having often suggested that America's school curriculum, much like its high culture, was dominated by the influence of Europe and New England, Austin approached the settlement of the continent

from new directions, on trails originating in "prehistoric" times. From the North, "the Great Cold crept nearer" and "pressed the people west and south so that the tribes bore hard on one another."<sup>3</sup> Cultural exchanges took place "long before there were Pale Faces" on "trade trails and graded ways," which Mound-Builders used for trading purposes "as far south as Little River in the Tenasas Mountains, and north to the Sky-Blue Water" (*The Trail Book*, 12). Maps on skins preserved trails earlier discovered by such explorers as Howkawanda, apparently a Paiute from "The Country of the Dry Washes," who mapped a trail heading *east* over the mountains to the Buffalo Country. Cabeza de Vaca, castaway from the Panfilo de Narvaez expedition in 1548 and author of an account of his travels that has received much recent critical attention, wanders through several stories. The Spanish-named mesa El Morro, in what is now southern New Mexico, provides Austin with a written history of the movement of Spanish and Mexicans *north* long before "pioneers" crossing the plains from east to west carved their names on Independence Rock, but El Morro—already well inscribed by tribal peoples, who called it "The Rock" (244)—was no blank slate. Commerce had gone on between northerners and southerners long before the arrival of the Spanish in the "New World," as Austin points out in "Dorcas Jane Hears How the Corn Came to the Valley of the Missi-Sippu," a story about the northern migration of corn: "[T]he trail that leads to [Chihuahua is] one of the oldest lines of tribal migration on the continent" (290). As Austin's book title so well suggests, the inhabitants of North America have always been on the move.

In Austin's view, American history had been too firmly entrenched, temporally and spatially: Narrated in English, it began in 1607, with a brief preface in 1492, on the East Coast, the West becoming relevant only after it had been "purchased" in 1803 and "explored" soon thereafter. Long interested in oral storytelling, she recognized that stories, too, were always on the move, always changing—or should be—and she wanted to give American history a push in some new directions, into, for instance, the rela-

tively pathless territory of environmental history. Her use of talking animals as narrators serves as a reminder that the history of the continent began before settlement by humans, and that animals and plants migrate and establish trails, a theme explored especially in "Dorcas Jane Hears How the Corn Came to the Valley of the Missi-Sippu." In her informational appendix to *The Trail Book*, she points out, "All the main traveled roads in the United States began as animal or Indian trails. . . . Railways have tunneled under passes where the buffalo went over, hills have been cut away and swamps filled in, but the general direction and in many places the actual grades covered by the great continental highways remain the same" (287). Set in a natural history museum, *The Trail Book* introduces readers to Austin's version of the "natural" history of a continent marked by movement, environmental change, and continuity.

Some of Austin's earliest writing was devoted to helping children learn the natural history and rhythms of the land on which they were growing up. Working as a traveling schoolteacher throughout southeastern California, she based her curriculum on "Western" materials, "going from coyotes to carrion crows and other features of the trail" (*The Trail Book*, 291). Feeling that children "were brought up [exclusively] . . . in the literature and lore of New England" (*Earth Horizon*, 97), their immediate experience rendered apparently irrelevant, she made up poems with them, which she soon published in children's magazines like *St. Nicholas* and eventually collected in *The Children Sing in the Far West* (1928). In her preface to that collection, she wrote that she wanted the "children [to] have [songs] for their own. Partly because I was teaching school and felt obliged to have something for my pupils about the land they lived in, and partly because I loved the land so much I couldn't bear not having grown up in it, I made most of the poems in this collection with the help of the children in my school." Children, she felt, had knowledge to share; they "let [her] into the secret of how the great Southwest feels to those who have never known any other country."<sup>4</sup> Because she found most children's

books filled with "the same inchoate jumble of environmental elements," she revised familiar folk songs to respond to environmental particularities.<sup>5</sup> When one child wanted to know if a new threat to the California agricultural industry, the Australian ladybug, was "in any way related to the ladybug" of the familiar rhyme, Austin responded with

The scale bug is down in the orchard alone,  
He is eating his way to the topmost limb,  
Ladybug, ladybug, go and eat him! (*Earth Horizon*, 214)

Because Austin saw landscape as a text that could be read only after long and patient observation, she argues that children's imaginative development should be grounded in their native language.

Austin also collected stories throughout her years in Southern California, and she put her thinking about children's educational needs into practice in her first children's book, *The Basket Woman* (1904), a collection of "western myths for school use" that she hoped would sustain the child's "intimacy with nature" and "happy sense of the community of life and interest in the Wild."<sup>6</sup> In *The Basket Woman*, she hoped to make myth "a part of the child's experience" by setting the stories in locales "common and accessible" to that experience, thus emphasizing a relationship with a particularized landscape—in this case, the Owens Valley on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada in Southern California (vii, ix). Yet Austin certainly did not intend her stories only for California schoolchildren. She believed that while children's responsiveness and curiosity evolved in relation to the natural world around them, they readily extended their interest to other fully realized landscapes. In a later essay, "Regionalism in American Fiction," she wrote that what children "like as background for a story is an explicit, well mapped strip of country, as intensively lived into as any healthy child lives into his own neighborhood" (102).

Indeed, Austin believed her children's books relied on the familiar—the child's relationship to place—to introduce the unfamiliar. In that same essay, she argued that "every American child"

should be introduced to the "world of American Indian lore," and she extended her insistence upon the influence of region to native peoples, complaining that most "authors fail to know that everything an Indian does or thinks is patterned by the particular parcel of land which is his tribal home" ("Regionalism," 103, 104). Though this passage demonstrates Austin's sometimes unfortunate tendency to generalize and essentialize in her nonfiction, the assertion is central to her children's books, in which she seldom makes the same mistake. In *The Basket Woman*, she does not tell generalized "Indian" tales but focuses on the historical and mythological stories of the Paiutes who lived on the slopes of the eastern Sierra, people with whom Austin spent considerable time between 1891 and 1899. She began to learn about the Paiutes, she said, by learning about "the land they lived in."<sup>7</sup> Writing her autobiography *Earth Horizon* forty years later, she still emphasized how much they had influenced her intellectual evolution. By spending time with them, she claimed, she learned "to interpret the significance of common things" (262), and by learning about their art, "she learned to write" (*Earth Horizon*, 289). One lesson particularly influenced what she wanted to convey to children: By participating in Paiute women's everyday activities, she "began to learn that to get at the meaning of work you must make all its motions, both of body and mind" (247). The Paiute women integrated experience and intellectual activity in their work, two elements which Austin would bring together in *The Basket Woman*, a work whose message urged that same integration in children's intellectual development.

Austin opens *The Basket Woman* with two stories told by the Basket Woman, a compassionate and insightful Paiute woman, to a young boy, Alan, who has recently moved to a Western ranch. Initially afraid of Indians because of what "he had heard" about them, Alan comes to know and love the Basket Woman through her stories that "enter his mind when he lay in his bed at night, and saw the stars in the windy sky shine through the cabin window," and they eventually become so much a part of his experience that he feels "part of the story himself" and even believes he dreams

them (109–10). The Basket Woman becomes an important influence on Alan's consciousness, an inner voice that shapes his perceptions. She tells him—and the reader—tales of her people and personifies the natural world to emphasize that it is sentient, alive with spiritual meaning.

As the Basket Woman initiates Alan into a fuller appreciation of the interrelationship of all living things, the little boy becomes someone with whom Austin's young readers can identify. Although not all the stories are explicitly narrated by the Basket Woman, she is the implicit storyteller, and the stories are told within the framework of a developing human relationship. The collection's structure thus attempts to recreate the oral tradition Austin so valued and conveys the feeling that stories help create human bonds as well as an enduring connection to and respect for the natural world. In her preface, Austin encouraged parents and teachers to read her stories to children, and so, too, does the Basket Woman become a mother figure, nurturing especially Alan's imagination. In *The Trail Book*, Austin would once again create a dramatized audience—this time using two young children—and recount stories from oral traditions, but she would expand her cast of narrators to tell a more sweeping story.

Austin's interest in nurturing children's imaginations certainly originated in a childhood she felt was pinched and starved. Born in 1868 in Carlinville, Illinois, Austin at age ten lost her father, who had encouraged her interest in stories and read her books, along with her beloved sister, Jennie. Throughout her childhood she feuded with her strong-willed Methodist mother, who expressed a clear preference for her brother and whom Austin portrayed in her autobiography, *Earth Horizon* (1932), as repressive, rejecting, and dissatisfied. She emphasized particularly her mother's lack of physical affection, representing herself as starved for love and support, "in need of mothering." Describing herself as an isolated lonely child who turned to her imagination—to making believe—for solace, she recounts a scene where her mother sought to silence her creativity, telling the child that "storying was wicked"

and "she'd have to punish you or you would grow up a story-teller" (42–43). In her adult life, Austin felt her mother was "not much interested" in her writing (316). Trying to get her mother's approval and affection yet always "falling short . . . as a young lady," Austin suffered throughout her adolescence for her assertiveness, her curiosity, and her supposed physical unattractiveness (169).

Austin responded to her feelings of being unacceptable and unwanted with a poignant act of self-naming, "Mary-by-herself." Yet instead of creating the characteristic imaginary friend, Austin discovered another self that would allow her to reshape the isolation of Mary-by-herself into independence, "I-Mary," who "suffered no need of being taken up and comforted; to be I-Mary was more solid and satisfying than to be Mary-by-herself" (47). Significantly "I-Mary was associated with the pages of books," appearing most often as the child was reading (46).

Given the role Austin believed books played in alleviating her loneliness and sense of inadequacy, she viewed them as powerful and transformational forces in children's personal lives. Yet though she associated books with liberation, in *Earth Horizon* she critiques traditional elementary school pedagogy, which she said was based on "incredible sessions of desk-sitting and the stultification of young intelligence by hours of mock business, occasionally punctuated by boring recitations," resulting in "seven hours of unanticipated dullness" (58, 59). Especially in her children's books, Austin created models of what she saw as experiential and collaborative learning. Her devotion to this ideal is metaphorically suggested by an anecdote in *Earth Horizon* whereby the seven- or eight-year-old child realizes she "wanted to write books that you could walk around in" (73). Rather than entrapping children in passive roles as consumers of information with little connection to their lived experiences, Austin's stories and books would provide them with "trails" to walk in self-exploration. And indeed, the Basket Woman does in fact tell Alan stories as they walk along trails and visit her nation.

Austin found her own new trails when she moved west with her family to homestead in 1888. Insecure but ambitious, unhappy and

one of her most enduring books, the autobiographical novel *A Woman of Genius* (1912). In the opening sections of the novel devoted to her heroine's childhood, she once again attempted to understand "the processes at work behind the incidents of . . . growing up (31)," once again reiterating key themes of hers.<sup>11</sup> Austin's narrator, Olivia, ruminates on how her relationship with the natural world endures in her memory, shaping her sense of self: "[T]hough I cannot remember how my father looked nor who taught me long division, I recall perfectly how the reddening blackberry leaves lay under the hoar frost in Hadley's pasture, and the dew between the pale gold wires of the grass on summer mornings"(9). Yet none of her school reading addressed this fundamental relationship: "[M]ost of our reading . . . had no relativity to the process of life in Ohianna [the novel's fictional setting], we had things as far removed from it as Dante and Euripides, things no nearer than *The Scarlet Letter* and *David Copperfield*" (43).

Perhaps Austin had it in mind to address these educational shortcomings when she wrote *The Trail Book* during her New York years. Whereas *The Basket Woman* is based almost entirely on Austin's personal experience with the Paiutes, *The Trail Book*, with its larger scope, grows out of her years of research on the history of numerous Indian nations, some of it done in New York. Although she complained while living in the city that she met no one there with whom she could "talk Indian," when she began writing *The Trail Book*, she "talked with the staff of the American Museum of Natural History. They let [her] go into the Museum at night and take things out of the cases, and wear them and be told things about them" (*Earth Horizon*, 331). This experience was the genesis for the organizing motif of the book.

Shortly after publishing *The Trail Book*, Austin began to spend part of the year in New Mexico, feeling what she called "the call of the West, which is never quite silenced in the soul of anyone who had heard it."<sup>12</sup> In 1925 she made a permanent move to Santa Fe. She continued to be a productive writer, but she also became involved in what one critic called "almost every enterprise which

shows any tendency to enrich and deepen the life of the West."<sup>13</sup> She defended the water and land rights of Pueblo people and helped organize the Indian Arts Fund and the Spanish Colonial Arts Society, both organizations intended to help maintain cultural traditions. And she remained committed to the importance of cultural diversity in school curricula, supporting bilingual education for Hispanic and native children. When she died in 1934, she bequeathed her house and copyrights to the Indian Arts Fund.

Like Austin's other short story collections, *The Trail Book* is a unified work of interrelated stories. Oliver and Dorcas Jane, the children of the night engineer at a natural history museum, accompany him to the museum at night, which they recognize as "another world where almost anything might happen" (6). The stories evolve out of their curiosity and sense of adventure: Once Oliver spots the "Buffalo Trail," he insists upon seeing "where it begins and where it goes"(6). For the remainder of the book, the young brother and sister follow the "trails" of their guides, the American Indians and animals (often traditional storytellers like Coyote) who make up the exhibits and who magically come alive in response to the children's imaginative questions and desire to learn. The unifying trail metaphor teaches them the connections between landscape and human experience. They learn that "like the trails . . . every word is an expression of a need" (126) and that "there is a story about everything" (49). (Lines like these are remarkably similar to the work of contemporary Laguna writer Leslie Marmon Silko.)

Beginning with a story from the now-extinct Mastodon, the trails lead them through myths about friendships between humans and talking animals into more recent times, "to the place in the Story of the Trails, which is known in the schoolbooks as 'History'"(127). There they hear stories such as "How the Iron Shirts Came to Tuscaloosa," about a figure the children have heard about in school—Hernando de Soto—but told from an entirely new perspective by the Princess of Cofachique, who Austin identifies as an ancestor of the Creeks. The trails, ultimately a metaphor for

stories, reveal to them the interrelationships between myth, history, nature, and human culture and identity when they discover that "all the stories of that country, like the trails, seemed to run into one another" (230).

Austin stresses the interrelationships among the stories in numerous ways. The trails run from one diorama scene to another—"Cay Verde in the Bahamas to the desert of New Mexico, by the Museum trail, is around a corner" (225)—and figures from different scenes and even time periods comment on each others' stories, interjecting different viewpoints, additional information, and querulous comments, arguing about whose story it is to tell. Oliver and Dorcas Jane begin to notice relationships among the stories. When in "The Seven Cities of Cibola," the Road-Runner mentions the cities of the Queres—under attack by the Spanish, who take rather than trade—"Dorcas Jane nudged Oliver to remind him of the Corn Woman" (230), whose story records a positive exchange between the peoples of Mexico and the nation of the Missi-Sippu. The two stories contrast Coronado's greedy quest, based on rumor, for something made valuable only by human desire (gold), with the Corn Woman's unselfish desire, based on wisdom, to introduce her adopted tribe to the knowledge of her birth tribe (how to cultivate corn), and her sacrifice to procure for them seed corn, symbolic of life, which they can then trade with other tribes.

When Oliver and Dorcas Jane ask the narrators how their stories relate to earlier stories, they learn lessons about historical change and cultural differences. For instance, when they ask the Onondaga if his story has anything to do with the Mound-Builder's story, he comments, "That was a hundred years before my time, and is a Telling of the Lenni-Lenape. In the Red Score it is written, the Red Score of the Lenni-Lenape" (167). Although Austin used the word "prehistoric" to describe her book, lines such as this one demonstrate that she was well aware that native peoples had historical records. The Tallega, or Mound-Builder, shows the children a birch-bark roll of picture writing, a message sent from the Mound-Builders to the Lenni-Lenape. Although Oliver and Dor-

cas Jane's teachers would probably not teach the Red Score or the picture writing as history, Austin's inclusion of these passages after the moment when the children have reached "the place in the Story of the Trails, which is known in the schoolbooks as 'History'" (127) emphasizes her belief that they are significant historical documents. Austin's frequent references to divergences in place-names also denote cultural differences: For instance, when the Mound-Builder refers to the "River of White-Flashing," an Iroquois explains to the children that "He means the Ohio" (125).

Although Austin does chronicle some warfare between native peoples, she focuses her stories on transactions between nations; indeed, trade is one of her most recurrent themes. Yet the interchanges are disrupted with the arrival of the Spanish, replaced by greed and trickery and by the efforts of the Spanish to control others through power and dominance. If throughout *The Trail Book* Austin's implicit goal is to promote cultural relativism, the Spanish, then, are the book's villains, most particularly the "zealous" Father Letrado, who forbids prayers in kivas, dancing, and other rituals, calling them "witchcraft and sorcery" (256). Inadvertently, the Spanish do manage to bring about some positive changes: The Spanish do not find the gold they're searching for in "The Seven Cities of Cibola," but a Pawnee man, the Turk, cleverly steals horses from the expedition to bring to his people, along with the knowledge to care for them. Yet Austin's summary judgment comes in "How the Iron Shirts Came" when Dorcas Jane asks the narrating Egret, "Don't you know any not-sad stories?" and he replies, "Not about the Iron Shirts. . . . Spanish or Portuguese or English, it was always an unhappy ending for the Indians" (223).

Inevitably Austin leads us to the question of whether American history moves inexorably toward an unhappy ending for the various native peoples whose stories she recounts. Though the setting of the natural history museum provides a wonderful formal device for connecting the stories, symbolically it seems to position the Indians as historical rather than contemporary figures, leading

readers to the conclusion that the Mound-Builders, for instance, are as extinct as the Mastodon. If Austin's trail metaphor, as I have argued, stresses motion and (inter)change, the dioramas seem to counter that theme, static scenes composed from dead "objects," creating only the illusion of life and its continuation, implicitly—at the very least—representing history as having progressed from primitivism to civilization.

Austin visited the American Museum of Natural History around 1912–1918, during the period Donna Haraway explores in a well-known essay called "Teddy Bear Patriarchy," in which she describes how the creation of the museum and its dioramas tells a story about "the power of commerce and knowledge" and about "the social construction of scientific knowledge."<sup>14</sup> Arguing that the museum was built, in part, to educate and socialize children, she quotes the museum president, H. K. Osborn, as saying that the exhibits in the museum "all tend to demonstrate the slow upward ascent and struggle of man from the lower to the higher stages, physically, morally, intellectually, and spiritually. Reverently and carefully examined, they put man upwards towards a higher and better future and away from the purely animal stage of life'" (281). In Haraway's reading, the museum, filled with the "best" specimens obtainable, was a reaction against immigration and an instrument of social control, and it was no accident that the Second International Congress of Eugenics was held there in 1921.

Because Austin was a progressive, several of the stories in *The Trail Book* do chronicle what she viewed as crucial moments of cultural advancement—the domestication of animals, the change from a hunting to an agricultural society. But she did not use *primitive* in a pejorative way, certainly believed that native peoples possessed high levels of civilization, and would never have described aboriginal Americans as morally, intellectually, or spiritually inferior to whites. *The Trail Book* urges readers to acknowledge the fact that history and culture existed in North America before 1492 and to pass that history on to the next generation.

Austin has at times been criticized for assuming the right, as a white author, to tell "Indian" stories, and some might suggest that her implicit argument for the integration of aboriginal stories into the larger story of "America" is an appropriative act, enriching the experience of white children by allowing them to see American Indian history as part of their "heritage" while perhaps confirming their prejudice that Indian peoples were "vanishing." But Austin well knew that many native peoples kept their history alive through the oral tradition; she simply did what was within her power to introduce a white audience to American Indian history because she felt that the encounters between peoples on the North American continent were at the crux of its history.

Austin has also been taken to task for claiming too much knowledge about Indian peoples. She was not a trained ethnographer but, as her appendix shows, she read widely and had considerable personal experience with various native peoples. Like Haraway, Austin explores the way "knowledge" is constructed in the American Museum of Natural History. The figures in her recreated dioramas are not silent, vulnerable to interpretation: They speak out forcefully, tell their own stories, argue about meaning; they *move*. Through them, Austin provides new—and multiple—origin stories for the United States. She is self-conscious about how "knowledge" has been produced by institutions and authorities in positions of cultural power. In her work, knowledge is not a fixed goal, a place where you arrive and settle down to stay, but always "in process." Significantly, knowledge as well as goods moves along her trade trails, its usefulness contingent upon the setting. And Austin allows the reader to research her stories by providing an appendix where she lists her sources (almost all are American Indian and Spanish texts that have been translated); she also promotes a multilingual history by including a glossary of the many Indian and Spanish words used throughout *The Trail Book*. (In *Earth Horizon* Austin says she "completely and absolutely knew" as a child "that she wanted to write books 'with footnotes-and-appendix.'" These were the kind

of books "you could walk around in" [73].) Austin's appendix is a trail leading to new sources of knowledge for her young readers.

Oliver and Dorcas Jane are undoubtedly socialized in the American Museum of Natural History, but not to a position of racial or cultural superiority. They consistently exhibit a respectful curiosity about "others" and remain open to having their assumptions challenged. During their nights spent in the museum, they learn lessons in cultural relativity, where meanings are not fixed but fluid and contextual. In Austin's museum, encounters and changes take place.

*The Trail Book* provides not only an alternative "national" history but also gestures toward an alternative *literary* history. In an influential essay (1995), Annette Kolodny argued for the redefinition of American literary history as characterized by moments when "distinct human cultures first encounter one another's 'otherness,'" a literary history "circumscribed by a particular physical terrain in the process of change *because* of the forms that contact takes, all of it inscribed by the collisions and interpenetrations of language."<sup>15</sup> In recent work, Kolodny has turned to oral history and to "pre-historic" sources to discover the origins of this process, one Austin began to map in 1918. Through apparently simple stories for children, Austin introduced complex topics—cultural relativity, the construction of nationhood—that resonate for twenty-first-century adults. Like Oliver and Dorcas Jane and the children for whom the book was intended, adult readers of *The Trail Book* will find themselves moving along unfamiliar trails that lead to changing views of North America and its inhabitants.

#### NOTES

1. Mary Austin, "Aboriginal American Literature" (Huntington Library Austin Collection, box 25, n.d.).
2. Mary Austin, *Earth Horizon* (1932; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1991), 349. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.

3. Mary Austin, *The Trail Book* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918), 27. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
4. Mary Austin, *The Children Sing in the Far West* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1928), vii.
5. Mary Austin, "Regionalism in American Fiction," *English Journal* XXI (Feb. 1932): 97–107, 104. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
6. Mary Austin, *The Basket Woman: A Book of Indian Tales* (1904; reprinted for classroom use with a new expanded preface by Mary Austin, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1910 [ii, x]; reprint, Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1999). Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
7. Mary Austin, *The American Rhythm: Studies and Reexpressions of Amerindian Songs* (1923; reprint, Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 38. The full quotation reads, "Better than I knew any Indian, I knew the land they lived in."
8. Mary Austin, *The Land of Little Rain* (1903; reprint, Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1974), 91. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
9. Mary Austin, "The Walking Woman," in *Western Trails: A Collection of Stories by Mary Austin*, ed. Melody Graulich (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1987), 91–98, 93. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
10. Mary Austin, "The Basket Maker," in *Western Trails*, 31–38.
11. Mary Austin, *A Woman of Genius* (1912; reprint, Old Westbury, N.Y.: Feminist Press, 1985), 31. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
12. Mary Austin, "Willa Sibert Cather," *El Palacio* (March/April 1909): 90.
13. Henry Smith, "The Feel of the Purposeful Earth: Mary Austin's Prophecy," *New Mexico Quarterly* 1 (Feb. 1931): 33.
14. Donna Haraway, "Teddy Bear Patriarchy: Taxidermy in the Garden of Eden, New York City, 1908–1936," in *Cultures of United States Imperialism*, ed. Amy Kaplan and Donald E. Pease (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993): 237–91, 238, 277. Page numbers follow subsequent quotations in text.
15. Annette Kolodny, "Letting Go Our Grand Obsessions: Notes Toward a New Literary History of the American Frontiers," in *Subjects and Citizens*, ed. Michael Moon and Cathy Davidson (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1995), 9–26, 17, 11.