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Cover: Photograph of W.W. Newell courtesy of Harvard
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From the Editor. . .

You may well find this issue of the journal following hard on the heels of the fall issue. That issue, much delayed for a variety of reasons, did not get into the mail until March of 1997, and this issue was being set in camera-ready copy at the same time.

Two substantial essays grace the pages of this issue. The first, the Newell Prize-winning paper for 1996, is Susan Charles T. Groth's "'Here We Sit Like Birds in the Wilderness Waiting for Our Dessert': The Girl Scout Program and Ordering Space in Camp Sacajawea's Dining Hall/Main House." Groth's essay, which calls to mind some of the materials in Randal K. Tillery's "Folklore and Children's Worlds: Nature, Place, and Belonging in a Romantic Key" (*CFR* 17.2), examines the sources of concepts basic to Girl Scouting as a background to understanding spatial ordering in the dining hall in particular and the camp in general. Evelyn M. Perry's "The Ever-Vigilant Hero: Revaluating the Tale of Tam Lin" is another essay which, like Millicent Lenz's "Mythologizing Chief Seattle: Susan Jeffers' *Brother Eagle, Sister Sky* or How to Make a Myth in Ten Easy Steps" (*CFR* 19.1), discusses the way(s) in which literature makes use of traditional tales.

As I have mentioned previously in this column and as you will read in the CFS minutes, we are at the threshold of the 20th anniversary of the section and this journal. At this time, the section is planning a special double issue of the journal, volume 20, numbers 1 and 2, which will appear in the spring of 1998. That issue will contain Simon Bronner's history of the section, an index to all articles published in the last 20 years, a special essay by Brian Sutton-Smith, and much, much more.

C.W. Sullivan III

"Here We Sit Like Birds in the Wilderness Waiting for Our Dessert": The Girl Scout Program and Ordering Space in Camp Sacajawea's Dining Hall/Main House *Susan Charles T. Groth*

It is early in the evening sometime in July, sometime in the 1970s, in the Dining Hall at Camp Sacajawea, a Girl Scout camp in Sparta, New Jersey. Dinner has been served and dessert will come out soon. Some girls are clearing tables. In the serving room, a meeting ground between kitchen and dining hall, the kitchen staff hands dessert trays to the girls on serving duty; campers are not allowed in the kitchen, and kitchen staff have little need to go into the dining hall (see Fig. 1). The rest of the girls—at least one hundred and fifty—sit at the tables with their counselors and the other camp staff.

A din rises from units at the southeast end of the hall. The Scouts pound both hands in 4/4 time on the edge of the table; first the fist, then the thumb, then the pointer and middle fingers together, and last, the pointer and pinky finger (see Fig. 2). The fist puts the accent on the first quarter note, sounding vaguely like the tom-toms in G-rated movies about Native Americans and European-American settlers. The tunes and words, however, are vintage camp song. They go through an abstract lyric, "Dum-dum-da-da," whose words imitate carefree humming, then switch to a situation-specific favorite, "Here We Sit Like Birds in the Wilderness":

Here we sit like birds in the wilderness,
birds in the wilderness, birds in the wilderness.
Here we sit like birds in the wilderness, waiting
for our dessert.

The last syllable coincides with an accented beat, leaving three beats until the verse starts again. . . and again. . . and again. Often annoying the staff and the girls who must serve the dessert, the singing and pounding amuses the girls at the tables and keeps them seated on the benches out of the way of servers and clearers.

When I first considered exploring spatial ordering in Camp Sacajawea's Dining Hall/Main House as an aspect of vernacular architecture studies, such a scene swam up from memory. When at camp, we did not sing that song each night, but often enough for it to qualify as typical of the location. In fact, although we might "practice" the hand motions on makeshift surfaces, we "really" did them only in the Dining Hall. Why did campers do that activity in the

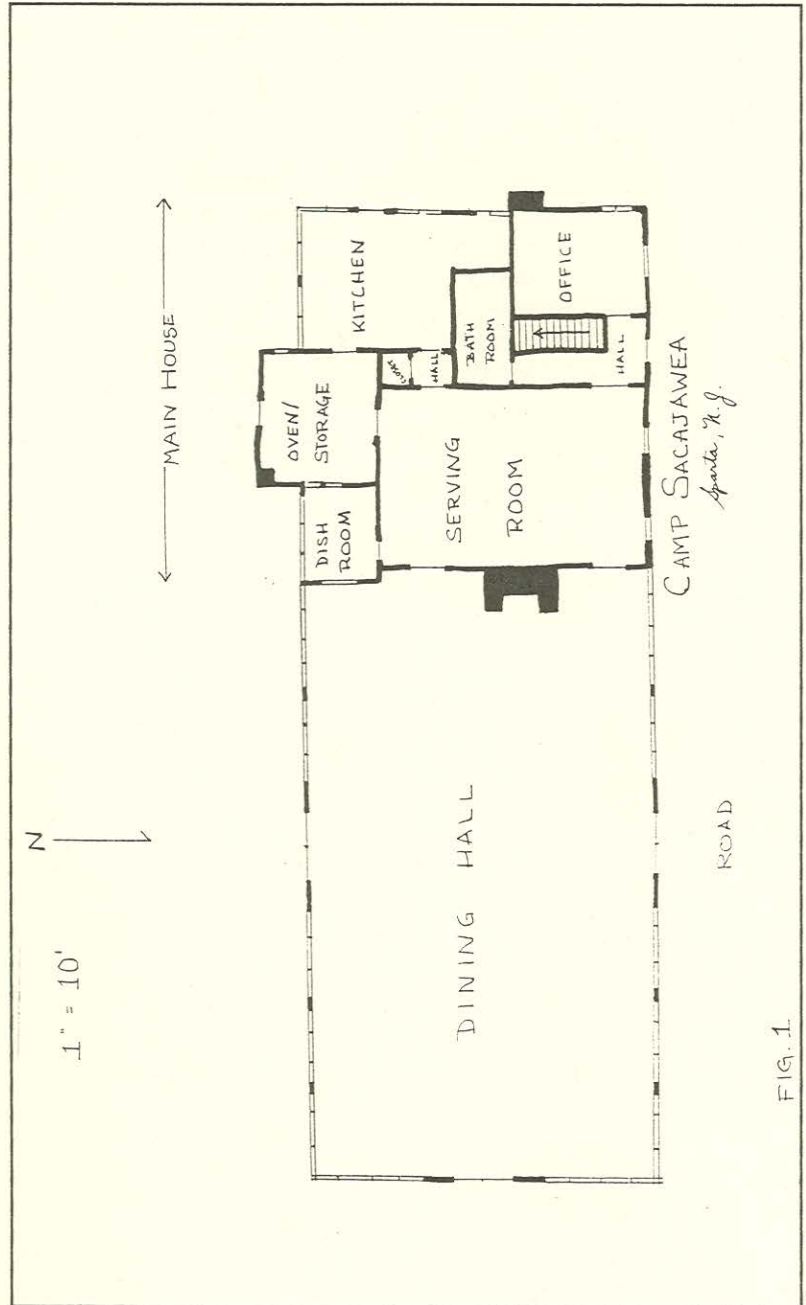
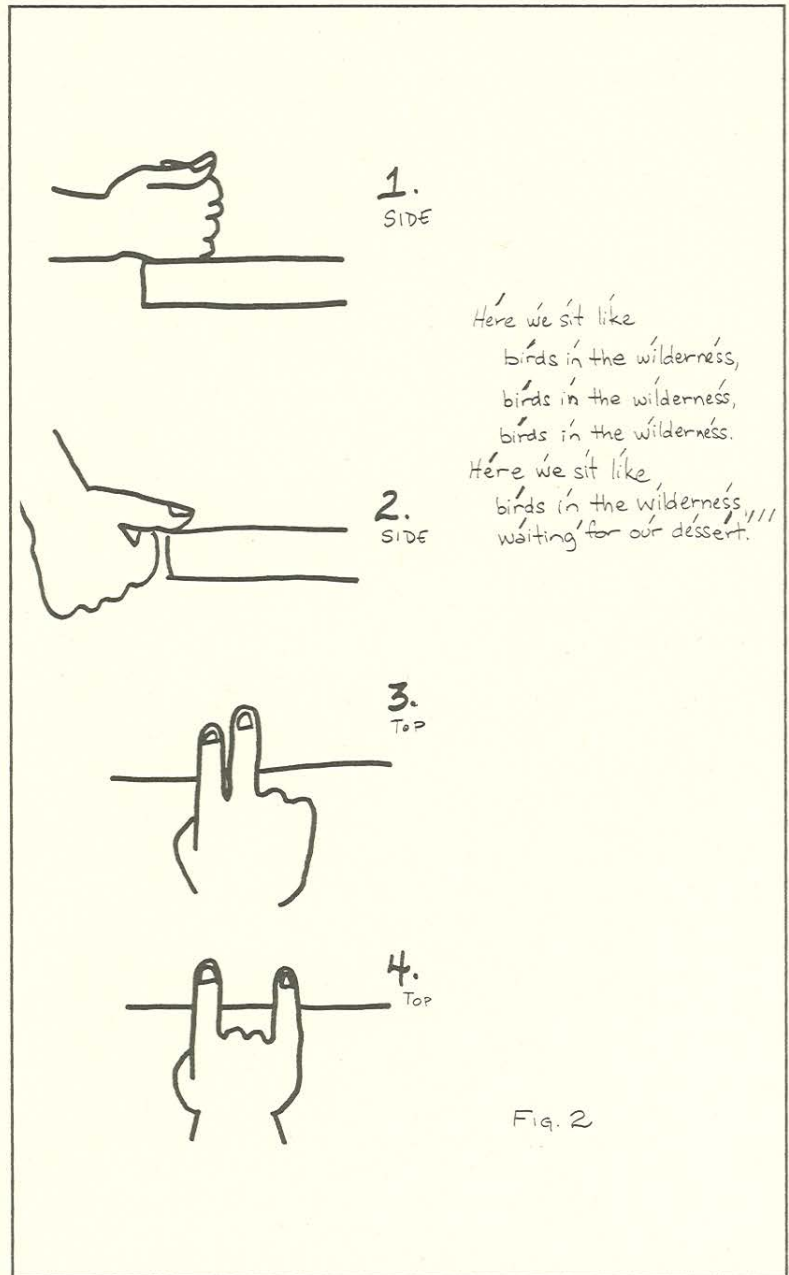


FIG. 1



Dining Hall? And what did it say about the Dining Hall? These two questions initiated my scholarly search, taking me outside of my memory to the memories of a former food service supervisor and others connected with the camp, through twenty years of camp brochures, and outside of Camp Sacajawea for scholarship and popular literature on the American camp experience. In this article, I examine how the Girl Scouting program is enacted through two specific themes at camp: domesticity and "playing Indian," themes that exist in American camping outside of Girl Scouting. The table-banging I remembered touched on both of these themes, although the roughness of the activity might be considered a counter-statement to the domesticity of the place. In any case, this activity points to the Dining Hall as a special place in camp.

A few practical considerations connect the percussive singing with the Dining Hall. I have already suggested a functional approach: the activity served¹ the purpose of keeping restless campers' attention while waiting for dessert, a situation the lyric narrates. On the other hand, the non-specific lyrics of "Dum-dum-da-da" point away from a thematic connection to a musical reason for placing this activity in the Dining Hall. The beat sounded best on thin-topped tables and with a great number of people at once. Few surfaces in camp have the proper edge at the proper height: camp platforms were too low, the waterfront dock, too high. The outdoor "picnic" tables in camp are too thick to sound good and too rough on the hands. The indoor tables in buildings such as the nature center and arts and crafts room presented other problems. In the former, the girls could scare the animals; this would violate the part of the Girl Scout Law involving the natural world: "A Girl Scout is a Friend to Animals" (Law before 1975), or the promise to try to "protect and improve the world around [them]" (Law after 1975). In the arts and crafts room, campers could jiggle the table and ruin someone's project. This would violate two parts of the Law: "A Girl Scout is Courteous" and "A Girl Scout is a Friend to All and a Sister to every other Girl Scout" (old Law); the promises to try to "be friendly and considerate" and "be a sister to every Girl Scout" (new Law). In both the nature center and the arts and crafts center, staff turned campers' attention to individual or small group activities, the wrong frame for an orchestra of fists and fingers.

Carolyn MacDonald provides a reason and a key characteristic of the Dining Hall without a moment's hesitation. When I interviewed her about her experience as a caretaker for sixteen years (1971-87), and as a food service supervisor for a few years during the 1970s, I asked her about this singing that went on during mealtimes. She remembers lots of singing going on at the tables and the percussive accompaniment, although she could not always hear the words clearly from the kitchen where she worked. Considering why this

particular activity occurred almost exclusively in the Dining Hall, MacDonald states, "You weren't all together any place else either."

MacDonald's assessment of the Dining Hall as a central meeting place reflects literature on camping. In *Camps: Their Planning and Management*, Robert E. Wilkinson writes:

there is a need for a large facility that can be used for all-camp programs. It can be a very simple building with a few distinguishing features. It is generally rectangular in shape so that a variety of indoor court games can be played. At other times, it serves as a theater, chapel, dance hall, meeting hall, craft center, or room for games that require little organization. . . . In the absence of a recreation hall, the dining hall, or even the indoor chapel, may have to be used for these activities. (103)

At Camp Sacajawea, the Dining Hall provides the structure for large indoor activities. This large rectangular room is attached to the Main House, an old farmhouse which houses the kitchen facility, the camp office, and bedrooms used in the past for some of the summer staff. Presently campers use the Main House as a lodge.

The 1957 *Standards for Girl Scout Camping: Guides for Better and Safer Camping* requires dining and cooking facilities for established camps and recommends a dining area large enough to accommodate the entire camp at one time (20-21). Technically, when camp was at full capacity, *all* campers and staff could *not* fit into the Dining Hall, being just a unit too many. However, some of the units' programs involved frequent off-site trips so that *all* campers were not on-site at the same time anyway. Moreover, indoor all-camp activities (besides meals) were a rarity, necessitated only by severe weather. For mealtimes, capacity posed no problem, but rather became an asset to programming. Since cooking and eating out-of-doors was one of the traditions of camp, one or more of the units would cook at their unit over an open fire (Carolyn MacDonald). Yet, if weather or emergency dictated, the staff could accommodate the whole camp for an indoor activity between the Dining Hall/Main House and Pocahontas, the large converted barn next door. Both facilities had large hearths for indoor campfire activities (Carolyn MacDonald). In actuality, the Dining Hall could accommodate everyone present in camp on virtually any day. It was, indeed, where indoor all-camp gatherings took place.

Serving the whole camp, the Dining Hall/Main House holds an extremely important position as a hub of camp activity. Although one can see

Groth

the themes of domesticity and playing Indian throughout Camp Sacajawea, my research suggests that they are acted out uniquely in the Dining Hall/Main House.

Camping and the Principles of Girl Scouting

Like the rest of camp, the Dining Hall/Main House serves the Girl Scouting program. Girls practice the teachings and values of Girl Scouting through their activities in the camp. Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA), the national organization to which individual Girl Scout troops and facilities belong, spells out the broad goals of Girl Scout camping and how to accomplish those goals through published standards, which they have developed for councils since 1923 (*GS Standards for Girl Scout Camping* 1956,3; hereafter camping standards publications are cited as *GS Standards* with date and page). Councils organize Girl Scouting into regional units, providing administrative and other resources to individual troops. Although a couple of facilities are nationally run (such as National Center West in Wyoming), individual councils run most camps. The Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout Council, which covers central New Jersey from the Delaware River to the Atlantic Ocean, owns Camp Sacajawea, which lies outside the council in northwestern New Jersey. Three councils joined to create the Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout Council in the early 1970s. One of these three, the Raritan Valley Council, bought two adjacent farms in the early 1950s from which they created Camp Sacajawea (Carolyn MacDonald, Kraszewski).

The 1965 *GS Standards* make explicit the connection between camping and the Girl Scouting program:

In Girl Scouting, camping is the Girl Scout program in the out-of-doors. . . . All program is based on the Framework for Progression in the Girl Scout program which is built up the Foundation: Promise and Laws, service, troop management, citizenship, international friendship, health and safety. This foundation permeates all program through activities related to the arts, the home, and the out-of-doors. (*GS Standards* 1965, 8)

Although aspects of the arts and the home exist at camp, the out-of-doors dominates the camping experience. Girl Scout camping encompasses three types of situations: troop camping, day camping, and established camping (*GS Standards* 1957,8). Troop camping means an individual troop camps for at least one night on a site provided or approved by a council. This usually takes place on weekends, school vacations, or sometimes in the summer. At

Camp Sacajawea, the Dining Hall/Main House often houses troops during the winter months, serving as a lodge after the tents have been removed for the season. Under this arrangement, the Dining Hall hearth becomes the locus for campfire activity while other activities take place in the Main House. Where the Dining Hall provides ample space for active games, it is unheated. Between activities outdoors, quiet activities take place in the serving room and kitchen, and the group may opt to sleep upstairs.

Day and established camping (also called resident camping) occur during the summer months at a site where a council provides both staff and facility. Since they purchased the facility in the early 1950s, the council has used Camp Sacajawea for troop camping, established camping, and council-sponsored family camping weekends. Established camp at Sacajawea ended in 1987 (Kraszewski). Presently, the council leases the facility to Sussex County, with the agreement that Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout troops get first choice of camping sites for troop camping (Ruth MacDonald, current council president). This article focuses on Camp Sacajawea's use as an established camp, the situation which has used the Dining Hall/Main House most fully.

Building on the broad connection between the Girl Scout program and camping, the 1965 Girl Scout camping standards outline the following more specific objectives:

- To promote the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of every girl and leader.
- To develop resourcefulness, initiative, self-reliance, and recognition of the worth and dignity of each individual.
- To provide resources for practices in democratic living.
- To develop a sense of responsibility, qualities of leadership, and an awareness of the capacities of all people.
- To provide an inner satisfaction, a sense of awe and wonder, and a deep enjoyment for both girl and leader.
- To provide a sense of accomplishment.
- To stimulate each girl's awareness of the scope of the natural world. To develop the individual's sense of responsibility to conserve the natural world. (*GS Standards* 1965,6)

Written for the adults who run camps, these objectives dovetail with the old and new Girl Scout Law. While the language differs between the two, both versions of the Law emphasize developing an appreciation for the world beyond oneself (other people, the natural world), developing responsibilities to that world, and developing the practical and interpersonal skills with which to fulfill those responsibilities.

The camp provides the opportunity for girls to practice Girl Scouting values in an environment where everyone else knows and practices the values, and institutional procedures have been designed with Girl Scout values in mind. All staff must be familiar with Girl Scouting. GSUSA's 1967 *Good Counselors Make Good Camps* lists Girl Scout values first under "General Qualifications for All Camp Staff Members." Camp staff must demonstrate "Acceptance of and adherence to the purposes and principles of Girl Scouting as embodied in the Promise and Laws. Some knowledge of the Girl Scout program" (9). Although the title of the book calls attention to the counselor's job, the book applies these general qualifications to all the staff, including administrative staff, special programming staff (waterfront, nature center, arts and crafts), and the food service staff from supervisor to dishwasher.

Linking social values to camping is not unique to Girl Scouting; many social organizations, such as religious groups, do the same. In fact, the American Camping Association (ACA), the body which provides accreditation for camps throughout the United States, defines camping by its social objectives as well as its setting. Camping is:

A sustained experience which provides a creative, recreational and educational opportunity in group living in the out-of-doors. It utilizes trained leadership and the resources of the natural surroundings to contribute to each camper's mental, physical, social, and spiritual growth.
(ACA 3)

A camp volunteers to follow the ACA standards and apply for ACA accreditation, which includes an on-site visit. The accreditation helps parents and guardians judge whether a specific camp is safe and suitable for their children (Moreau 112). Although some camps choose not to go through the accreditation process, Camp Sacajawea maintains its accreditation, advertises it on a sign attached to the Main House (which can be seen from the road), and includes its ACA status in camp brochures.

The Dining Hall/Main House as Threshold

The lyric "here we sit like birds in the wilderness, waiting for our dessert" appeals because of its humor, the irony of wild birds having dessert. Yet, the juxtaposition of a wilderness setting and the civilized activity of eating dessert fits the Dining Hall/Main House, which sits both on the edge of camp and on the edge of the road. As the gateway to the rest of the camp, the Dining

Hall/Main House serves as the threshold or liminal space between this ideal community and the rest of the world. The term "liminal" comes from the Latin for threshold (Webster); its root is in spatial relationships.²

In several ways, the Dining Hall/Main House has connections to and similarities with both the natural, ideal living conditions of the camp and the world outside where the campers and staff live during the rest of the year. For instance, for most years of resident camp, campers entered camp when buses delivered them to the parking lot by the road in front of the Dining Hall/Main House (later, buses began to use a newer parking lot, still by the road, but closer to the Ranger's House than the Dining Hall/Main House). From there, camp staff would organize the girls into groups (units) determined by what program the girls had registered for, and walk them into the heart of the camp, to the sites where they would live for the session. At the end of the session, the buses would meet the girls in front of the Dining Hall/Main House again and take them back to central locations in their home communities.

The Dining Hall/Main House serves as a threshold for communication to the camp, as well as the bringing communications to the campers themselves. The mail carrier did not go to each individual campsite, but dropped the mail at the Main House. While counselors distributed mail to the girls, each staff member had his or her own mailbox in the downstairs hallway of the Main House. A mailbox for outgoing mail, which both staff and campers would use, was hung on the wall of the Dining Hall. Voice communication to campers and staff also entered the camp through the Dining Hall/Main House. The Main House contained the camp office and the camp's telephone line. Several years' brochures state that parents should telephone campers only in case of emergency and should not expect to speak to the camper directly at that time; messages would be relayed to campers by staff. Directly or indirectly (through messages), the Dining Hall/Main House linked the camp with written and oral communication to the outside world.

The camp office in the Main House provided the work place for the Camp Director and Assistant Camp Director and place for all camp business. From here, the camp staff would interface with parents, vendors, and others. Gwen Mitchell's *Handbook for Camp Directors and Administrators in a Girl Scout Council*, a GSUSA publication, places ultimate responsibility for food service and other camp services on camp directors, spelling out their duty to maintain connections with the outside vendors necessary to run the camp (16-17). Although the camp director was ultimately responsible, Carolyn MacDonald recalls that it was her duty as food supervisor to order the food and oversee its delivery and consumption. Deliveries—most frequently food—entered the camp by way of the Main House. Food service depended on the outside world and connected the camp with the outside world through

the Dining Hall/Main House. Within the boundaries of the camp, almost all food service activities take place in the Dining Hall/Main House. Eating is the locus of activity in the Dining Hall, the food having been ordered and prepared in the Main House. The only exceptions are the snacks and packed lunches eaten on day trips out of camp or the meals planned and prepared by the girls at their units' campfires. Yet, even these would be checked for nutritional value by the food supervisor (Carolyn MacDonald), a practice guaranteed in the camp brochures. Eating on the trail or preparing food in the unit is part of imitating Native American and pioneer life. Following GSUSA guidelines, program organizers provide the opportunity for the girls to learn practical skills in food preparation under unusual circumstances, work cooperatively, and appreciate nature together.

Besides serving as the threshold to the world outside camp, the Dining Hall/Main House lies in symbolic and spatial relationship with the other places within the camp proper. I turn now to two major themes evident in space ordering at Camp Sacajawea: playing Indian and domesticity (playing house).

Playing Indian at Girl Scout Camp

"Playing Indian" has a long tradition at mainstream American camps, and Girl Scout camps are no exception. In "The Tribe Called Wannabee: Playing Indian in America and Europe," Rayna Green states that

since the invasion of North America by those "red hairy men" in the fifteenth century, non-Indians have found the performance of "playing Indian" a most compelling and obviously satisfying form of traditional expression. (30)

She makes a distinction between playing Indian and being a Native American when she states that not only did Europeans play Indian, but that they also made tribal peoples "play Indian" so they could "export the performances back to Europe" (30). In *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, Daniel Francis expresses the following distinction between the Indian and the Native American:

The Indian began as a White man's mistake, and became a White man's fantasy. Through the prism of White hopes, fears and prejudices, indigenous Americans would be seen to have lost contact with reality and to have become "Indians": that is, anything non-Natives wanted them to be. (5)

Presently, I will concentrate on the nature of playing Indian³ at Camp Sacajawea and how this activity differentiates the Dining Hall/Main House from the rest of the group.

In the scholarly and popular literature, some articles explore playing Indian at camp, but most concentrate explicitly or implicitly on the male experience. If mentioned at all, Girl Scouting is frequently treated almost as if it were just Boy Scouting in skirts. Both Green and Francis focus their treatment of playing Indian at camp on boys' organizations, such as Lord Robert Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts⁴ and Ernest Thompson Seton's Woodcraft Indians. The Woodcraft Indians predated and had an early influence on Boy Scouting, but eventually the two organizations diverged because Seton wished to emphasize pacifism while Baden-Powell wished to emphasize a military metaphor (Francis 144-68).

Green notes the paramilitary nature when she writes of Boy Scouting:

Lord Baden-Powell's para-military outdoor education movement merges with neo-French revolutionary philosophy, and the French passion for natural men comes to be embodied in the Indian, who will represent the [Boy] Scouting ideal of manly independence. Learning to walk, stalk, hunt, survive like an "Indian," to produce beaded and feathered authentic outfits, to dance and sing authentic music, to produce tools and weapons, are the skills later to become fixed in the Order of the Arrow, Scouting's highest achievement. (40-41)⁵

Green makes the connection between teaching independence, playing Indian, and youth programs. Learning self-reliance and independence through playing Indian may indeed be considered "manly" when looking at the issue from the point of view of Boy Scouting, but the picture is incomplete. Although not emphasizing playing Indian to the extent or in the same way as Boy Scouting does, Girl Scouting also uses survival skills (hiking safety, lashing and knots, building shelters, knowing which plants are poisonous) with an Indian metaphor. In a passing nod to Girl Scouting, Green writes:

The [Boy] Scouting reification of the Indian, as Scout played *him*, (note that, by this time [the time of the development of Boy Scouting in the 20th century], the Indian is a definitely male and be-feathered Lord of the Plains), affects more variants, some later practiced by the Girl Scouts and Campfire Girls, which concentrate, for their dramatic reenactments, less on paramilitary skill and more on crafts and nature worship. (41)

The representation of these specific youth organizations appears incomplete, yet Green makes a valuable point. On the down side, Green's use of "affects

more variants" and "later" seems to imply a greater influence of Baden-Powell's program on these other programs than there actually was. As Francis writes, Campfire Girls grew out of Seton's Woodcraft Indians, and it is therefore natural that Campfire Girls would have a different—not paramilitary—emphasis in its version of playing Indian. The Girl Scouts, too, have an inheritance from Seton's program. In the 1929 revision of the 1920 Handbook, the Preface gives "grateful acknowledgments" to "Mr. Ernest Thompson Seton and The Woodcraft League, and Doubleday, Page & Co. for the section and plates on 'Woodcraft'," as well as to Robert Baden-Powell and others.

Like much of the general public, Green shows limited understanding of the early divergence between Girl Scouting and Boy Scouting in the United States (in her defense, Girl Scouting is not the focus of her article). Begun in 1908 in England (Webster), Baden-Powell's Boy Scout program led to the founding of Girl Guiding in England, founded and developed by Lord Baden-Powell and his sister, Agnes (Foreword, "How Scouting Began," Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting for Girls* [May 1919]). Brought to America in 1912 by Juliette Gordon Low, Girl Guides in America was renamed Girl Scouts "within a few months" (*Scouting for Girls* 13). The organization has operated separately from Boy Scouts of America from its beginning and began to develop differently from both organizations initiated by Lord Baden-Powell, Boy Scouting and Girl Guiding.⁶ Today, Girl Scouts in the United States honor Juliette Low's contribution by celebrating March 12th (the day in 1912 when the program began in Low's native Savannah, GA [Eubanks 11]) as the birthday of Girl Scouting and Low's Birthday, October 31st, as Founder's Day (Eubanks 31). Along with other members of the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts, American Girl Scouts celebrate Thinking Day or World Association Day on February 22nd, the birthday of both Lord and Lady Baden Powell (Lady Olave Baden-Powell took a leadership role in Girl Guiding early on). A contrast to Lord Baden-Powell's paramilitarism and disapproval of Seton's pacifism, Thinking Day "presents an opportunity for Girl Scouts and Girl Guides to reflect on world peace and international friendship" (Eubanks 35). Girls in the United States are much more familiar with Juliette Low's leadership than the influence of the Baden-Powell family.

Beginning just four years after the Boy Scouting program and one or two after Girl Guiding, Girl Scouting certainly shares roots with the two programs. However, in 83 years of operating independently (over 95% of its history), these programs have developed quite differently. Green does not acknowledge the self-reliance and confidence girls develop through learning wilderness survival skills because she interprets those skills as "manliness." However, she makes a valid point about Girl Scouting's stressing nature

worship. A statement by the National Camping Committee in April, 1963, makes explicit the spiritual character of Girl Scout camping:

Camping must fulfill the needs and interests of [the] young. . . by offering every Girl Scout camper a fully enriched program and a deeply meaningful social and spiritual experience in the natural world. (GS *Standards* 1965,5)

The objectives of camping as expressed above by the Girl Scout standards attest to the aspect of nature worship with language such as "sense of awe and wonder." These objectives direct awareness toward "the scope of the natural world" and the "responsibility to conserve the natural world" (GS *Standards* 1965, 6).

Daniel Francis also mentions the connection between nature and playing Indian, framing Seton's Woodcraft Indian program as a response to growing urbanization. From the point of view of European-Americans,

the Indian retained qualities that "modern man" had lost. If civilization was artificial, frenetic, and soulless, the Indian seemed to live a more authentic existence, closer to nature and basic human values. (153-54)

In a 1993 column in *The New Yorker* entitled "Injun Summer," Daniel Menaker echoes the attitude toward modernism that Francis attributes to Seton. Menaker knows that playing Indian is "politically incorrect" as well as being historically inaccurate; however,

it implies a code of conduct and a relationship to nature at odds with and superior to the kinds of lives the campers and their families presumed to lead. Even a dented and misapprehended ideal is better than no ideal at all. (166)

Where Seton has no awareness of what Francis would call the "Imaginary" quality of his Indian, Menaker recognizes the fantasy and embraces it anyway. While valuing nature and playing Indian like Seton and Menaker, Girl Scouting tends to emphasize looking forward or living in the present, rather than re-enacting the past. The 1929 Girl Scouting handbook (*Scouting for Girls*, Revised Edition) suggests using the Indian metaphor to look forward:

The Girl Scouts of today, while they have no new lands to scout into, can scout in the new ways of life that our changing civilization has brought us. They find that there can be as much joy in

learning the best ways of doing things in our new era, as there was in our new and undiscovered country. The best way to live, to play, to help others, to build a home may be filled with as much adventure in New York or San Francisco today as there was in crossing the Ohio or Mississippi a hundred years ago. (15)

As one would expect of an American youth publication in the 1920s, this passage contains a Euro-centric viewpoint. At the same time, it plays Indian in a new way, bringing the term "scout" into the present, whereas most views of the Imaginary Indian relegate the Native American to the past. The attitude toward scouting expressed in *Scouting for Girls* does not restrict the idea of "scouting" to its military or woodcraft meanings, either. Perhaps the downplaying of these two more obvious manifestations of playing Indian in Girl Scouting influences Green's emphasis on the male Scouting program in her interpretation of playing Indian.

Although concentrating on the male experience, both Green and Francis suggest that playing Indian provides a certain freedom for marginalized groups. Green speaks in terms of race and gender:

Inevitably and eventually [playing Indian] draws women, even blacks, into the peculiar boundaries of its performance, offering them a unique opportunity-through playing Indian-of escaping the conventional and often highly restrictive boundaries of their fixed cultural identities in gender or race. (31)

For Green, playing Indian is tightly entwined with the male military sphere, yet its manifestation of "other" allows a degree of freedom for females. In a discussion of children playing Cowboys and Indians, she states that her informal survey revealed that most children wanted to play the Cowboy role because they "did not like getting beat." Of those preferring Indian, the higher percentage were female who "are very clear about what attracts them, that is, the 'costume,' the yelling and 'acting out' which appears to accompany the role, and the 'underdog' aspects the role entails" (54). This "acting out" may factor in the campers' delight in pounding and singing at the table between courses, activities not common and probably not even permitted in most homes or school cafeterias.

Rather than addressing race or gender issues, Francis speaks in terms of power imbalance based on age:

Too high-spirited and willful to perform the essential business of industrial society, the Imaginary Indian is the perfect model for youngsters chafing against the rules and duties of the adult world. Children love animals; so does the Imaginary Indian. Children

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love to roam freely in the woods. So does the Imaginary Indian. Children love secret ceremonies and dressing up in costume; so does the Imaginary Indian. Children yearn to perform brave deeds in combat; so does the Imaginary Indian. Children are in rebellion against the established order. So is the Imaginary Indian. (144-45)

Francis concentrates on the connections between children's culture and the perception of the Imaginary Indian's culture, though he exhibits a touch of androcentrism. Where Green recognizes female organizations' distaste for military play, Francis includes a mention of combat. Francis seems to speak more of male children than all children, unless he is including brave acts of self-defense and caring for the wounded. There certainly are girls who enjoy aggressive play and reenacting conflict, but studies such as Green's, Carol Gilligan's *In a Different Voice*, and Deborah Tannen's *You Just Don't Understand* point to the phenomenon of females (adults and children) valuing conflict avoidance and resolution.

Where Green and Francis emphasize the male warrior tradition of playing Indian, Camp Sacajawea embodies another image of the Indian, one stemming from European-American perception of the Iroquois nations.⁷ Carolyn MacDonald states, "See, that's what the names come from, the five nations of the Indians of upstate New York." In addition to Iroquois itself, other campsites include Onondaga, Mohawk, Oneida, Cayuga, and Tuscarora. Seneca also existed until it fell into such disrepair that the council eliminated it (Carolyn MacDonald). Of the other four campsites, one is named Shoshone for Sacajawea's tribe, one for the Apache, and two reflect resident camp programs (see Fig. 3).

The placement of the units and the other facilities creates a somewhat cohesive Indian nation covering the southeastern side of the camp (most of the land). Administrative sites, such as the infirmary, Dining Hall/Main House, ranger's house, and Pocahontas, lie along the northern border of camp. On the western side sit the modern sports fields and two units with special interests: girls in the Dolphin unit, overlooking the lake, develop water skills; while in the Pioneer unit, girls sleep in covered wagons and learn early settlers' crafts. In the southeastern part of the camp, the Indian sites stand together, interrupted only by wash houses, the flag pole, and the nature center. Totem Pole Hill, where all-camp campfires took place, lies at the southeastern corner of the camp, anchoring the Indian metaphor with a tall totem pole.

One might assume that the council named the sites after the Iroquois in recognition of the simple fact of proximity. In northwestern New Jersey, Camp Sacajawea lies just south of the Iroquois lands. Yet, it also lies close to

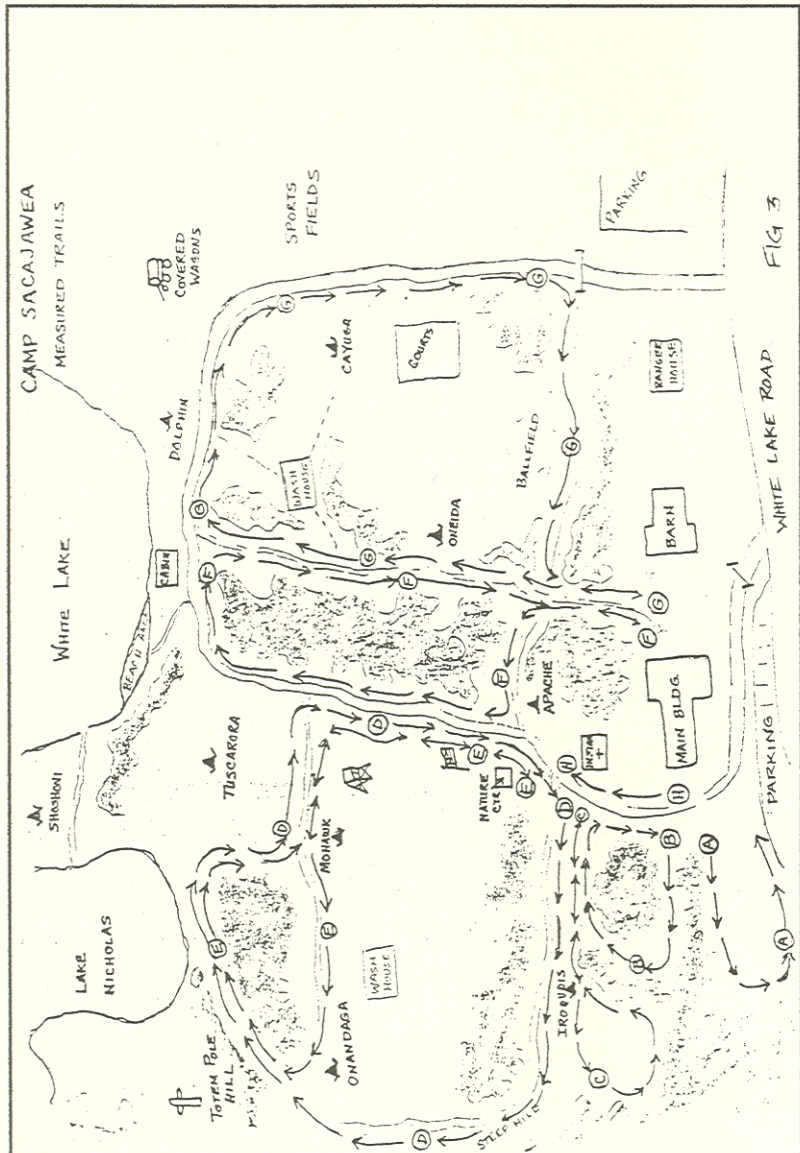


FIG 3

Figure 3

the lands of the Lenni-Lenape associated with New Jersey, but neither Lenape nor the European-derived Delaware appear in camp names. The council also chose not to use names, such as Piscataway, that reflected Native Americans associated with the lands near the council headquarters.

The connection between the Girl Scout camp and playing Indian Iroquois style reflects perceived values held in common: both emphasize the value of peace, safety, democracy, cooperative work, and women. In *The Iroquois and the Founding of the American Nation*, Donald A. Grinde, Jr., describes the Iroquois culture before and coexisting with the European colonies. He traces the process through which Deganawidah and Hiawatha secured the Great Peace and established laws so that "individual rights, safety and justice were assured" (8). For instance, vengeful murder (blood feud) was outlawed, and wampum strings and belts were substituted for the life of the murderer as recompense to the family of the victim (8). In "Iroquoian Culture History: A General Evaluation," William N. Fenton names four cardinal principles of Iroquois policy, all of which foster cooperative living: "(1) health, peace. . . , (2) strength, civil authority. . . , (3) truth, righteousness, . . . (4) the great law, or the commonwealth" (262). Fenton emphasizes the pervasiveness of these values: "These themes both exist on a worldly or political level and attain a level of supernatural significance through the Deganawidah epic" (262). Fenton further demonstrates Euro-Americans' association of these communal values with the Iroquois when he refers to colonist Conrad Weiser's advice to be truthful, give one's best, and show courage when dealing with them. These Iroquois values resemble the Girl Scouting values that emphasize the strength of the individual and the community. The introduction to the 1965 Girl Scout camping standards mentions "international friendship, health and safety" (8) as parts of the Foundation of the Girl Scout program, while in the specific objectives for camping, "To promote the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of every girl and leader" heads the list (6).

Grinde's work traces the influence of Iroquois governing practices on the democratic government developed for the United States.⁸ As in other Girl Scout camps and troops (GS *Standards* 1965, 8), Camp Sacajawea's program emphasizes collective and representative decision-making. In an introduction to the 1976 camp brochure, Janet B. Cook, then president of the Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout Council, writes that after becoming acquainted with her new surroundings, "the girl becomes deeply involved in the camp and its decision-making through camp council and camp-wide events." Collective effort characterizes work in Girl Scouting and Grinde's assessment of the Iroquois life. Grinde cites collective work ("economic democracy") and collective ownership as characteristic of the Iroquois (24-25).

Fenton concurs that "institutional cooperation and poor relief is deeply imbedded in Iroquoian culture" (264).

The Iroquois value of women also makes Iroquois names appropriate for camp sites. On a very basic level, the Iroquois emphasized the value of women in relation to the value of men.⁹ While the murder of a man required the payment of 20 strings of wampum, the murder of a woman required 30 strings (Grinde 8). Although fees were substituted for vengeful murder in European culture, the woman was not worth more than the man. In the case of the Anglo-Saxon wergeld, literally the "man money," social rank determined the fee and men outranked women. In "Eastern Woodlands Community Typology and Acculturation," John Witthoft emphasizes women's relative importance in the economic life of the Eastern Woodlands Native Americans:

Women's social roles were central, and men's economic roles were subsidiary. Male social and political roles were likewise secondary. Despite male emphasis on warfare, war lacked major economic motivation. (71-72).

Similarly, Girl Scouting encourages women's power in the economic arena by encouraging girls to think of their careers (e.g., *Scouting for Girls* handbook [1929 revised edition], *Worlds to Explore* handbook [1977]).

In addition to economic power, women also held power in Iroquois family and tribal government. In this matrilineal system, women headed the clans and their sub-units, the otiiனர் and the hearth (Grinde 1). Although women could not serve as chiefs, the heads of the otiiனர் (women) collectively chose the chiefs (Grinde 15). Likewise, women appointed the male delegates and deputies who spoke at tribal councils. On an on-going basis, women collectively "formulated issues and questions to be debated and acted upon in the councils" and recommended which position the representative should advocate (Grinde 2). Fenton also assumes the strong political position of women, although he debates with others the consistency of this strength (266-77). This strength included influence over warfare, despite the fact that women did not battle for lead warriors. When the men called for war, women had the power to prevent or encourage war through their disapproval or approval (Grinde 14).

Although one might question the extent of the Iroquois women's power in relation to their male delegates, the system gave far more power to women than did the European culture of the same period. While Iroquois women were the only ones to "vote" for representatives, it took another two centuries for female citizens of the United States to get any vote. In terms of influence over war, Julia Ward Howe created Mother's Day in the United States as a day for

women to speak out against war for the safety of their children. Later, even this relatively powerless observance had been subverted into a day to talk about mothers, ceasing to be a day for mothers to speak out. As an organization dedicated to developing girls' "resourcefulness, initiative, self-reliance, and recognition of the worth and dignity of each individual" (*GS Standards* 1965,6), the council appropriately associates their place with a people reputed to value women.

Playing Indian in the Dining Hall

Camp Sacajawea pays tribute to two individual women through naming. Pocahontas and Sacajawea herself. In terms of spatial relations, these names bring playing Indian back to the camp's threshold, the area of the Dining Hall/ Main House.

Like the Dining Hall/Main House, Pocahontas separates the camp from the road. Arts and crafts, lodging for kitchen staff, and, for a time, the nature center were housed here. Although an Indian, Pocahontas resided in the "white world" for much of her life, marrying a white man and moving to England, where she died. In "The Mother of Us All: Pocahontas Reconsidered," Philip Young connects her betrayal of her tribe (for instance, she warned Captain John Smith of her father's imminent attack) with her glorification by whites. According to whites, she was a good Indian because she "recognized" the superiority of white culture. Young also connects the Pocahontas figure with Ceres, Demeter, and Gaea. Becoming "a fertility-goddess, the mother of us all" (408), Pocahontas fits the nature worship of Girl Scouting's version of the imaginary Indian.

Girl Scouting has long admired Sacajawea even more than Pocahontas. In the 1929 revised edition of the 1920 handbook, *Scouting for Girls*, Scouting equals discovery (see above). The text asks girls to apply this concept to the present; the past just provides models for new adventures.

Our early history is sprinkled thickly with brave, handy girls, who were certainly Girl Scouts, though they never belonged to a patrol, nor recited the Girl Scout Laws. But they lived the laws, those strong young pioneers, and we can stretch our hands to them across the years when we read of them. (15)

The handbook gives two examples of "brave, handy girls," first Sacajawea, then Louisa Mat Alcott. The description of Sacajawea praises her bravery, ability to resolve conflict ("she induced the hostile Shoshones to act as guides" [15]), knowledge of nature, resourcefulness, ability to care for herself and others (performing the role of guide "with her papoose on her back" [15]),

and making a mark on the landscape: "Sacajawea had no maps to study—she made maps, and roads have been built over her footsteps" (16). Camp Sacajawea is one of many Girl Scout camps in the United States by the same name; New Jersey alone holds two Camp Sacajaweas. In the camp under study, Sacajawea is referenced physically through the campsite named "Shoshone" and indirectly in the Dining Hall through the large cut-out of a bird, the most prominent single decoration in the Hall. At first glance, the bird looks like an Indian-style Thunderbird. It also resembles the eagle, fitting Geoffrey Turner's research. Turner states that many Native Americans believed that Thunderbirds were eagles or at least had the shape of an eagle (50). To the Algonkians (from the northeastern region of the United States), the Thunderbird, bringer of rain, is a good force (Turner 42). The Dining Hall bird has jagged marks resembling lightning on its chest. One wonders why a Thunderbird was chosen by a camp (why invite rain to a camp?) until one remembers that Sacajawea means "The Bird Woman" (*Scouting for Girls* 15).

Another Indian image, the War Canoe, also hangs in the Dining Hall. Hung in the rafters at the center of the hall for most of the year (and presently on a permanent basis), the Canoe was taken down annually. Joy Kraszewski, the Council employee responsible for business related to the camp, has some memories of the War Canoe. Each year, some staff members would take the Canoe down, repaint it, and "redo" it. Then the staff would take it out on the water on a special occasion, perhaps during the end of the camp ceremony. For this ceremony, held at the end of each session, every girl in camp would make a small raft (about 6ft by 6ft at the largest) by lashing together small sticks. The girl would affix a candle to the raft, then light the candle and set the raft afloat in White Lake. Curiously enough, the War Canoe appears to have little to do with war. Perhaps named to reflect the dominant war-like Indian play Green emphasizes, the Girl Scouts subvert the symbol into a ceremony that emphasizes collective work (fixing the canoe) and unity among campers. Both the War Canoe and the Sacajawea/Thunderbird image bring playing Indian into the Dining Hall.

Domesticity and the Dining Hall/Main House

One can argue that the Dining Hall itself is an artifact of playing Indian—playing Iroquois or Lenape specifically. The Iroquois linguistic grouping is known as the Ganonsyoni, "people of the longhouse" (Grinde 1). Rather than living spread out in different structures, the Iroquois lived with several families, several hearths, under one roof—the roof of the long house. A rectangular structure with a gabled roof, the Dining Hall resembles the long house physically. Speaking metaphorically, the units (named for the different

Iroquois nations) coming together to eat in the Dining Hall echo the different families living together in the long house. Rather than having separate hearths, these groups had separate tables. The units did not cook separately in the Dining Hall, but their food was served by table. A couple of girls from each unit were assigned to help the kitchen staff by bringing the food from the Serving Room to their units' tables.

Similarly, the "Delaware Big House Ceremonial" related by Elisabeth Tooker dictates the use and form of the structure. The end of the sponsor's concluding remarks for the ninth night of the ceremonial also mentions serving practices in the Big House Ceremonial: "Attendants, bring into the House your cooking and your dishes. Each one who brings a dish is to be given some hominy and meat" (Tooker, *Native* 120).¹⁰ Tooker notes that the six ceremony attendants represent the three Delaware clans, one woman and one man from each (*Native* 106).

The Dining Hall resembles the Delaware big house as well as the Iroquois long house. Also rectangular, the Dining Hall has entrances at all four directionals. The western entrance has two doorways—in and out—to the kitchen and the Main House. The girls serving each night resemble the Delaware attendants in that they represent domestic units (the camp units or clans) and their service is temporary, not permanent. While hearths define the Iroquoian long house and doors define the Delaware big house, the sole hearth and multiple doors in the Dining Hall dominate this structure. The Dining Hall's resemblance to the long or big house provides a perfect example of following GS camping standard: "All buildings are simple and in keeping with the objectives of Girl Scouting (GS *Standards* 1957, 18). Appropriately, the manifestation of playing Indian in the Dining Hall-as-long-house emphasizes a domestic metaphor, for the Dining Hall/Main House serves as the locus of domesticity and stability for the entire camp. Where the 1965 Girl Scout *Standards* relate activities to "the arts, the home, and the out-of-doors"(8), the Dining Hall/Main House largely manifests "the home," as much as do the tents where the girls sleep.¹¹

Most obviously, architecture reveals the domestic image. The tents are impermanent and the buildings in the heart of camp are more rugged-looking than the Dining Hall/Main House. About ten or fifteen years ago, the Naval Construction Battalion built a shelter (a peaked roof on posts) at each camp site (Kraszewski). The walled buildings off the road (latrines, waterfront cabin, nature center, infirmary) appear cabin-like. On the other hand, the Main House, like the Ranger's House, is a converted farm house. In design, the Main House is a side gable, four bay, two storey, double pile construction with two end chimneys, attached to the Dining Hall on the east end. The council converted this structure to accommodate the large numbers of people

in an established camp, but the functional use of space is consistent with a farm house. Bedrooms are still upstairs. Bathrooms are in ordinary locations upstairs and down. The hallways appear original. The kitchen is still the kitchen with added "big stuff" such as institutional grade grills, stoves, and freezer (Kraszewski). Only the traditional parlor and dining room have been replaced with the camp office (which also houses bunks now) and additional food service rooms: one with a large oven and storage, a small hallway with a storage closet, the Serving Room and the Dish Room. A change to the eastern chimney acknowledges that the Dining Hall replaces the Main House's living room/parlor as the structure's primary social space. While the chimney appears attached to the Main House like any other farm house, it serves the hearth in the Dining Hall, not a structure in the Main House. The western chimney appears to service some heating device located in the cellar.

In addition to having domestic architecture, the Dining Hall/Main House contains much of the camp's domestic element because of its role in food preparation and consumption. In many cultures, food, nurturance, home, and family are metaphorically related. Food Service both reassures the parents (the children's "real" domestic authority) and establishes the camp's care-taking role through the treatment of food issues in the brochures. Most of the brochures have a brief message on food resembling if not identical to the following: "Nutritious meals are dietician planned. Provision for snacks is made. Food packages should not be sent to camp" (1973). As required in the food service director's job description (GSUSA, *Good Counselors* 18; Carolyn MacDonald), some brochures additionally assure that while girls learn to plan their own meals, camp staff will not allow them to suffer nutritionally in the process: "menus planned by campers for cookouts and trips are checked" (1974). Other brochures impress upon parents that the camp is a wilderness location and that, for this reason, parents need to defer to camp staff at times: "the chipmunks might get the goodies you send" (1975).

As an institution serving food, the camp must also reassure legal authorities as to their competence in taking responsibility for the campers' food service. In a restaurant, only public health and safety (e.g., cleanliness, food storage) are at issue because adults order for themselves and supervise their children. A camp, however, also resembles a school in that the food service staff takes responsibility for meeting the children's nutritional needs. In addition to the legal requirements they meet, the camp staff reassures parents that they can take over the food-related domestic duties through their compliance with American Camping Association standards (earning them ACA accreditation) and national Girl Scouting standards. ACA and GSUSA standards contain specific requirements for cleanliness, staff training and

qualifications, and food preparation and storage. The Girl Scout Councils use the following statement by the ACA insignia printed on their collective brochures:

This ACA insignia is only given to camps that have been officially visited and approved by the American Camping Association for meeting all their standards. Our camps also meet all GSUSA standards and are licensed by their State Health Department. (1978)

Thus, the camp references three organizations with authority to prove their qualifications concerning food, an aspect of the domestic sphere.

The procedure for serving and consuming food in the Dining Hall imitates the domestic sphere. According to GS camping standards and other publications (Mitchell 16-17), girls with dietary restrictions can expect accommodation at camp: "Meals are planned with consideration for the laws of fast and abstinence and for the dietary observances of the various religious faiths represented in the camp" (GS *Standards* 1957, 25). Camp staff reinforces religious practices by leading the girls in singing grace. Appropriate to camp, favorite graces such as "Johnny Appleseed" and "Back of the Bread" include references to nature in the provision of food, resembling the Iroquois ceremonials (Tooker, *Native* 268-81).

Starting with grace, the process of a meal in the Dining Hall resembles a meal in most girls' homes. Food is served "family style," meaning serving bowls and eating utensils sit on the table. Unlike "cafeteria style," where people choose their food from an assembly line and eat from individual trays, "family style" adds a domestic feel to an otherwise institutional space. Conversely, eating in the units had less of a domestic character. Although girls could participate in food preparation in the units, they often cooked individual portions (e.g., hot dogs or s'mores over the grill) and would not all find a place at the table at one time.

Other features of Dining Hall procedures resembled the world back home. Carolyn MacDonald recalls a Camp Sacajawea food custom in which the camp staff played the domestic role of parental authority. When a girl did not like a certain food, she nevertheless was required to eat a small portion, called a "no-thank-you serving." Much like sharing duties with siblings at home, girls take their turns setting and clearing the table, and bringing food to the table.¹² The meal did not end until a member of staff gave the girls permission to leave their seats—just as many families require children to ask their parents' permission to "be excused."

With its sit-down meals, the Dining Hall demonstrates a formality not seen elsewhere in camp—perhaps with the exception of occasions when

clergy visited the camp to conduct a religious service. At one time, a clothing practice reinforced this formality. The 1972 brochure instructs girls to bring the official camp uniform,¹³ which "is the only required item of clothing and is worn on Sundays and for evening meals. "On the "Suggested Clothing List" in the brochure, the word "required" follows "camp uniform." In the 1973 and 1974 "Suggested Clothing List," the word "optional" follows "camp uniform," and no explanatory sentence details its use at camp. By 1975, the camp uniform no longer appears on the "Suggested Clothing List" and is not mentioned anywhere else in the brochure. This custom may have paralleled the old custom in many homes of "dressing for dinner." Although washing up before sitting at the table is still required of many children at home and at camp, the dress requirement has certainly relaxed in both places.

The "civilized" domestic sphere within the camp serves a vital function, yet seems to contradict the nature-based camping narrative. Almost twenty years of camp brochures mention the structure only three times and in only two ways: "the attractive dining hall is dominated by a massive fireplace" (1980, 1981) and "our dining hall accommodates the entire camp and a food service supplies well-balanced meals" (1986). Most brochures describe food accommodations without reference to where it is usually prepared and served. Instead of descriptions of the domestic structures at camp, descriptions of the camp's natural features and the program's activities dominate the literature.

The camping terrain is one of open fields, rolling fields [sic], pine woods and lakes. White Lake is a natural crater lake used for swimming and boating (including sailing). Lake Nicholas is used for the study of pond life as well as for fishing; a marsh area surrounds the "edge of pond" habitat. The camp is close enough to the Delaware River and the Appalachian Trail for both to be explored by advanced campers. (1975)

Daniel Moreau's 1988 article, "Summer Camps: The Golden Oldies," describes the outdoor experience much like Camp Sacajawea's brochures. Sacajawea's literature follows this more general trend in camp literature of emphasizing natural features and outdoor activities. The absence of the Dining Hall/Main Hall in the literature points to its specialness as a counterpoint in the camp at large. Necessary for bulk food service and administrative purposes, this structure runs against the natural world aesthetic of youth camping, yet supports Girl Scout principles of developing girls' skills and responsibilities as citizens through communal living.

Conclusion--A Special Place with Tradition

As a site for most meals, all food storage, the camp's business office, and the gathering area in case the whole camp needs to come indoors, the Dining Hall/Main House obviously has great importance. As a common space, it is a natural choice for physical tributes to tradition. On the exposed rafters of the Dining Hall hang tin can lids, one next to the other, all approximately the same 6" diameter. Each is the creation of a specific group of girls, most represent groups of Counselors-in-Training (CITs). Painted brightly with pictures or words meaningful to the girls they represent, many draw the nature narratives and playing Indian into the Dining Hall. Each lid declares the year, going back as far as the 1950s. When I visited the camp on a cold Presidents' Weekend in February 1995, a troop of Cadettes from Wareton, NJ, were using the Main House as a lodge. During the afternoon, they played games from around the world—running games in the spacious but unheated Dining Hall, sitting games in the heated Serving Room. Meanwhile, one more bright tin can lid sat drying on the serving counter.

University of Pennsylvania

NOTES

1. At first glance, the mixture of verb tenses here may seem erratic and even arbitrary to the reader. However, I have painstakingly edited the text to reflect the variables in the material. While the structures still exist, summer resident camp ceased in the late 1980s, so I describe many of the practices in the past tense, while descriptions of the building are in the present tense (except where changes in structure occur). In terms of Girl Scouting in general, some practices still occur while others have been discontinued, and tense reflects each situation.

2. In *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure*, Victor Turner contrasts van Gennep's use of separation-margin-reaggregation with his use of preliminal-liminal-postliminal, saying that van Gennep employed the second group "with primary reference to spatial transitions" (166).

3. Like Francis, I will use the term "Indian" to denote the white culture's image of the indigenous American people. When speaking about the actual people, I will use "Native American." When quoting others, I will use their terminology.

4. Although the Boy Scouts legally changed their name to Scouting USA, I will continue to use the term Boy Scout for ease of differentiation between the two programs and in recognition that Boy Scouting is not the sole Scouting program in the USA.

5. The Order of the Arrow is not Boy Scouting's highest achievement, but rather a fraternity within Boy Scouting open to both children and adults, which can be

joined by passing certain requirements (e.g., service and an ordeal) without earning the rank of Eagle Scout, Boy Scouting's highest rank. Although Eagle Scout is Boy Scouting's highest rank, an Eagle Scout can also earn the Bronze, Silver, and Gold Palms—Boy Scouting's highest achievement (Boy Scouts of America, *Revised Handbook* 404).

6. Unlike the United States, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts in many countries belong to mixed sex troops with girls registering through the World Association of Girl Guides and Girl Scouts and boys registering through WOSUM.

7. I thank: Robert Blair St. George for noting the prevalence of Iroquois names on the map of Camp Sacajawea and suggesting this line of inquiry.

8. Although Grinde's theory has received some criticism (see Tooker, "The United States Constitution and the Iroquoian League"), the theorized connection between the Iroquoian and United States governments has gained popular acceptance. Therefore, his theory has relevance to my argument, which traces the popular European-American imitations of Native American behavior in Girl Scouting.

9. I use the past tense to refer to the Iroquois here intentionally, but do not intend to imply that the Iroquois no longer exist nor have a culture developing in the present. Rather, in terms of playing "Indian," the image of the Native American is based on their past culture, particularly that from the time of European settlement, which Grinde describes.

10. This presumably refers to a personal dish, while the first mention of dishes refers to serving dishes.

11. When using the word domestic in the following argument, I intend to denote the permanent homes and communities where the girls in the Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout Council live, whether urban, suburban, small town, or rural. Although not intending to deny the impermanent structures of nomadic peoples the name "home," I do not write about those cultures in this work. Webster's definition of "domestic" denotes "belonging to the home or house," "relating to family affairs," and "of one's own country, nor foreign," which I will use to mean "of one's own culture," not geographic area.

12. Fulfilling Dining Hall duties also fulfills an objective of Girl Scout camping: "to provide training in citizenship through the give-and-take of community living in which each girl has a part in the planning and carrying out of the camping program" (*GS Standards* 1957, 7).

13. The camp uniform includes shorts and camp shirts, rather than a dress or skirt outfit (the official dress uniform).

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The Ever-Vigilant Hero: Revaluing the Tale of Tam Lin

Evelyn M. Perry

In the Scots folk tale, *Tam Lin* (Child Ballad #39), a beautiful young knight is captured by the Fairy Queen when he falls from his horse. The Fairy Queen takes Tam as her lover, to live with the Fairy Folk until she tires of him. Once captured by the Queen, Tam is no longer a participant in a mortal reality. At times he can be found in the abandoned halls and gardens of Carterhaugh, but these visits must be secretive (the Queen's hold over him is jealous and powerful), and there is risk and danger involved in his visits to our reality. For when the Fairy Queen tires of Tam Lin, or if he becomes irksome to her, he will be given as a tithe to Hell. Thus, when the hero Janet¹ falls in love with Tam Lin and becomes impregnated by him, he is half dead—dead to a human, mortal existence yet alive among the immortal Fairy Folk. Tam Lin is "living" on borrowed time, and it is Janet's project to save him by pulling him away from the Fairy Queen's powers, back into the mortal world of Carterhaugh and Old Scotland. Should Janet fail in this, Tam Lin will surely be pushed into Hell, into an endless death and suffering from which there is no return.

The folk tale that bears his name occupies a position in the literary canon not unlike Tam Lin's position in Fairy Land. Due to a tradition of devaluation, folk tale has been relegated to children's literature and considered peasant fiction fit for juvenile audiences (Brockman). That children's literature has been devalued as quality literature (as has been discussed so often and so fervently), and that Scots literature continues to be largely ignored by scholars and critics, renders the tale of *Tam Lin* powerless. *Tam Lin* is half dead, enjoying only occasional visits to the literary canon and in danger of being lost forever.

I find myself a frustrated Janet on a recent trip to the book store to find research materials. Collections of folk tales do not generally come with any critical apparatus and, when they do, the critical readings of folk tales are often done in post-Enlightenment, anthropological terms, implying that these tales are ancient artifacts through which we may understand our unenlightened ancestors, but which bear no meaning or relevance to modern audiences. We learn that peasant fiction, generally transmitted orally, served to instruct, to describe social expectations and warn away from transgression. Curiously, it is often the transgressor who becomes the hero, in that he or she has broken "the roles" (for Good, and to preserve them) and lived to tell the tale.

Revisions of folk tales, frequently directed at a youthful reader, leave out elements of the original tale considered inappropriate for their audience (Janet and Tam's sexual relationship, for example, and resulting pregnancy). Removing elements originally intended for instruction leaves only a description of the hero's journey. And without understanding that there are rules, that serious danger comes in transgressing these rules, and that the hero has transgressed for Good (and has won!), the description of the hero's journey is paled. The fears and anxieties that often produce or stand in for Good and Evil (who stole the soul of my dead child?, why are violent people bad?, etc.) are also paled. To put the matter simply, Good loses its force when there is no real threat, no Evil, to compare it to. In our devaluation of children's literature and folk literature, we are ultimately underestimating the child audience's ability and overestimating the adult audience's ability to find meaning and relevance in our literary heritage.

The intentions of this analysis are to further describe current devaluations of folk literature by performing a lengthy close reading the original tale of *Tam Lin* and by assessing, more briefly, the ways in which it has been altered to suit a child audience in Jane Yolen's *Tam Lin*, a young adult audience in Diana Wynne Jones' *Fire and Hemlock*, and an adult audience in Pamela Dean's *Tam Lin*.

The "original" Ballad of *Tam Lin*

The original tale of *Tam Lin* is most easily found in a collection of folk tales, which are often listed by the culture believed to have produced them. While folklore scholars are familiar with this as #39 in F.J. Child's collection, *The English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, the student reader of folklore is more often introduced to the tales through contemporary collections. For this reason, the following analysis is based on the version of *Tam Lin* found in *The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, chosen by John MacQueen and Tom Scott. While this collection is an excellent resource, including authors from Medieval to present-day Scotland and arguing against the passing over of Scots literature, certain historical and thematic material has been left out. For this, we cannot blame the editorial powers of MacQueen and Scott, but the form of the collection. The critical apparatus that does appear in *The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse* is generally verse-specific² and footnoted. The "Introduction" to the collection focuses on the location of material, Scots pronunciation, and changes made in spelling and grammar. Very little bibliographic information and historical orientation is included, and no discussion of the ballad form or of specific ballads is attempted. Thus the reader of *Tam Lin* must encounter the ballad on his or her own terms. A reader so challenged will

often fall back on the existing literary valuations to which he or she has been exposed. If critical apparatuses do anything aside from enabling a greater understanding of the text, they assert the perceived significance of that text. A ballad without footnotes implies that there is nothing complicated, and so nothing relevant or important, to be discovered in it. Thus, the cultural mores contained in *Tam Lin* continue to be unsung, and our valuation of the folk tale remains limited, when we perceive it as obvious or simple.

MacQueen and Scott have done well to celebrate Scots literature (thus saving it from being categorized as—at best—Anglo-Scots literature) and their choosing of folk literature in support of that project is commendable. Ironically, it is one component of literary devaluation, the attitude that folk literature helps explain the simple people of a simple time, that allows *Tam Lin* to have a place in the collection at all. MacQueen and Scott's audience receives the ballad of *Tam Lin* in its "original" form, as a contemporary audience for the tale would have received it, to aid us in our estimation of ancient belief systems.

I have purposely put "original" in quotation marks here, as the need to ascertain author or intention in folk literature is extremely problematic, if at all necessary. Folk literature, due to the oral nature of its transmission, the changing abilities of the teller and demands of the audience, earns itself a special privilege. As suggested by the very title of the genre, folk literature can be understood as enjoying a communal authorship. The ballad of *Tam Lin*, as it appears in *The Oxford Book of Scottish Verse*, is "original" only in that it has been recorded, that it has been fixed in time, in its oral state. The reader should be mindful that, prior to this recording, the tale of *Tam Lin* was shaped by the culture(s)³ that produced it. Contribution and augmentation are the life-blood of folk literature. While we appreciate the original *Tam Lin*, we should be mindful that retellings keep the tale alive, defy the obsolescence that is the threat of recording and publishing. Here we must dance on a very fine line. We must choose between immortalizing the tale by fixing it and making it accessible to a larger public, allowing it to live on, to change and grow through retellings as is its nature, but we must see to it that such retellings do not distill the relevance of the tale and force it into the devaluations inherent in literary categorization. The question is not *whether* folk literature should be made available, but *how* it is interpreted and made available, and what that says about current audiences. In the terms of this analysis, the original *Tam Lin* not only provides a post-Enlightenment reader with a (however incomplete) understanding of a more distant time, but gives us a base from which we can identify and assess the augmentations made during our time.

The original *Tam Lin* has been recorded as a ballad. I have used the terms ballad and tale interchangeably above, as we receive the story in both forms,

but the significant differences in form should be noted. Ballads are made to be sung which, no doubt, helped them be remembered and repeated as an oral art form. The surviving original tune of *Tam Lin* can be found in the nationalist and antiquarian collections of Robert Burns.⁴ Prior to Burns, text was recorded apart from tune; thus, we find the ballad written in a verse form congenial to instrumentation, but without musical notation. The stanza/verse,

Janet has kilted her green kirtle
 A little aboon her knee,
And she has broded her yellow hair
 A little aboon her bree,
And she's awa to Carterhaugh
 As fast as she can hie. (276)

is repeated three times throughout the ballad, suggesting its function as the chorus of the ballad. This ordering differs greatly from modern instrumentation, in that the chorus does not appear after a set number of verses. It seems important that the chorus verse/stanza is six lines long, following an ABCBDB rhyme scheme, while the bulk of the verses are four lines long with a simpler ABCB rhyme scheme. However, certain other stanzas are six lines long, and the rhyme scheme of both four and six line verses is not consistent. It does not seem that the six-line stanzas are any more crucial to the plot of the tale than the four-line stanzas. Inconsistencies of this nature are common to the written version of an oral form and should not dictate our estimation of the ballad as less literary or lacking in quality for resisting the strict forms of poetics. Indeed, it is inconsistencies such as these which continue to transmit the oral nature of the ballad, and allow for verbal and musical interpretations and retellings.⁵ The success with which the plot of the story is transmitted allows *Tam Lin* to exist outside of instrumentation, though any retelling requires interpretation. The reteller of folk literature, whether the oral story teller, the musician or the penning author, has been both a reader and a transmitter of the tale. The narrative facts in question, to be held back or elaborated by the author, are contained in this "original" tale.

Interestingly, the original tale does not open with the chorus verse/stanza as we might expect, but with a warning that piques our curiosity and introduces the dangers with which Janet must contend,

O I forbid you, maidens a',
 That wear gowd in your hair,
To come or gae by Carterhaugh,
 For young Tam Lin is there. . .
There's nane that gaes by Carterhaugh

But they leave him a wad,
Either their rings, or green mantles,
Or else their maidenhead. (276)

Within these opening stanzas we are warned away from the dwelling of Tam Lin and the fairy folk. We learn that these are dangerous places not to be tried. We learn also that those who pass near are assured of their safety if they leave an offering for Tam Lin. These offerings have great value, they are jewels, clothing, and female purity—all monetary tokens bartered or exchanged for advancement. Certainly the dangers must be great to demand such loss, though they are not overtly stated.

The opening stanzas are followed by the chorus, in which we learn that Janet intends to risk a visit to Carterhaugh. As yet, we are unsure of her motives for doing so, but the fact that she has "kilted her green kirtle/A little aboon her knee," thus displaying her legs, or that she has called attention to her face by "brod(ing) her yellow hair/A little aboon her bree," combine with the sexual threat of the opening stanzas in suggesting the form of danger involved in a visit to Carterhaugh. While unclear as to her motives, her bold flirtation with danger (both literally and figuratively, it seems) introduces us to the quality of Janet's character. She comes off as courageous, perhaps foolishly so, strong, determined, and sexually alive. We like Janet the way we like many rebels. She is defying authority, breaking somewhat unexamined rules, and we cheer her on from the margins with hope and trepidation.

Upon reaching the well at Carterhaugh, Janet pulls "a double rose," which allows Tam Lin to materialize and to repeat the threat,

Why pu's thou the rose, Janet,
And why breaks thou the wand?
Or why comes thou to Carterhaugh
Withoutten my command? (276)

It seems that Janet's purposeful destruction of the natural world (through the somewhat rare double rose⁶) functions as a signal to Tam Lin. This kind of relationship between the natural world and the unnatural world is a common one in folk literature, and the audience is less surprised by its thematic appearance and use than by Janet's defense,

'Carterhaugh, it is my ain,
My daddie gave it me;
I'll come and gang by Carterhaugh,
And ask nae leave at thee.' (277)

Janet's motives for seeking Tam Lin at Carterhaugh are here revealed. She has claims upon the land which Tam Lin and the fairy folk keep her from enjoying. Her claims on Carterhaugh are just, as determined by the rules of her culture. Like the true folk hero, she is battling Evil (seen as unnatural) with Good (natural and deserved). Janet is going against the authority of the warning and thus breaking the rules, but she is breaking them in order to preserve order and control. Her resistance to the rules is temporary and is performed to allow those rules to be enforced and perpetuated. For this, and for Janet's reaction to the arrogance of Tam Lin, we continue to support her character.

Janet returns to the court, and it is then that we hear of her pregnancy,

Out then spak an auld grey knight,
Lay oer the castle wa,
And says, 'Alas, fair Janet, for thee
But we'll be blamed a' . . .
'Hauld your tongue, ye auld fac'd knight,
Some ill death may ye die!
Father my bairn on whom I will,
I'll father nane on thee' . . .
Out then spak her father dear,
And he spak meek and mild;
'And ever alas, sweet Janet,' he says,
'I think thou gaes wi' child' . . .
'If that I gae wi child, father,
Mysel maun bear the blame;
There's neer a laird about your ha
Shall get the bairn's name. (277-78)

Despite the fact that Janet's sexual encounter with Tam Lin is not detailed or described, we immediately learn of its having taken place. By now, we are not shocked by Janet's response to the "auld grey knight" or to her father, for it is in keeping with her impassioned willfulness. We are, however, somewhat concerned with Janet's future, as is Janet. After describing the fairy marvels surrounding Tam, the father of her child, she returns to the well at Carterhaugh to summon Tam Lin by pulling on a double rose. It is by Janet's questioning of Tam Lin and his mortality that we come to know his tale; how he was caught by the Fairy Queen falling from his horse and, thus caught, is within her powers. Our sympathy for Tam Lin grows while he describes the fairy land and the tithe-system the Fairy Queen upholds,

'And pleasant is the fairy land,
But, an eerie tale to tell,
Ay at the end of seven years

We pay a tiend to hell;
I am sae fair and fu o flesh,
I'm feard it be mysel. (279)

It is further disclosed that Janet and Tam's affair is very well timed. The tithe to Hell is paid, appropriately enough, on Halloween night, the very night of this visit to Carterhaugh. At midnight the fairy folk will ride, and "they that wad their true-love win/At Miles Cross they maun bide." Janet and Tam may win their true loves, thus rescuing Tam from the fairy world, procuring Janet and her bairn's future, restoring Carterhaugh to mortal control, and outsmarting the Fairy Queen and the devil both.

The tale of Tam Lin holds within its frame a series of transgressions made on both sides: On one, Janet's visit to Carterbaugh, extramarital sex and pregnancy. On the other, Tam's visits to the mortal world, and a disruption of the tithe system. And on both sides, outlawed love. The transgressions made against the roles of the natural, mortal world, the Good, keep the unnatural, immortal world, the Evil with all its dangers, at bay. Keeping Evil at bay ensures the survival of the Good and keeps intact its system of roles. Nevertheless, protecting the authority and control of Good through transgression, quite symmetrically, requires a transgression of the roles of Evil. Janet must wait for Tam Lin at Miles Cross, pull him from his horse (much as the Fairy Queen did), and withstand certain tortures before he is fully restored to the mortal world.

'They'll turn me in your arms, lady,
 Into an esk and adder. . .
'They'll turn me to a bear sae grim,
 And then a lion bold. . .
'Again they'll turn me in your arms
 To a red het gaud of aim . . .
'And last they'll turn me in your arms
 Into the burning gleed;
Then throw me into well water,
 O throw me in with speed . . .
'And then I'll be your ain true-love,
 I'll turn a naked knight;
Then cover me with your green mantle,
 And cover me out o sight' (281)

As these transgressions are performed, and these tortures are suffered, for the benefit of Good, they are understood as Just. Indeed, the transgressions against the roles of Evil are hardly seen as transgressions at all. From the outset, the roles of Evil are described as something which must be feared and

avoided, not upheld. For Janet to help Tam transgress the control of an alternate authority is not perceived and evaluated in the same light as her own transgressions. But the balance and symmetry of these two systems are necessary to our appreciation of the tale. To corrupt the dangers of Evil through oversimplification or the tenets of Good through purification, upsets the balance that gives beauty to the tale and detracts from Janet's ultimate accomplishment: the victory of Good over Evil.

But the original Tam Lin contains a final warning. The Fairy Queen will have us understand that the vigilance with which we must battle Evil is constant. Janet's success is seen as temporary, and an appeal is made to the hero in all of us to help maintain her success.

Jane Yolen's *Tam Lin*

Although I was fortunate in knowing that Jane Yolen's picture book retelling of *Tam Lin* exists, it can be accessed when conducting a research materials search. But it takes a critical Janet, a transgressor of canon valuations, to allow a children's version of *Tam Lin* into a critical analysis.

Jane Yolen's retelling remains mostly true to the original ballad and provides some delightful expansions on the tale. According to this version, the offerings left at Carterhaugh are tokens proving the bravery of boys visiting the enchanted ruins on a dare. Jennet goes to Carterhaugh on her sixteenth birthday, the day of her inheritance, despite the fears and admonitions of her parents. When she returns to rescue Tam Lin, she brings with her Holy Water and dirt from a garden. Such aspects of Yolen's *Tam Lin* all serve to embellish the original ballad. The tokens left by the boys describe the tenuous relationship between the natural world and the fairy world. As young people will, the boys challenge danger and feel obligated to prove their bravery. But, as Yolen explains, they do not stay for long, and these expeditions give them nightmares,

There *was* an awful smell to the place, like apples gone bad, or dead mice in the walls, or dirty water in an unused well. And there *were* moving shadows where no shadows should be. Those few who went to visit Carterhaugh did not stay for long, and they had bad dreams for many nights after. (2)

Despite bold resistances to the verity of fairy folk and the unknown, it is asserted that such things do, indeed, exist. It is clear to both the characters and the reader that the elements of danger in this tale, the Evil, can only be—at best—cautiously questioned.

Jennet herself has visited Carterhaugh. She feels it is hers by birth-right

and has taunted the boys for appearing afraid. It is explained that Jennet's willingness to visit Carterbaugh is in part due to her culture's dismissal of fairy folk. She describes such beliefs as "nursery tales" that do not intimidate her nor dictate her behavior. Although she espouses this attitude from her culture, her strong-willed character is, as in the original ballad, not appropriate for her age or gender. Her daring is not the harmless daring of the boys, but the very thing that will keep her from marrying and achieving the "proper" role in her world. This tension between what Jennet has taken from, versus how she responds to, her society is further detailed. For while Jennet is transgressing against her appropriate social role, she brings with her Holy Water and garden earth, blessed by Christianity and firmly rooted in her world, seen and understood as powerful and Good.

Such elements as these, which Yolen has taken care to include in her retelling, are true to the story in that they do not force the narrative away from the original and in that they actually emphasize the characterization and thematic concerns of the tale. But lest we forget that her retelling is in the form of a picture book, and intended for a very young audience, it must be pointed out that the sexual aspects of the tale have been entirely left out.

The two visits to Carterhaugh made by Jennet in the original ballad have been collapsed into one in Jane Yolen's *Tam Lin*. This allows the significant meeting of Jennet and Tam, their love, and Tam's story, all to be portrayed to the audience without sex and pregnancy being involved. The most explicit sexual role described is Tam's allusion to falling from the Fairy Queen's favor ("But now she loves another") which explains Tam's upcoming doom but does not exactly describe Tam as the Queen's lover. And though Jennet finds pleasure in holding Tam's hand, when he embraces her to seal their pact, it is only his voice that "kisses" Jennet ("His words were like kiss—cold, distant, and fierce"). The creative way in which Yolen implies the touching that romantic love involves does not achieve the actual threat and anxiety motivating Jennet and Tam in the original ballad. As the two scenes are collapsed and their sexual union is avoided, the love between Jennet and Tam is rather quickly produced. The reality of their circumstances is minimized. Within moments, Jennet meets Tam, falls in love with him, and agrees to risk herself on his behalf. Those symmetrical elements of the tale described earlier, Tam's transgressions, and our concern for Tam's, Jennet's and their child's welfare, are lost. Thus we are left with the hero's journey, pale in scope and severity. The delicate balance existing between Good and Evil is reduced, and this reduction of Evil works against our understanding of the power of Good. Without the sexuality of the original ballad, the socio-literary relevance of *Tam Lin* is disastrously undermined, and the balanced beauty of the tale is gone.

The effect of the diminished tale is felt most acutely at its conclusion. In

Yolen's *Tam Lin*, Jennet and Tam are married, produce several children, and "live happily ever after." The Fairy Queen's final threat to the couple, the understanding that we must never relax our fight against Evil, and the touching appeal to the hero in all of us, have been plowed under by the promise of happily ever after and the distillation of Evil.

But the threat of losing *Tam Lin*, and all folk tale, to a series of distillations is not the only danger here. Modern attempts to historicize and understand the Middle Ages also suffer. Since most folk tales are set in the Middle Ages, and our reading of folk tales comes mainly from the altered children's version described above, our impressions and reconstructions of that time are likewise altered. Our first attempts at historicization⁷ render the Middle Ages as intellectually simple, without sex, without real danger (Fairy Folk and tithes to Hell are most certainly not real!). When social constructions of Good and Evil are not literarily expressed, an understanding of the complexity of Medieval morality is lost.

Yolen's *Tam Lin* is set in Old Scotland. Here the classic rendering of the Middle Ages as sexless and without "real" Evil has taken place. This particular picture book, as with many, will introduce an audience—however young—to another time in history and to other facets of human existence. The devaluations of children's literature, folklore and literary history too easily accepted are learned and perpetuated through our first texts.

It is important to note that, while Yolen includes a brief synopsis and discussion of the original ballad at the end of her book, she includes the same creative avoidance of sex in that discussion as she does in her retelling. A loyal reader of *Tam Lin*, Yolen pays homage to her source and the beauty of folklore by mentioning it. She explains some historical and geographical references and examines certain plot elements she has expanded or interpreted, but nowhere is there any mention of the sexuality she has avoided. Even when quoting stanzas of the original ballad to describe her influences and concerns, those stanzas involving Tam and Jennet's sexual relationship and Jennet's pregnancy, are completely left out. Although the synopsis is clearly written for an adult audience, Yolen is perpetuating the belief that such things are not for the young and ignoring the structural and thematic relevance they bear on the text. She is ultimately not allowing the adult reader any agency in the interpretation and appreciation of the tale. It is my opinion that Yolen's power as reteller could have been especially useful here. For having chosen to dismiss a crucial aspect of the tale, mentioning it and examining her reasons for leaving it out would have allowed her to remain true to current perceptions of children and children's literature (and publish her work) as well as to the original ballad. This final relegation suggests, instead, that Yolen has been conditioned by the literary devaluations with which this paper argues.

Diana Wynne Jones' *Fire and Hemlock*

Presumably, a young adult retelling of *Tam Lin*, as we have in Diana Wynne Jones' *Fire and Hemlock*, would allow the author to involve more of those original elements denied in Jane Yolen's *Tam Lin*. Interestingly, Polly, the Janet⁸ of *Fire and Hemlock*, is a college-aged woman looking back through her adolescent years. The climax of the novel is written with Polly as that older woman. This enables Jones to describe her characters' sexuality more accurately. Although the sex act is still not a part of Jones' retelling, her characters enjoy the sensuality of romantic love in a more realistic manner. Polly's physical appreciation of Thomas (Tam) includes fantasies of his naked back, and her grandmother recognizes Polly's physical love-response with concerned understanding. In short, the Polly of *Fire and Hemlock* is allowed the sexual persona and role denied to her in Yolen's *Tam Lin*.

This allowance of sexuality be seen as being "truer" to the original ballad, but *Fire and Hemlock's* retelling of *Tam Lin* is rather complicated and the reader should be warned away from oversimplifying the relationship between the novel and the tale. In *Fire and Hemlock*, Jones uses both *Tam Lin* and the tale of *Thomas the Rhymer* (Child #37). This seems quite right since, as Child mentions in his annotations to the ballad, "Thomas the Rhymer appears in the last lines with very great distinction, but it is not clear what part he has in the story," (335). Briefly, in *Fire and Hemlock*, the Fairy Queen has "stolen" Thomas from the mortal world by striking a bargain: stunning musical talents for his soul. The Queen has power over him, but Thomas was willing to barter his mortal freedom (which makes him somewhat less sympathetic but perhaps more realistic a character). Polly and Thomas' friendship develops over seven years, and together they discover that, just as Thomas the Rhymer speaks what becomes, Thomas has the ability to make the stories they write "turn real." Jones relies equally on both tales, and several other literary texts (usually fantasy) play a role in that Polly and Thomas' friendship is based on a love of books and writing. The books that Thomas sends to Polly hold clues as to his condition, but due to youth and the bewitchings of the Fairy Queen, it takes some time for Polly to make this discovery. Once she learns how to save Thomas, she walks to Miles Cross (in the town square of an English village this time) in order to rescue him. The Fairy Queen turns Thomas into many things while Polly perseveres in her love, and again the Janet wins. But here Polly and Thomas' victory is not so neatly established, and the Queen's final threat forces them, as the novel closes, to negotiate their language and relationship so that the Queen cannot reclaim Thomas. They must collaboratively write their reality and be vigilant in maintaining their victory over Evil.

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Relying as it does on two tales, *Fire and Hemlock* is somewhat harder to find when researching *Tam Lin*. I learned of it, rather accidentally, through Children's Literature specialists.⁹ The syncretism involved in using folk literatures to produce a "new" text is an endless source of delight for me, as I believe it was for Jones. Jones does not insist on calling her novel a retelling, but faithfully includes *Tam Lin* and *Thomas the Rhymmer* in an intertextual manner. While plot elements from both tales are used to structure and narrate *Fire and Hemlock*, they are also included in their original forms as two texts describing Thomas' situation. Polly consciously reads the tales and considers how they inform her reality. This allows the tales to exist in the original without offending potential audiences. The way in which these tales are the root of this novel, describe folk literature as the root of all literature—thus re-establishing its importance and vitality.

Fire and Hemlock is set in modern-day England. This brings folk literature forward and asserts its relevance. As C. W. Sullivan III explains in "Traditional Ballads and Modern Children's Fantasy: Some Comments on Structure and Intent,"

Jones' *Fire and Hemlock*, set, as it is, in the twentieth century more obviously represents a conscientious concern for authenticity. Jones had to create a twentieth-century setting into which she could incorporate the essential and the fantastic elements of "Tam Lin" and "Thomas the Rhymmer" and, at the same time, alter the surface details of those ballads so that they fit into the twentieth-century setting without losing their traditional integrity. (146)

That the original tales are included, sex and Evil and all, allows the young adult reader to historicize the Middle Ages more accurately, for it is not being received in a distilled fashion. That the final triumph over the Fairy Queen is not quite absolute reinforces the understanding that Evil does exist, highlighting Good, and reasserting the very real nature of both.

I believe that sex and Evil and "unnatural" behavior have been left out of children's/young adult literature in order to appeal to the current buying audience—an audience trained in Judaeo-Christian morality. Our culture continues to insist that such things destroy the purity and innocence of childhood that we believe in and romanticize. Our estimations of pre-adolescents and adolescents reading young adult literature allow for sexual feelings to exist, but continue to enforce their suppression (Hunt). Early audiences, who would have heard *Tam Lin* in its original, were less apt to romanticize childhood, thus allowing the tale to include these elements as necessary parts of human life.

It seems quite odd to me that we should try and keep our children ignorant of a world in which we participate by refashioning folk tales, the literary roots of our world. As we distill their literature, we misrepresent the world that children, like adults, are all participants in. As Mae Durham Rogers asserts in "From Folklore to Literature,"

I am committed to the idea that even though the tales were not meant for children, although they have listened to them throughout history, the tales belong to children as much as they belong to scholars. We must look at the adjustments and alterations made by retellers and editors. . . . This kind of change, for me, is a form of condescension. And condescension has no place in our work with children. (63-64)

The relegation of children, and children's literature, as "other"—as less "real," less relevant for celebrated innocence and less intellectually valuable—underestimates, and undermines, our children's ability to negotiate the world in which they live, and forces folk literature into a misunderstood and unappreciated art form. That our reading of the Middle Ages is primarily constructed through children's literature and folklore only adds to the argument for more accurate representations and valuations of both.

While Yolen tells a charming tale, she not a crusader in the positive revaluation of folk literature. I believe that Jones, however, has taken an important step forward by honestly examining her sources and methods. Ironically, just as the anthropological devaluation of folk literature allowed *Tam Lin* to be included in MacQueen and Scott's collection, the devaluation of children's literature has allowed for Jones' *Fire and Hemlock*. We do not often find children's literature separated in terms of genre, perhaps because we do not see its audience as being capable of making and understanding such distinctions. Thus we find that the relegation of folklore is not as instrumental in the world of children's literature and the successful arguments made by and for Jones' *Fire and Hemlock* can be accessed by a larger audience. Once the devaluation of children's literature has been established, further need for devaluation is unnecessary. So while we turn our noses up at children's literature, we also turn our noses up at a literary world where folklore, science fiction, and realism live side-by-side.

Adult retellings of folk literature, however, do not enjoy this literary equality.

Pamela Dean's *Tam Lin*

With the employee of a book store as my guide, I look up T-A-M L-I-N in the store's computer. I am, at this point, more concerned with locating Yolen's

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text, so when I discover that there is another out there, I am especially delighted. "Can you give me an author?" I say to the man.

"The author is Pa Dean."

"Pa Dean? Are you sure? I've never heard of Pa Dean," I respond.

He looks at me as if I have two heads. Really, I did not mean to be rude, but Pa Dean just sounded so hokey, like someone trying to be a fat, cozy storyteller of the old American South. Well, that can be useful after all, I think. Or perhaps someone's name really *is* Pa Dean. I copy the name out onto my notebook and thank the somewhat disgruntled employee.

But I have no luck in finding any books by Pa Dean in the children's section (and I'm afraid it did not occur to me to look anywhere else). Finally, I move operations to a more reputable children's book store, where they tell me that they have a P. Dean's *Tam Lin*, in the adult section. I am overjoyed, folklore for adults! I rush over to the (adult) folklore section. Lots of structural anthropology and some collections, but no P. Dean. I try mythology, no P. Dean. I even try history. No P. Dean. Back to the customer service desk, only to discover that Pa Dean is Pamela Dean. While I am dismayed that no one caught this data entry error, I am more disappointed in myself for not questioning it, and for assuming that the familial "Pa" would be an author of children's literature. Despite my argument with literary devaluation, I have nevertheless employed it in my research. The powerful tradition of literary devaluation runs deep in all of us. I make a mental note to remedy my own appalling behavior.

When I finally locate Pamela Dean's *Tam Lin*, it is in the Science Fiction section. It is *folklore*, I think to myself, fantasy *at best*. And now it's not only been relegated to Science Fiction (yet another genre of undeserved ridicule), but it has been falsely relegated. Still, I am gripping an adult retelling of folk literature in my hands. Turning the glossy paper back in my hands, I read Terri Windling's editorial note on the back,

ONCE UPON A TIME...

. . . fairy tales were written for young and old alike. It is only in the last century that they have been deemed fit only for children and stripped of much of their original complexity, sensuality, and power to frighten and delight.

I couldn't have said it better myself, I think. Feelings of warmth and friendship for Terri Windling and Pamela Dean well out of my heart.

Upon reading Dean's *Tam Lin*, I find that those qualities that have been "stripped" through retellings, have here been reinserted. The "original

complexity" of the tale, the severity of Tam's predicament and Janet's pregnancy, return. The "sensuality," physical descriptions of romantic love and sexuality, are explored and detailed. "The power to frighten and delight" in Dean's retelling keeps me riveted to the pages of *Tam Lin* for three days straight.

Dean's *Tam Lin* has been set on a Mid-Western college campus. The Janet¹⁰ of her tale, an entering Freshman, stumbles upon a world of mystery. Professor Medeous, Janet's advisor and the Director of the Classics department, is the Fairy Queen. Medeous has stolen Tam in exchange for his immortality. Tam's seven-year stint is explained, in the terms of higher education, as having resulted from a continual switch in majors. This kind of unpredictable, somewhat disloyal, behavior has irritated Medeous, and she plans for him to be the next tithe paid to Hell. Students following a major in Classics make up the fairy folk, but we learn that several of them have been with us for thousands of years—some are even original players from Shakespeare's troupe. Certain attitudes towards authors, Shakespeare, Keats, Wordsworth, have developed in the fairy folk depending on the authors' refusal of the Fairy Queen's offers. The novel is extraordinarily intertextual, as characters discuss and argue the merits of literary history. These discussions, as well as a description of college life, comprise much of the text, and we follow Janet into the end of her Junior year.

Following a casual, sexual relationship with one of Shakespeare's players, Janet develops a friendship with Tam. She is impregnated by him in a one-night fling. Her situation is revealed to her while she learns of Tam's impending doom. Janet battles with the decision, finally deciding to go to Miles Cross (here a wooden bridge on campus) on Halloween night and pull him from his horse. In keeping with the original ballad, Tam goes through a series of transformations in Janet's arms before finally being thrown into a stream and returned to a mortal existence.

The climax of Tam's rescue, like much of the novel, accurately follows the language of the original ballad. Indeed, the language is almost exact and, if it has been altered, it has been added to (never taken from). Professor Medeous, the Fairy Queen, responds to Tam's rescue as does the original character,

"Oh, had I known," she said in her own voice, but with a wild note and a wilder accent, Scottish flavored with Welsh or French or something nobody knew. . . . "Tam Lin," she said, "what this night I did see," and she looked back at Janet, "I had looked him in the eye, and turned him to a tree." . . .

"There will be two then" said Medeous. . . . "In seven years, we shall have two." She looked hard at Thomas. "And two dearer," she said, clearly. (450)

In her use of the original language of *Tam Lin*, and the threat made to Janet and her child's future, Dean returns the power, the gravity and scope of the original ballad, to her reader.

Dean's retelling of *Tam Lin*, her modernization and expansion, coexist with the beauty and symmetry contained in the original. While her narrative departs from the original greatly, to include current studies in literature and the life of a modern college student, she does not leave out any aspect of the original ballad. This is a retelling that truly adds to and enhances the tale of *Tam Lin* without distilling it.

Unlike Jones' Fire and Hemlock, the tale of *Tam Lin* is not a part of Dean's intertextuality. In Dean's *Tam Lin*, the tale is happening for the first time. No references to the tale help Janet to save her beloved. But just as Jones' reference to the tale legitimizes her selected use of it, Dean's sensitivity to the language and themes of the tale allows her retelling to have a respectful vision of the original.

It can be said that Dean has the license to write in the questionable morality and danger of the original ballad because she writes for an adult audience. That Dean is writing for adults is clear, for her novel requires an understanding of literary history and young adulthood. Nevertheless, Dean is accomplishing something that Yolen and Jones' texts do not. She is returning the original ballad to adults (a large portion of its original audience) in an embellished state. Dean's attention to the original makes an elegant argument for the relevance of folk literature to the adult world. That this argument has been confined and devalued as Science Fiction is the fault of the tradition of literary hierarchy maintained by both publishers and critics.

The preservation of folk tales, like the preservation of Good, requires constant vigilance. Allowing beautiful tales such as *Tam Lin* to visit the literary canon, or appreciating them only for the glimpses they provide of an older time and audience, is simply not enough. The arrogance of current scholarship, in which the relevance and weight of our literary roots are belittled and distilled, keep us from the pleasure and scope those literary roots provide. The devaluation of folk literature, like children's/young adult literature and Scots literature, is a threat to our literary heritage and social estimations. Our readers are not above devalued texts, they are being robbed of them. To classify such texts as "other," as lacking in literary quality, and to relegate them to shelves and collections outside of prized literature, fixes them as half-dead and superfluous—a fate of which they are most undeserving.

Perhaps the most poignant unrecognized aspect of *Tam Lin*, in terms of this analysis, is its appeal to the hero in all of us. As it calls us to action, the beauty of *Tam Lin* seems to reach across time and force us to reevaluate the aims and directions of literary scholarship. Folklore scholars today must function as "Janets." This is not an easy role to inhabit, but that of hero never has been. We must battle the short-sighted ridicule of canon valuation. We must transgress the rules, as I have tried to do in my use of children's literature for a critical analysis and intentional avoidance of the use of critical materials that I feel only add to current devaluation and misinterpretation. Such transgressions, as we have seen, serve to preserve the Good. This argument has been staged as a call for reassessment and appreciation of literature—the very art form we feel called to defend. In denying folk literature, as well as several other forms, a place in the canon, we are undermining and weakening the whole of literary art. Those rules of scholarship (say something useful about prized texts, back yourself up with a multitude of resources, use only the neutral, thesis-driven form of writing...) here being transgressed, are being transgressed in order to preserve a worthy component of literature. Whatever successes the "Janets" might have are temporary, for the relegation of literature has become a constant and traditional process. Thus, we are required to be the ever-vigilant hero. We must be precise in locating the attitudes of devaluation in our own research, as well as in the research of others. We must reclaim our beloved and struggle to defend its position.

Scholars, critics and authors are, in a very real sense, retellers. It is ironic that the practices of the reteller are celebrated while the retellings themselves are denigrated. A respect for the "original" tale, and interpretations that allow the tale to grow and change according to its nature, serve to keep our literary traditions alive. My hopes are that this paper will also serve as a call to the hero in all of us.

University of Rhode Island

NOTES

1. I am here purposeful in describing Janet as a hero (and not a heroine) since I believe that (male) heroes are allowed certain qualities of strength and character denied to (female) heroines. The Janet of *Tam Lin* is truly a hero as she champions a powerless man by battling another woman. It is a pity that more female characters do not occupy this heroic role and that, when they do, we do not celebrate it equally.

2. By verse-specific I mean simply the explication and location of place names that appear in a given text, of "real life" characters alluded to, and the glossing of obsolete or culturally-specific vocabulary.

Perry

3. By adding an (s) to culture here, my intention is to broaden the accepted definition of culture to include subcultures-audiences and concerns-that may be regionally or historically specific.

4. Burns was among the first to combine text and tune in print. For the tune of *Tam Lin*, see *Burns: Poems and Songs*, edited by James Kinsley, 658.

5. One example of a (late) 20th century musical retelling can be found in the Fairport Convention's recording of "Tam Lin," in which the chorus verse/stanza is repeated in a more regular fashion.

6. There is reason to believe that double flowers, like grafted trees, due to their rarity or the unnaturalness of their construction, were said to grow near entrances to the fairy world. The Queen of "Sir Orfeo" is stolen away by the fairies when she falls asleep beneath an "ympe" (grafted) tree.

7. Much of medieval literature has been relegated to a devalued, juvenile standing (the King Arthur and Robin Hood legends, and other Romances, for example). It can be suggested that that which has not been so devalued (Chaucer's poetry, monastic manuscripts, Dante's visit to the afterlife) are texts in which the realities of human existence are inseparable from the text, or to which the colonizing character of Christianity has lent its valuation. Pedagogically, it should be noted that students of canon-valued medieval literature are often surprised and frustrated by the need to insert "new" estimations of the Middle Ages into an existing paradigm informed by altered folk literature.

8. I believe that Jones chose these names to help "modernize" the tale, and that it is in keeping with the English setting for her novel and her equal reliance on "Thomas the Rhymer."

9. I am much indebted to Susan P. Bloom, Cathryn M. Mercier, and Heather L. Walker of The Center for the Study of Children's Literature at Simmons College, Boston, MA for aiding me in this analysis.

10. Dean's characters are rightly called by their original names, Janet (Carter) and Thomas (Lane). Thomas is shortened to Tam by the fairy folk of the novel.

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CFS: 1996 Annual Meeting

President Libby Tucker called the section meeting to order at 7:33 PM on Thursday, 17 October, at the 1996 AFS meetings held in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. She passed on greetings to all present from members who were unable to attend.

Libby then summarized the section's major activities during the preceding year. These included: (a) the Aesop Prize Committee's overseeing the production and distribution to publishers of Aesop Prize and Aesop Accolade book stickers, and (b) Priscilla Ord's and Ruth Stotter's exploration of an awards ceremony for Aesop Prize and Accolade winners on 8 November 1996 at the Library of Congress. Since only one award-winning author could attend on that date, however, the tentative plans were canceled with the hope that a more convenient format would result in an award ceremony being held in future years. Secretary/Treasurer Danielle Roemer then gave her report. As of September 1996, the membership in the section had increased from a previous eighty four members to a present total of ninety one members: seventy two domestic and nineteen non-domestic. Non-domestic members are based in Australia, Canada, Denmark, England, Finland, France, Germany, Indonesia, Ireland, Japan, Romania, Taiwan, and Wales. Danielle also reported that, as of 31 August 1996, the section's general operating funds account stood at \$2573.41. Regarding other financial matters, to date the section has spent approximately \$2000.00 on the production and mailing expenses for the Aesop Prize and Aesop Accolade book stickers. Income from these sales has thus far amounted to \$269.34.

Editor Chip Sullivan reported that the 1995-1996 volume of the *Review* ran approximately \$350.00 over the production funds supplied by the East Carolina University English Department. Chip then raised the possibility of a special double issue of the *Review* tentatively scheduled for May of 1998 and marking the 20th anniversary of the Children's Folklore Section. As presently conceived, this issue would include a comprehensive index for the journal. Simon Bronner has agreed to write a history of the section for that issue.

Libby Tucker announced Susan Charles Groth (University of Pennsylvania) as the winner of the 1995-1996 Newell Prize for her essay, "Here We Sit Like Birds in the Wilderness Waiting for Our Dessert": The Girl Scout Program and Ordering Space in Camp Sacajawea's Dining Hall/Main House." This year's prize includes a check for \$250.00.

Libby then presented a report from the Opie Prize Committee Chair Margaret MacDonald, who could not attend the meeting. On behalf of the committee, Margaret recommended as the 1995-1996 Opie Prize winner the volume *Children's Folklore: A Sourcebook*, edited by Brian Sutton-Smith, Jay Mechling, Thomas W. Johnson, and Felicia R. McMahon (Garland 1995).

Members present approved this as the winning book and then discussed a second recommendation from the committee: that a new category, Opie Prize Honor Book, be established. A motion to create this new award was defeated.

Aesop Prize Committee chair Ruth Stotter reported that, of the 120 books submitted, the committee (Ruth Stotter, Carole H. Carpenter, Sean Galvin, and Priscilla Ord) selected two anthologies for the Aesop Prize and twelve books for the Aesop Accolade for 1996. These were:

1996 Aesop Prize

Next Year in Jerusalem. Retold by Howard Schwartz and illustrated by Neil Waldman. New York: Viking, 1996.

Nursery Tales Around the World. Retold by Judy Sierra and illustrated by Stefano Vitale. New York: Clarion, 1996.

1996 Aesop Accolade List

Medio-Pollito/Half-Chicken. Retold by Alma Flor Ada and illustrated by Kim Howard. New York: Doubleday, 1995.

The Story of the Milky Way: A Cherokee Tale. Retold by Joseph Bruchac and Gayle Ross and illustrated by Virginia A. Stroud. New York: Dial, 1995.

Mysterious Tales of Japan. By Rafe Martin and illustrated by Tatsuro Kiuchi. New York: Putnam, 1996.

When the World Was Young: Creation and Pourquoi Tales. Retold by Margaret Mayo and illustrated by Louise Bradley. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1995.

The Turkey Girl. Retold by Penny Pollock and illustrated by Ed Young. Boston: Little, Brown, 1996.

How Turtle's Back Was Cracked: A Traditional Cherokee Tales. Retold by Gayle Ross with paintings by Murv Jacob. New York: Dial, 1995.

The Biggest Frog in Australia. Written and illustrated by Susan L. Roth. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

The Woman in the Moon: a Story from Hawaii. Retold by Jama Kim Rattigan and illustrated by Carla Golembe. Boston: Little, Brown, 1996.

The Maiden of Northland: A Hero Tale of Finland. Retold by Aaron Shepard and illustrated by Carol Schwartz. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996.

Songs for Survival: Songs and Chants from Tribal Peoples Around the World. Compiled by Nikki Siegen-Smith and illustrated by Bernard Lodge. New York: Dutton, 1995.

Princess Florecita and the Iron Shoes. Retold by John Warcen Stewig and illustrated by K. Wendy Popp. New York: Knopf (Apple Soup), 1995.

Wicked Jack. Retold by Connie N. Wooldridge and illustrated by Will Hillenbrand. New York: Holiday House, 1995

As instructed by a motion passed at the 1995 section meeting, the committee sent out announcements of these winners not only to the respective publishers, but also to school and library journals, newspapers, children's literature publications, and a variety of organizations and internet addresses that focus on children's literature.

Continuing her report, Ruth also made several proposals:

(a) that the section's previous directive to the committee that announcements of the winners be sent out within two weeks of the winners' identification be amended to a time period of "within three weeks." The motion passed.

(b) that changes be made in the current design of the Aesop Prize and Aesop Accolade book stickers, including the addition of a notice of copyright, to make the stickers more saleable. Members present voted in favor of amending the respective designs if the money to do so became available.

(c) that publishers be allowed to print the Prize or Accolade sticker directly on the cover of an award-winning book. Such printings would give the year of the respective prize and identify the AFS Children's Folklore Section as its bestower. The charge would be \$100.00. Publishers who later reprinted award-winning books could reproduce the sticker free of charge. Consideration of the matter was tabled.

(d) that the section negotiate with the artist who drew the design for the Aesop Medallions for the section's right to reproduce the design on its stationery. Members present approved this proposal.

(e) that certificates of either their prize award or accolade status be sent to all winning publishers, authors, and illustrators. Members present approved this proposal. Libby Tucker will design these certificates for the 1994, 1995, and 1996 winners.

(t) that criterion number 5 for the Aesop Prize (that is, that "Folklore sources [. . .] be fully acknowledged and annotations referenced within the bound contents of the publication") be underlined or printed in bold typeface on the call for submissions. This year, nearly one-third of the books submitted for the prize did not meet this criterion. Members present approved this proposal.

Finally, Ruth asked section members to contribute additional names of

persons and/or publishing companies who should be sent the call for submissions in future years.

Jan Rosenberg reported on the death at age ninety-four of folklorist Dorothy Howard, who passed away during the winter of 1995. June Factor, Sylvia Grider, and Jan Rosenberg are currently preparing a commemorative retrospective on Howard's work, noting in particular the various fields that Howard's work impacted on. Jan offered this retrospective for inclusion in the *Review's* 20th anniversary special issue. She also suggested that a focus on Howard's work be included in the section's panel for the 1997 AFS meetings.

For personal reasons, President-Elect Linda Morley will not be able to assume the duties of section president during the 1996-1997 year. Joe Edgette nominated Libby Tucker to serve as President for the coming year. Sean Galvin seconded the nomination. Members present unanimously confirmed Libby in this position.

Under new business, Danielle Roemer reported that the editors of *Children's Folklore: A Sourcebook*—Brian Sutton-Smith, Jay Mechling, and Thomas W. Johnson—have generously agreed to donate their royalties from the book to the section for a total gift amount of \$682.00 for 1995-1996. Members present expressed their sincere appreciation for the editors' generous donation. (Pursuant to her arrangement with Garland Publishing, book editor Felicia McMahon will not receive royalty payments.) During discussion of particular uses for this money, Libby Tucker suggested donating it to an as-yet-to-be-selected library for the purchase of children's books.

Sean Galvin then proposed that the section sponsor a 20th anniversary panel on children's folklore for the 1997 AFS meetings. A possible focus for the panel might be the changing conceptions of childhood. Chip Sullivan was volunteered to chair the panel. Jan Rosenberg suggested the possibility of the section's having children's folklore specialists volunteer as discussants on relevant AFS conference panels that are not specifically devoted to the discussion of children's folklore.

Ruth Stotter proposed a money-making project for the section involving each member's sending to her the titles of children's folklore books that he or she owns but would be willing to sell. Ruth would then type up a list of the titles and distribute it among the section's members.

Linda Humphrey announced the call for papers for the Association for the Study of Play to be held 2-3 April 1997 in Washington, DC.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:05 PM.

Respectfully submitted,
Danielle Roemer
Secretary/Treasurer

Notes and Announcements

In Our Own Image: The Child, Canadian Culture, and Our Future, Carole H. Carpenter, York, Canada: The Robarts Centre for Canadian Studies, York University, 1996. Carole H. Carpenter's 1995 Robarts Lecture "explores the cultural status of children in Canada, the relationship of their marginalization to our contemporary identity, and the implications for our cultural future" (preface). This valuable study by a former president of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society raises provocative questions not only about Canadian children and culture, but about all children in western culture.

The Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society annually offers the W.W. Newell Prize (which includes a cash award) for the best undergraduate or graduate student essay on a topic in children's folklore. Students must submit their own papers, and published papers are eligible. Instructors are asked to encourage students with eligible papers to enter the competition. Papers must be typed, double-spaced, and on white paper. On the first page include the author's name, academic address, home address, and telephone numbers. Deadline for each year's competition is March 1st.

Submit papers or write for additional information: Margaret MacDonald, 11507 NE 104th Street, Kirkland, WA 98033.

The Augusta Festival 25th Anniversary Celebration will take place 8-10 August 1997 at the Augusta Heritage Center, Davis & Elkins College, Elkins, West Virginia. For information about Augusta Heritage Center programs in general and the Anniversary Celebration in particular, call (304) 637-1209 or 1-800-624-3157.

The 1997 Old Songs Festival will celebrate the organization's 20th birthday 27-29 June 1997 at the Altamont Fairgrounds, Altamont, NY. For information, contact Andy Spence, telephone (518) 765-2815, or e-mail OLDSONGS@CRISNY.ORG

The second annual International Festival of Arts & Ideas will be held 25-29 June 1997 in New Haven, CT. Among the events of interest to children's folklorists are the Festival for Children and the Youth Arts Summit. For information, contact Lynn Richardson, telephone (203) 946-3805.

The Popular Culture Association in the South and American Culture Association in the South will meet 16-18 October 1997 in Columbia, SC. For information, contact Jon Crane, Program Chair, Communications Studies, UNC-Charlotte, Charlotte, NC 28223, telephone (704) 547-4005.

About the Contributors

Susan Charles T. Groth holds an MA from the Department of Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania where she will soon begin her dissertation on Girl Scouting. She works as a folklife specialist for the Northwest Jersey Folklife Project and serves on the Board of the Middle Atlantic Folklife Association. As a girl, she was active in the Delaware-Raritan Girl Scout Council and currently holds membership in that council's Alumnae/i Network. Her girl scouting experience includes local leadership and international exchange activities. She lives in Lambertville, NJ, with her husband and daughter.

Evelyn M. Perry is a PhD candidate at the University of Rhode Island, where she teaches writing and literature. She is currently at work on her dissertation, tentatively entitled "And Marian Was Strang'ly Attired': Dressing Up Heroism in the Legend of Robin Hood." Ms. Perry's work has appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*, *The Leaflet*, and Simmons College's *Essays and Studies*.

The *Children's Folklore Review* is available only to members of the Children's Folklore Section of the American Folklore Society. To become a member, send \$10.00 yearly dues (\$15.00 for non-US members) to Danielle Roemer, Literature and Language, Northern Kentucky University, Highland Heights, KY 41099-1500. Please make checks payable to " AFS Children' s Folklore Section."

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C. W. Sullivan III, Editor
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