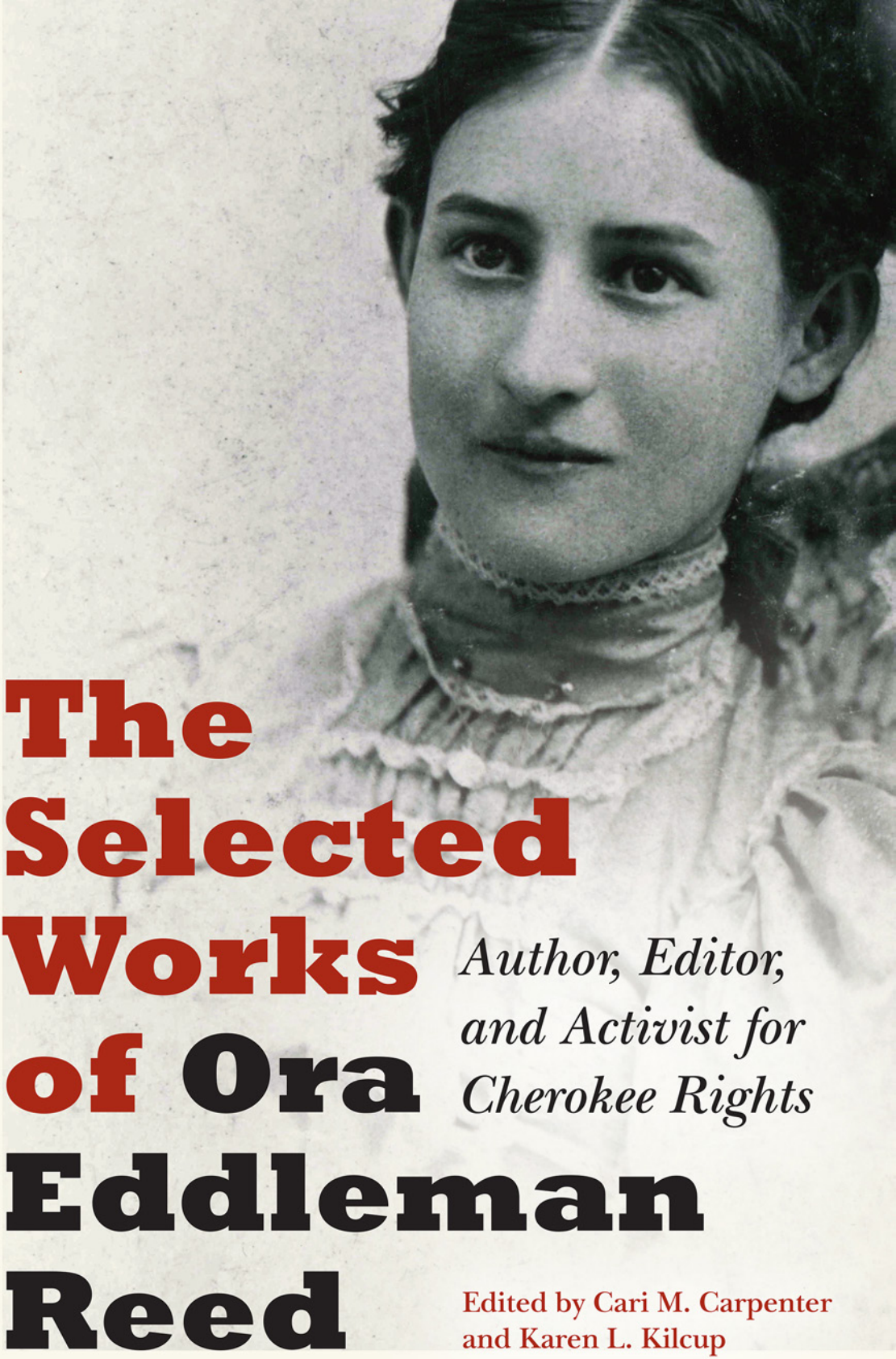

The Selected Works of Ora Eddleman Reed

Author, Editor, and Activist for Cherokee Rights

Edited by Cari M. Carpenter and Karen L. Kilcup

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Afterword by Kirby Brown

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The Ethics of Recovery

This volume began more than two decades ago, when Karen heard a paper at the 1996 Sarah Orne Jewett Centennial Conference on Ora Eddleman Reed. The presenter, Alexia Kosmider, offered a glimpse of important future work she would publish on the author's "What the Curious Want to Know" and "Types of Indian Girls" columns in *Twin Territories*. Further research led to Eddleman Reed's appearance in Karen's *Native American Women's Writing, c. 1800–1924: An Anthology* (2000), which led to her desire to complete a selected works. With a relatively undeveloped internet and paucity of online databases, gathering Eddleman Reed's writing, especially post–*Twin Territories* and after her work as editor of the Indian Department for *Sturm's Magazine*, proved challenging. Biographical information was similarly elusive. Nevertheless, the University of Nebraska Press saw the project's merits and issued a publication contract in 2004. Despite this support, the repeated energetic efforts by several research assistants, PhD students, Cherokee colleagues (Betty Booth Donohue was particularly supportive), and Karen (including a research trip to Oklahoma in 2012) yielded minimal additional information, and the project went into hibernation, awaiting the 2006 arrival of WorldCat (now FirstSearch) and other resources.

Fast-forward fifteen years, when Cari, who knew about the Eddleman Reed volume, approached Karen to ask if she could move it forward, and our partnership began. Restarting the unsuccessful earlier efforts to locate Eddleman Reed's descendants, Cari armed herself with Ancestry.com and located an indispensable resource, Eddleman Reed's granddaughter Betty Groth, without whose assistance this volume would not have been possible. Betty has provided generous background into her grandmother's life, character, history, and writing, as well as sharing the tremendous gift of photos and unpublished texts, most notably the screenplay "Night Brings Out the Stars" and the young adult novel "Where the Big Woods Beckon." These later works provide a fuller portrait of the writer, editor, and activist than would otherwise be possible, and they offer opportunities for more

informed and interesting scholarship. One distinctive feature of our edition is Karen's interview with Betty about her grandmother's character and their relationship.

Challenges have nonetheless remained. *Twin Territories* is held by only a few institutions, such as the Library of Congress, the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the Kansas City Public Library. Most holdings appear in poor-quality microfilms that often have missing pages or entire issues. For example, we have located only one of the twelve issues of *Twin Territories* from volume 3 (1903), a gap that inevitably makes editors squirm. Another consequential gap remains: between Eddleman Reed's work as a young writer and magazine editor and her compositions as an elder, particularly "Where the Big Woods Beckon," which she began when she was approximately eighty years old. We hope our volume will introduce Eddleman Reed's work to a broader audience and that it will generate further recovery scholarship advancing what we know about her life and work.

Locating, selecting, and transcribing Eddleman Reed's writing required us to address one of our principal challenges: our status as white, privileged academics attempting to present to contemporary readers an elite, educated author who claimed Cherokee Irish German heritage and who, in complicated ways, supported both allotment and assimilation (though, as we indicate below, the latter term is itself complex). Some Native critics, most prominently Craig S. Womack, have argued, often persuasively, that Indigenous authors should be the ones to conduct scholarship on Native authors.[1] Acknowledging this argument, we have attempted to educate ourselves about the cultural, historical, spiritual, and political contexts from which Eddleman Reed's work emerged, and tried to question our assumptions, limitations, and biases regularly as we have developed the project, made our selections, and prepared the introduction and other apparatus. Another important strategy has been consulting Cherokee scholars as our volume has moved from inception toward reality. We have maintained throughout ethical considerations for our work, including, for example, Alyssa Mt. Pleasant (Tuscarora), Caroline Wigginton, and Kelly Wisecup's call "to include tribal repositories and oral histories and to consider texts written by Native people rather than limiting their studies to representations of Native peoples as they were imagined by colonists."[2] They and other scholars also encourage us to revise our treatment of periodicity and textuality and to move beyond Euro-American studies. We are

proud to include an afterword by Kirby Brown (Cherokee), and throughout our introduction we rely heavily on research by Native American scholars.

Again, essential help has come from Betty Groth. Editors conducting recovery work who work with a writer's family must balance some difficult, and sometimes conflicting, ethical responsibilities. This challenge is exacerbated when the family member powerfully affirms her connection to Indigenous predecessors (here, Cherokee predecessors). On the one hand, we seek to respect the family's memories and sensibilities. On the other, we must represent an author as fairly and accurately as possible. All authors have blind spots or limitations as well as strengths, and occluding those shortcomings does neither the author nor her readers justice. Moreover, we have wished to avoid colonialist categories such as "traditionalist" and "assimilationist" that, as Joshua B. Nelson (Cherokee) argues, "divide and conquer Indian groups" by placing those categories in opposition. As he observes, "The distinction between the traditional and the progressive is both limiting and difficult to make."[3] Eddleman Reed's perspectives are diverse, and her voice is often elusive, so the preliminary observations we offer in the introduction acknowledge both that complexity and our perplexity.

Further complicating these responsibilities is another concern particularly vexed when the recovered author belongs to one or more "outsidered" groups: fairness and accuracy may compromise a successful, durable recovery. When feminist scholars were first energetically recovering neglected nineteenth-century American women writers several decades ago, Judith Fetterley pondered the problem of these writers' potential "redismissal." As she observed in 1984, scholars rarely critique canonical male writers for elitism, misogyny, or racism, for example, whereas noncanonical authors regularly endure dissection for such views.[4] The question editors—and scholars—must still consider is: If we critique recovered women writers for their myopia or hierarchical attitudes, aren't we risking their re-disappearance?

Another oblique and seldom-discussed challenge underwrites our ability even to prepare this selected works: our status as advanced-career academics working at research universities has given us opportunities others may not experience. Neither of us has to worry about tenure, and, because we have both published prior research on Indigenous writers, most colleagues will not question our choice to research a relatively obscure writer rather than a canonical one. We have significant levels of institutional support and access

to funding sources. Contingent faculty, untenured faculty, graduate students, and many Native American researchers do not enjoy such privilege.

Non-Native editors of volumes such as ours bear an ethical responsibility to involve as many Native scholars as possible in recovery work, while understanding that those scholars are often overburdened by such requests and that they may need additional time to respond. Or they may need to decline helping others as they advance their own projects. We must also recognize all those who helped and offered feedback, understanding those relationships as partnerships. Here, in addition to Betty Groth, two important individuals have been Betty Booth Donohue (Cherokee) and Carolyn Ross Johnston, whose contributions we detail in our introduction. Another ethical imperative is mutual benefit: we should be willing to help Native scholars advance their own research and to collaborate with them whenever possible. Enlisting their advice for our projects requires reciprocity—when it's welcomed. Non-Native editors and scholars who have financial resources, such as internal or external funding, should share those resources when funding restrictions permit. Finally, recovery projects should—as ours will—share royalties with Native institutions committed to education and scholarship.

The obvious point here is that, like all literary scholarship, recovery scholarship has inherently economic and political elements. Equally obviously, we hope we can establish a writer such as Eddleman Reed as an essential part of American literary history. Part of that goal means we have chosen to publish—for the first time—the astonishing gift of the young adult novel about settler life in Minnesota, "Where the Big Woods Beckon." Substantially enlarging Eddleman Reed's known oeuvre, and covering a previously unrepresented period, the novel presents today's readers with some uncomfortable moments, particularly surrounding its representation of the Indian "Long John." A key character, he wears ostensibly "savage" clothing, speaks ungrammatically, has a propensity for violence, and drinks too much, encoding the harmful stereotype of the "savage" Native American. He also heroically rescues the novel's children from drowning, reflecting the opposite stereotype, the Noble Savage. Such a representation requires careful and thorough analysis that the introduction initiates.

Regarding more practical matters: an important ethical consideration for us was attempting to prioritize the author's voice, perspective, and stylistic practices. In presenting Eddleman Reed's work, we have republished materials as she wrote them, correcting only obvious typographical or printer's

errors. For the unpublished work, especially "Where the Big Woods Beckon," we have occasionally standardized her spelling or typography when we could determine her customary practice. For example, the typescript has "grand daughter" once and several instances of "grand-daughter"; in this case we have changed the outlier to conform to the text elsewhere. Our edition retains anachronistic spelling and punctuation unless they would create confusion for the reader. Whenever we have made a more significant alteration, an endnote describes the change. Because the printing in some selections from *Twin Territories* is obscured or missing, we have indicated gaps or questionable words with our bracketed best guess [e.g., best guess]. As recovery editors, we feel a responsibility to present Eddleman Reed's writing in a form as close as possible to what we believe she would prefer. One especially helpful text in this regard has been her screenplay "Night Brings Out the Stars," a recounting of the battles surrounding Oklahoma statehood that foregrounds a Cherokee perspective. Because multiple typescripts exist, we can see Eddleman Reed as a careful editor, reshaping her organization and correcting errors.

All recovery editors face the problem of how best to foster readers' introduction to a "new" author and to help ensure the usefulness of a selected works. The question of what texts to include and which ones to omit poses perennial challenges as editors prepare a selected works; such challenges are exacerbated when white editors select texts by Indigenous writers. In this instance, when we had a choice we have included representative texts that we believe will engage readers—both scholars and students—most fully. The most helpful structuring of the material provoked a related concern. Chronological organization offers simplicity and the benefit of having readers see Eddleman Reed's work as it evolved. Ultimately, we decided that a genre-based organization would allow the greatest flexibility and would enable readers to appreciate her genre versatility most fully. Additionally, this structure facilitates comparisons within a single genre over time. Placing the plays and the novel last enables a somewhat synthetic approach, as the latter appeared (or were written) mostly later.

The reprinting history for Eddleman Reed's work, and for early scholarship on that work, is brief. Daryl Morrison's indispensable 1982 essay in *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, "*Twin Territories: The Indian Magazine* and Its Editor, Ora Eddleman Reed," provided a foundational source. Following Daniel Littlefield and James E. Parins's groundbreaking 1985 volume, *A Biobibliography of Native American Writers, 1772–1924: A Supplement*, the

editors reprinted several of her stories in *Native American Writing in the Southeast: An Anthology, 1875–1935*: "Father of 90,000 Indians," "Indian Tales between Pipes," and—the only fiction—"Billy Bearclaws, Aid to Cupid," which appeared in *Sturm's* in 1909. Kilcup included these three selections and many more in various genres in her 2000 anthology, *Native American Women's Writing*.[5] Despite this greater availability, Eddleman Reed scholarship remains scanty. In 1995 Mark N. Trahant (Shoshone-Bannock) referenced her journalism in his 1996 book *Pictures of Our Nobler Selves: A History of Native American Contributions to News Media*.[6] Addressing the nonfiction, Alexia Kosmider offered the earliest articles assessing "Types of Indian Girls" and "What the Curious Want to Know." She also reprised these interests very briefly in a book about the Muscogee/Creek poet Alexander Posey. A recent dissertation by Carly Overfelt briefly examines how the author, among others, uses standard and nonstandard literary speech to confront her period's "language ideology."[7] Janet Dean devotes a chapter to Eddleman Reed in her 2016 volume, *Unconventional Politics*.[8] These efforts provide a foundation, but much work remains.

Acknowledgments

If it takes a village to raise a child, in our experience it requires a metropolis to raise a book. We have many to thank. First, our dearest gratitude goes to Betty Reed Groth, granddaughter of Ora Eddleman Reed, without whom we would have certainly had a far thinner and less interesting book. Betty's husband, Don, has provided additional intelligence and assistance, often under difficult circumstances, and we appreciate his essential help. Warm thanks also go to Betty's sister Barbara Murphy, who supplied us with missing texts and key facts at crucial moments. Cari is especially grateful for the week she spent at Betty and her husband Don's house in the summer of 2019: seven days in a gorgeous oceanside home in Oregon with long talks, fantastic meals, and a wonderful deep dive into her grandmother's writing. It was certainly one of the high points of Cari's academic career. Karen shares Cari's profound gratitude. The Covid-19 pandemic struck two months before her own planned visit, but Betty has been extraordinarily generous in agreeing to Zoom interviews and unfailingly diligent in answering questions and tracking down resources throughout our research, editing, and writing.

Cari also wishes to thank Mikaela England, the undergraduate who transcribed a number of documents; the Sequoyah center at the University of Arkansas Little Rock, which provided her a grant to study with them in February 2019; the West Virginia Humanities Council, which awarded Cari with a grant to support her early work on the book; the West Virginia University Humanities Center grant that provided the travel funding for the visit with Betty; WVU English Department and Eberly College for its travel and research funds; coordinator Bonnie Brown and the other members of the Native American Studies Program for their ongoing support; John Ernest; Sarah Ruffing Robbins; Matt Cohen; Penelope Kelsey; Carolyn Sorisio; Siobhan Senier for supporting other funding opportunities. Cari is especially appreciative of Karen's expertise with the publication process and the momentous work she did at the beginning of this project.

We extend our combined thanks to those who have helped in the production of the book: Betty Donahue, Kirby Brown, and Carolyn Ross John-

ston for responding to sections of the manuscript, and Kirby for writing the afterword. We are also appreciative of the good work of Matt Bokovoy, Haley Mendlik, and others of the University of Nebraska Press. Our copy-editor Jane Curran has done finely detailed and sensitive work.

Cari, as always, appreciates the guiding love of her parents, Len and Jan Carpenter; her in-laws, Barb and Steve Benjamin; her husband, Eric; and her daughter, Adalyn.

As the preface indicates, this project has its genesis in a conference Karen directed in the spring of 2000 when she was the Dorothy M. Healy Distinguished Visiting Professor at Westbrook College (now the University of New England) in Portland, Maine. There she met Alexandra Kosmider, who introduced her to Ora's work. She will always be grateful for the professorship that enabled this meeting and that introduction.

Important to the project throughout have been numerous research assistants, including Beth Lassiter and Fay Dacey. Karen apologizes to the several individuals from the late 1990s whose names reside on defunct computers. She and Cari thank Marc Keith, who transcribed "Where the Big Woods Beckon." They also offer special thanks to Shannon Young, who transcribed large portions of both published materials and typescripts, including "Night Brings Out the Stars."

We are deeply appreciative of the help of numerous archivists and librarians. Thanks to the staff of Special Collections and University Archives at the University of Tulsa, the Kansas City Public Library, the Library of Congress, the Oklahoma Historical Society (especially Carol Jasak), and Colorado College (especially Jessy Randall). Karen also received early assistance from Josh Clough, staff assistant to the Western History Collection at the University of Oklahoma; Carol Bowers from the University of Wyoming; and multiple contacts at the Oklahoma Historical Society. Karen remains grateful for the help of the late Gaylor Callahan, Interlibrary Loan librarian extraordinaire, who located numerous ephemeral sources very early on, as well as the current ILL staff, particularly Dallas Burkhardt.

Karen also thanks Cari for matters tangible and intangible: for relighting the fire when Karen's recovery efforts had stalled, for her willingness to accept and review a thirty-odd-pound box of photocopied Ora texts and related materials, for her untiring and collegial editorial work, and for her persistence in finding Betty, our essential resource, through Ancestry.com.

Equally important support has come to Karen in different forms and from various directions. At the University of North Carolina at Greensboro,

she again thanks her Americanist colleagues for their ongoing enthusiasm and help when needed. The Elizabeth Rosenthal Excellence Professorship has allowed her crucial time to work. She is grateful to her former department head, Scott Romine; the dean of the College of Arts and Sciences, John Z. Kiss; the senior vice provost, Alan Boyette; and the former university provost, Dana Dunn, for their steadfast support. Family and friends have supported her in important ways, especially during the pandemic times.

Last, but never least, Karen thanks Alan for his sustained devotion and for always believing in her work.

A portion of the introduction appeared in somewhat different form: Cari M. Carpenter and Karen L. Kilcup, "'What the Curious Want to Know': Material and Ethical Challenges in Recovering an Early Cherokee Woman's Work," *Scholarly Editing* 39 (April 11, 2022), https://scholarlyediting.org/issues/39/what-the-curious-want-to-know (DOI: 10.55520/H1W49V4K).

The Selected Works of **Ora Eddleman Reed**

Introduction

What the Curious Want to Know about Ora Eddleman Reed

Responding to a reader's question in her *Twin Territories* column "What the Curious Want to Know" in January 1901, the magazine's youthful (and increasingly famous) Cherokee editor Ora Eddleman Reed puts a white man from Indiana firmly in his place: "I have been in the home of the gentleman [whom you mention], a number of times, and I didn't have to crawl around in a dirty wigwam, either, as you suggest. A prominent leader among his people, the Creeks; and the son and grandson of like leaders—he is a gentleman of rare attainments. His home is filled with choice books and his parlor contains a number of elegant paintings. . . . The stories you have read of him are truly stories—or the word might be stronger, if I weren't a woman." Here Eddleman Reed pulls no punches as she challenges the author's assumption that American Indians can't read or aren't literary. In naming the specific tribe, she also emphasizes this leader's tribal distinctiveness, thereby dispelling misconceptions about an amorphous "Indian" collective. And in insisting that she herself has visited this "gentleman," she claims her own position within the Indigenous community. Interestingly, as she does in many short stories, she also alludes to the Creek man's wealth in noting the "elegant paintings" that fill his home.[1]

A similarly acerbic passage from January 1902 reminds the reader that the American Indians in Indian Territory are in no sense frozen in the past tense, as the letter writer seems to assume:

> Milliner, Oakhill, N.Y.
> You ask what kind of a stock of millinery you should select to settle in a town in Indian Territory; "also" you add, "if lots of beads and such things are required as trimmings, and if it is true that the Indians like only the brightest colors of Ribbon?" Really, I ought not to pay attention to your questions. What do you take us for? Where have you been the last half century? Seriously, I wouldn't advise you to come here with a stock of millinery. You're needed in that place, I am sure, where you won't be misunderstood—and unappreciated. The poor Indians'll manage to get head-gear in some

way or other, without you—and if they don't, they can go bare-headed. It would be a pity to have you sacrifice yourself to come way out here in order to educate them in wearing up-to-date hats. It wouldn't pay you, my dear madam—but you might learn a whole lot![2]

In the December 1900 issue, where the first installment of "What the Curious Want to Know" appears, Eddleman Reed explains the column's purpose: "[It] is added from necessity, and will no doubt cause some amusement among our western readers, who are acquainted with the conditions in Indian Territory, and we truly hope it may serve to enlighten some of those in the north and east, from whom are constantly coming just such questions as are answered under the title, 'What the Curious Want to Know.'" The editor details what she sees as her responsibilities:

> Much is being written and reported to the great daily and weekly newspapers published in the northern and eastern states concerning Indian Territory which is absolutely false and misleading that Twin Territories deems it an imperative duty resting upon the editors of papers and periodicals published in Indian Territory to contradict and denounce all such fabrications. To any such person acquainted with the facts as they exist, it seems hardly necessary to devote any time or attention to these fabrications, but seeing that they are read and believed by many unsophisticated youths in the north and east, a demand arises for the truth. . . .
>
> Even now Twin Territories would not dwell on this subject were it not for the fact that the chiefs of the several tribes of Indians and Indian agents are continually in receipt of letters written by verdant youths and cast-off old bachelors living in the northern and eastern states who haven't brains enough to discern the truth nor comprehension enough to judge human nature, who are the misguided victims of the stories referred to in this article. What ordinary common sense youth reared in the western country would ever be guilty of entertaining the foolish idea that anywhere among any people could be found a wealthy maiden foolish enough to purchase a husband?[3]

With its sharp edge and unflagging humor, this *Twin Territories* feature represents the peak of Eddleman Reed's rhetorical response to her time. Her acerbic wit emerged repeatedly—if sometimes less directly—in the diverse forms her early writing assumed. Eddleman Reed's life was long and varied, and encompassing its many phases and accomplishments, including her

work as a writer, editor, activist, radio personality, and mother, will take time. Our introduction sketches some of the key features readers of this collection should know as they approach her work, perhaps for the first time. We begin with biographical and historical contexts, then outline the state of periodical literature when *Twin Territories* appeared and assess the journal's contributions to that literature. The next section contextualizes Eddleman Reed's work alongside Cherokee literature and culture. Several sections address the various genres that she used: activist writing, short fiction, poetry, drama, the novel and children's literature, and humor and satire. Finally, we propose opportunities for future work on the author.

Biography/Historical Overview

At the tender age of eight, Ora Veralyn Eddleman was already publishing the *Home News*, a newspaper that she sent to all of her relatives. Her family settled in Muskogee in 1894, well into the "Golden Age" that had occurred after the Civil War.[4] The Thanksgiving issue of the *Muskogee Times* dated November 1, 1897, gives us considerable light on the times, indicating that Muskogee had "'75 business houses,' a mattress factory, three oil wells, a waterworks, and electric light plant, two corn mills, an 'expensive' flour mill, six churches, the Presbyterian, Methodist, Baptist, Catholic, Episcopal, and Christian. . . . It indicated that Muskogee had more doctors and lawyers than towns twice its size."[5]

Coincidentally, 1894 was the year the infamous Dawes Commission was established. The Eddleman family—father David, daughter Myrta, son-in-law George, and their cousin, Charles L. Daugherty—bought the *Muskogee Daily Times* in February 1897. David served as editor for several years. That May they changed the newspaper's name to the *Muskogee Evening Times*, at which point daughter Ora became telegraph editor and soon "proofreader, society editor, city editor." "She even 'fed the press' on those none-too-rare occasions when the press man was not sober enough to be on the job. There were strenuous days—typical of a new and growing town." As David fondly recalled, "Ah, those were days to remember. We had something to write about then, for things were happening fast in the old Indian Territory days. We chronicled the news of the first telephone installed—the advent of the first automobile on our dirt roads—even the first bath tub brought to town! . . . There wasn't any time to lose, for we were helping to build the best town on earth, and we had to hustle to keep up with her growth."[6]

Eddleman Reed lived an extraordinary life during extraordinary times, and her work, career trajectory, and perspective have much to teach us today, particularly about Cherokee literature, history, and culture. Born in Denton, Texas, in 1880, Ora Veralyn Eddleman was the daughter of Kentuckian David Jones Eddleman and Mary Jane Daughtery, who claimed Cherokee ancestry. Her family settled in Indian Territory in 1894, the year the infamous Dawes Commission was established. The Eddlemans moved to Muskogee with the intention of securing a position on the Dawes Rolls, the U.S. government's list of citizens of what were then called "the Five Civilized Tribes": Cherokees, Creeks, Chocktaws, Chicasaws, and Seminoles.[7] But like many individuals and families, they were disappointed. As Kent Carter notes in *The Dawes Commission*, most applicants were declined. On the first day of evaluation, for example, all 142 cases were rejected. Ultimately, two-thirds of the three hundred thousand people who applied were denied.[8] The Dawes Commission was famously disorganized, poorly resourced, and under a tremendous time crunch. Carter estimates that this disarray meant each application was only considered for one minute.[9] Despite the fact that Judge M. Springer had earlier voiced support for the Eddlemans' application, he suddenly decided to reject it, claiming that their predecessors' decision to move away from a Cherokee band justified their rejection.[10] To further complicate matters, the Dawes Commission declared the 1896 list null and void; all those listed had to reapply under the Curtis Act of 1898.[11] Applications were accepted from then until 1907 (with a few taken in 1914), ultimately creating the Final Rolls.

A statement by Ora's mother dated September 21, 1908, indicates that her decision to seek enrollment was based on her knowledge that her father, James Madison Daugherty, was "1/4 Cherokee" and "lived in the old Cherokee nation and also Arkansas."[12] Her claims about succession, however, have not been affirmed by the family; according to Don Groth, Betty's husband, they are family lore and omit some generations. Ora's grandfather was James Madison Daugherty. Ora's great-grandfather, who appears to be William Daugherty, and great-grandmother Sally Bunch, a Cherokee woman, are thought to have participated in a migration to Arkansas around 1828. In Don's words, "The Arkansas location is the anchor for the family research placing them there after their migration. The Ancestry website shows all our research starting with them in Arkansas and trying to go back to earlier generations. Most of the researchers do have the Daugherty family moving through western Virginia, then into Tennessee and

Kentucky." There are two Daughertys listed in the 1817 Emigration Roll, and several Daughertys are listed on the 1835 Henderson Roll: Backbone, Cate, Jack, Jane, John, and Stan.[13] Mary Daugherty's statement mentions that these children may have used Cherokee names; she gives "Tee-los-kee" and "Tee-lees-kee," while the similar names "Te Las Sha Ske" and "Te Le So Gi Se" appear in the Henderson Roll of 1835.[14] Ora's granddaughter Betty Groth also finds a series of "Daughertys" listed as "mixed-bloods" in the final Dawes Rolls of 1907, which is included on the Oklahoma Historical Society's website.[15] Eddleman Reed nevertheless maintained an active connection with Cherokees after her family was denied membership; for example, late in the nineteenth century Chief S. H. Mayes sent her a signed copy of the Cherokee Constitution, which Betty still owns.

The family's rejection resulted despite their obvious ties to Cherokee citizens (such as Pricy Caps, John L. McCoy, Cynthia Horn, James McClure, I. W. Bortholf, Susan Julian, Chief Joel B. Mayes), all of whom were named in the affidavit filed by their lawyer, Mary's brother Matthew. Some of these individuals claimed family relations with the Daughertys.[16] Tinville Cecil, for example, was a Texan who knew the Daughertys as Cherokees and reported that they came west of the Mississippi "with the first of the Cherokee people."[17] The fact that Eddleman Reed went on to represent herself and write as a Cherokee gives us an opportunity to examine Cherokee identity outside the deeply flawed "official" channels. That her family attempted enrollment in a time when not only Cherokee tribal identity but also individual identity was left up to the U.S. government makes her life a case study for the ways in which one of the many people who were denied official Cherokee status carved out a life both apart from and connected to the Cherokee community, as detailed below.

However, before we question all of the Dawes decisions, we should note that Cherokees played a role in many of them; Ruth Muskrat Bronson's father, James Muskrat, for example, worked for the Dawes Commission. Indeed, the commission long employed Alexander Posey, who often received criticism for his alleged support of allotment. Thus, we should not dismiss the Dawes Rolls completely as non-Indigenous. The census originated in what were initially Cherokee records of citizenship that formed the basis for assessing applications. The archive of decisions, testimonies, and allotments indicates the amount of agency that Cherokees were able to assert over their own and others' identities, despite Dawes's federal oversight. The commission was no doubt flawed and Cherokees had to deal with a

good deal of colonialist pressure, but it also included Cherokees who were entrusted to enroll family members and others, sometimes against their wishes, but accurately nonetheless.

Eddleman Reed's writing contributes an important earlier voice to the ongoing conversation about identity. Kirby Brown (Cherokee Nation) offers us a useful perspective on what may have happened in some cases like the Eddlemans'. The fact that a white man made the primary decision in their case reflects the reality that some cases were undoubtedly wrongly decided, yet this problem is not as widespread as some make it out to be and as the over two hundred thousand cases that were denied suggest. As Brown notes,

> The Dawes Rolls were officially "closed" until 1909, which remain the official rolls (Cherokee, Indian-by-Blood, Intermarried White, Freedmen) upon which current citizenship criteria are based. At the same time, a legislative provision in the Five Civilized Tribes Act of 1906 states that, despite statehood, the "tribal government of the Cherokee Nation . . . shall continue in full force and effect," mostly to adjudicate land claims and enrollment/citizenship questions. The OIWA of 1936 did offer Oklahoma Tribes the opportunity to reorganize politically under the 1934 IRA, but only the United Keetoowah Band did so ([the] Eastern Band organized under different provisions). The Cherokee Nation elected not to subject its sovereignty to the authority and oversight of the BIA/Interior and didn't officially re-organize until the passage of the Cherokee Constitution of 1975. So the waters of whom ultimately got to determine who "counted" as Cherokee [have] always been a bit muddy in the absence of a Cherokee state from Oklahoma statehood until 1975. Also complicating matters is the fact that numerous Cherokees worked with the Dawes Commission to compile the rolls and to accurately "count" families and communities. Thus, while the US/Dawes Commission might have held the legal/political authority to determine enrollment, on the ground those decisions were often in the hands of Cherokee people themselves.[18]

Tribes' sovereign right to decide membership was supported in 1978 by the *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* Supreme Court case. Such decisions have huge implications for the group, as these nations have access to resources and protections such as the Native American Graves and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) of 1990, which protects the return of remains, and the Indian

Child Welfare Act (1978), which requires that American Indian foster children be placed in tribal communities rather than the non-Indian homes to which the majority were initially assigned.

Native scholars have debated U.S. jurisdiction over tribal recognition, with at least three prominent perspectives: the first highlights the idea that federal recognition reinforces the subordinate position of Indian nations, which exist only at the pleasure of (and in terms of) U.S. national identity. Among this argument's most forceful proponents is Taiaiake Alfred (Kahnawake Mohawk), who argues, "Sovereignty is an exclusionary concept rooted in an adversarial and coercive Western notion of power. Indigenous people can never match the awesome coercive force of the state; so long as sovereignty remains the goal of indigenous politics, therefore, Native communities will occupy a dependent and reactionary position relative to the state."[19]

Similarly, in *Mohawk Interruptus*, Audra Simpson (Kahnawake Mohawk) contends that despite the obvious resources that come with federal recognition, Native nations should refuse this status as a means of making an existence beyond colonialism. In her words, "There is a political alternative to 'recognition,' the much sought-after and presumed 'good' of multicultural politics. This alternative is 'refusal.'"[20] Others argue that despite recognition's disadvantages, it nevertheless offers an important political authority: in *Recognition, Sovereignty Struggles, and Indigenous Rights in the United States*, Amy E. Den Ouden and Jean M. O'Brien (White Earth Ojibwe) explore various specific cases, ultimately concluding that "while there is a well-articulated position that rejects federal recognition as any sort of panacea for tribal nations . . . more is to be gained by federal recognition than through rejecting it as a hopelessly fraught colonial relationship that true sovereigns need not pursue."[21] Eddleman Reed's writing contributes an important earlier voice to this conversation.

Eddleman Reed's writing adds texture to other political and social conversations occurring throughout the United States. Some of Eddleman Reed's most significant public contributions came during the period associated with the New Woman: 1890–1910. Her personal experience forms the crucial background for investigating her work. According to Charlotte Rich, the New Woman was "defined by her commitment to various types of independence . . . [she] believed in women's right to work in professions traditionally reserved for men; she often sought a public role in occupa-

tions that would putatively improve society."[22] The Progressive Era, with its universalism and focus on politics such as eugenics, had many conservative instincts, especially from the standpoint of women of color.[23] So while they may have shared some of the beliefs of the New Woman movement, they were also uniquely positioned to critique the white middle-class New Woman's privilege. Sophia Alice Callahan (1868–94), Rich argues, depicted Native American women who related to some of the characteristics of the iconic (white) New Woman, but who modified this image in emphasizing racial empowerment. The new definitions of womanhood influenced Callahan herself: she was actively involved in the National Federation of Women's Clubs and the temperance movements that Rich associates with American Indian women. In *Wynema*, often considered the first novel by an American Indian woman, Callahan details the significance of racial violence in events such as the Wounded Knee massacre, but she also emphasizes connections between the white woman reader and Native heroine by stressing the latter's commitment to temperance and suffrage.

As Rich notes, the followers of the New Woman movement often published in periodicals. Particularly aware of how the era's progressive ideals benefited whites specifically, women of color followers were especially able to identify increasing nativism and racist policies. Eddleman Reed grew up in a family that valued education and, reflecting the New Woman's independence, showed early interest in writing and publishing. Although she is not included among the Native American women Rich considers, Eddleman Reed's writing relates to—and similarly challenges—such policies. Her active membership in political organizations is more indicative of her status as a New Woman rather than an American Indian. We have found no evidence of her involvement in Native American associations except for the Indian Territory Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution. A short piece from the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* indicates that at least for a time she was an active member of the WCTU (Women's Christian Temperance Union); she gave a paper called "5 Minute Talk: The Blue Pencil and the Waste Basket" for a 1903 WCTU meeting and presented at the Oklahoma Historical Society in 1906.[24] At least during 1898–1903, Eddleman Reed was the only female member of the Indian Territory Press Association Executive Committee, and in 1903 she served as the organization's treasurer. All evidence suggests she was a committed and confident member: in 1901, at the organization's yearly meeting in Cheecotah, Indian Territory, she gave a paper entitled "Woman's Sphere in Journalism." On

March 18, 1901, the *Daily Chieftain* reports that she represented Muskogee "gracefully and logically."[25]

Eddleman Reed's education prefaced this early success. We are fortunate to have school records from her time at Henry Kendall College in Muskogee, Indian Territory, and the Oklahoma Historical Society. The college began as the Presbyterian School for Indian Girls, a boarding school founded in 1882 and then chartered as the Henry Kendall College in 1894, the year it first held classes. The college moved to Tulsa in 1907, becoming the University of Tulsa. The "First Annual Catalogue for the year ending June 12, 1895" provides the institution's history, which stresses the need to offer "college work for both sexes" and articulates its ambitious goals: "The aim is to afford the young people ample opportunities for a thorough education at very small cost. It is earnestly desired that an elevating influence may be planted within the Territory. The education of the heart as well as the head is kept always in view."[26] Emphasizing the college's substantial enrollment and the "religious spirit" prominent among its students, the catalog asserts that "Henry Kendall College comes to the people of the Southwest, offering excellent facilities for the mental and moral culture of their sons and daughters. The course of study is modelled after those of the best colleges of the States" (3–4). Confirming these ambitions, the diverse and intellectually challenging course offerings included "Mental Science and Biology (by the president), mathematics, Latin language and literature, Greek language and literature, music (encompassing Vocal Music and Piano, Violin, and Harmony), Physiology and Hygiene, History and Bible Study" (9–15). The 1895 catalog lists Ora Eddleman among the Middle Preparatory students enrolled in the Partial Course (6).

When the 1896 catalog appeared, Eddleman still appeared as a Middle Preparatory student, but she soon was enrolled in the Scientific Course, which required physical geography, civil government, Latin (Caesar and Cicero), American politics, and a full year of algebra. She was also enrolled as a piano student.[27] The college's third annual catalog (ending in June 1897) showed her as a senior in the Preparatory Department; her sister Erna appears as a fourth-grade student.[28] Given the strong, self-confident writing and editorial abilities Eddleman Reed manifests in her *Twin Territories* work and afterward, this education provided a crucial foundation. She reflects her gratitude and support for Indian education in various *Twin Territories* selections, including her 1902 report, "Status of Indian Schools."[29]

After Ora's time at Henry Kendall, the newsroom became her school. In December 1898 the family-owned Sams Publishing Company began issuing what would become Indian Territory's preeminent periodical, *Twin Territories*. Soon after, when she was in her late teens, her sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Walter Sams, invited her to become the editor of *Twin Territories*. The journal flourished under her leadership, acquiring readers from across the country and around the world, and garnering favorable mention in such publications as *Harper's Weekly* and the *New York Times*. In 1900 Ora became one of the youngest members and the only female member of the Indian Territory Press Association. When she left the journal following her 1904 wedding to Charles Reed, an Associated Press reporter whom she met on a trip to Kansas City, Missouri, she departed as *Twin Territories*' general editor. The new editor reassured readers: "The former editor, Miss Ora V. Eddleman, who for five years has edited the Magazine, has had to retire on account of her health failing her. However, we are glad to announce that she will still remain on the editorial staff and have full charge of the 'Little Chiefs and Their Sisters,' and 'Indian Folk Lore.'"[30] From 1904 to 1905, Eddleman Reed contributed a society column to the *Muskogee Daily Phoenix* entitled "In Society's Realm." The column was a painstaking review of the town's club meetings, parties, weddings, and personals, with particular attention to the Indian Territory Federation of Women's Clubs. On October 19, 1904, she quotes President Mrs. Michael Conlan, a Chickasaw and Choctaw woman: "There can be no greater field of opportunity for the true club woman, whose watchword is 'progress,' than in the beautiful Indian Territory, whose future destiny depends on the influence exerted in the next few years."[31] Eddleman Reed continued her journalism career in September 1905 as editor of the "Indian Department" column of *Sturm's Statehood Magazine* (which later became *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*), a position she held until November 1906. Soon after, she had her children: Roy, David, and two who died as infants: Charles Wayne (November 1–9, 1906) and Mary Louise (October 10–November 6, 1910).

The years of raising her family meant having little time to write. After Charles became a scout for the Gypsy Oil Company, the family made various moves around the West.[32] By 1930 with the children somewhat older, Eddleman Reed hosted a successful radio program for the station KFDN in Casper, Wyoming, as "The Sunshine Lady"; the program ran until 1932. A newspaper article claims, "Weekdays over KFDN at 10:45 each morning

as the theme song, 'Keep A Little Sunshine in Your Heart' fades away, a petite, vivacious little lady's voice greets you. The Sunshine Lady brings words of cheer and worthwhile thoughts and news of Casper's leading shops. She shops for you daily and then tells you of what is new and the best place to shop. Her program is always interesting."[33] She started each program with a commentary on how to achieve contentment in everyday life and then answered calls from listeners. Another article describes a week of programs: "The Sunshine Lady programs are going to be even more attractive and interesting this week. As a special treat the Sunshine Lady will present on her Saturday program Miss Louis Horsch, a very pleasing and promising young reader, and Miss Charlene Hanway, young pianist of note will entertain you with several selections. Each Thursday, Gus Schraga of the Natrona Meat market sings several numbers for you, accompanied by Mrs. Oscar Beyers at the grand piano."[34]

In his autobiography Roy Reed remembers that she often played phonograph records between her talks and the various ads. She enjoyed using her writing abilities on both her own addresses and the various ads. Her show provided a welcome respite from the grim news of the Depression. Eddleman Reed found that some of the market initiative she had applied to *Twin Territories* was effective with the radio show, as she attracted a strong response from advertisers when she incorporated local businesses into her program. She soon extended the show from a half hour to one and a half hours and tripled the number of sponsors. When she and Charles moved to Tulsa in the 1930s, she tried unsuccessfully to start a similar program.[35]

Later in life, in the 1940s and 1950s, Eddleman Reed began writing again in earnest, including compositions in genres she had not tackled earlier. She penned several poems; a play about statehood called "Night Brings Out the Stars"; and, most notably among these almost entirely unpublished works, a novel for young teens, titled "When the Big Woods Beckon." Composed when she was in her late seventies or early eighties, around six decades after her earliest publications, the novel manuscript significantly augments—and transforms—our view of this pioneering author.

We have almost no Eddleman Reed writing that foregrounds her own life. A striking exception is her reflective essay, "Five Minutes with Paderewski Changed My Life," written around 1949 or 1950, in which she tells of meeting both the famous pianist and her future husband during a visit to Kansas City, when she was trying to garner sponsors and advertisers for

Twin Territories.[36] Discouraged by the difficulty of obtaining such support, she found herself questioning her mission surrounding the magazine: "Why, I asked myself, should I be concerned about a race that was destined to obliteration anyway? I had such a small percentage of Indian blood, why should I feel so keenly the fate of the Indian?" Paderewski, she tells us, inspired her not through his music; rather, "it was the quality of the man himself, his earnestly spoken words to me, a young, ambitious girl, that gave me a finer, braver outlook." The meeting represented a professional turning point, and it also sparked a lifelong connection to "the young AP reporter" who arranged it and supported her so energetically.

When Eddleman Reed's husband died on January 2, 1949, she grieved heavily. Betty has a picture of her grandmother sitting sadly on the front step of her house in Muscogee. Charles Reed's funeral suggests the family's inclusion in the Cherokee community; three of his pallbearers were Cherokees. Although she continued writing after his death, those texts have remained unpublished until now. She died in a Tulsa nursing home on June 19, 1968.

As contemporary theorist Scott Richard Lyons (Ojibwe/Dakota) observes, Indigenous identity has always been (and continues to be) constructed in various ways, including "blood quantum, culture, language, and tribal rolls, but there have been other materials used in the past, and new ones are in use today. . . . Indian identity is something people do, not what they are."[37] Part of our mission here, then, is to consider the materials Eddleman Reed used to construct her Cherokee identity—short stories, poetry, a novel, at least one play, nonfiction work, photographs, "What the Curious Want to Know," and art work—in the absence of official, legal documentation tied to government rolls.

Contexts

Periodical Literature and Twin Territories

As we will explore more fully later, we should understand many *Twin Territories* selections through recent studies of regionalist literature. Stephanie Foote, for example, argues that while regionalism has often been seen as realism's understudy—and as such, a kind of homogenous nostalgia—it is actually a quite complicated rendering of the local that introduced new people to the nation: "Indeed, regional writing's ability to represent new people extends to the very persons who were engaged in writing regional fiction." As Charles Hannon writes, "These magazines [that featured region-

alist writing] produced official narratives of American identity that made it possible for readers to identify themselves as subjects."[38]

As Jean Marie Lutes has argued, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries witnessed an explosion in the publication of African American and other periodicals for specific ethnicities, demonstrating that the genre was much more diverse than has been assumed.[39] Women—and the New Woman in particular—made up a large portion of the producers and readers of such periodicals. Many of the women who broke ground in the nineteenth-century periodical scene, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, were relatively conservative about gender roles. Yet the periodical *Lily* (1849–54) reflected the progressivism of its editor, Amelia Bloomer. *Lily* began as a temperance publication but soon began commenting on dress reform and suffrage. Zitkala-Ša published in magazines such as *Harper's Bazaar* in order to "urge a change of heart and mind on the part of upper-class American readers on questions of race and national origin."[40]

Periodicals were also more available than books to common people. The editorial at the beginning of *Twin Territories*' fifth year is particularly proud of its wide circulation: "People everywhere are desirous of true knowledge of Indian affairs, and so not only the people of Indian and Oklahoma territories have gladly read the magazine, but many in the states have become interested, and receive it regularly." Staking her claim firmly in "When the Publisher Talks" in April 1902, Eddleman Reed proclaims that "Easterners, like ignorant 'others,' fail to recognize that it is a 'place of enterprise and rapid progress.'"[41]

In many respects *Twin Territories* reflects the changes that occurred in periodicals across the nineteenth century. Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith explain that these publications increasingly used ads rather than subscriptions, which suggests they aimed to reach a broad regional audience. *Twin Territories* boasted a mind-boggling range of product advertising, from pianos, sewing machines, restaurants, and hardware to other magazines, drugs, groceries, patent services, and train service.[42] But the magazine had advertisements from all over the United States, not just Indian Territory. In the June 1902 issue, R. T. Frazier from Pueblo, Colorado, sells the "Famous Pueblo Saddle" (170); Dr. Nagel from Reading, Pennsylvania, promises "Riches for All Investigators" with his Goldometer (170); S. A. Nichols from Racine, Wisconsin, advertises "Job Printing" (215); J. A. Alger, near Kirksville, Missouri, touts "Silver Laced Wyandott Chickens, White Holland Turkeys, and Poland China Pigs" (167); Okla-

homa Vinegar Company from Fort Smith Arkansas, with offices in Minneapolis and Atlanta, sells "Original and only PURE FRUIT PHOSPHATES and BOSTON MOUNTAIN APPLE VINEGAR" for "factory and farms" (174); Sparks Medicine Company, also in Fort Smith, markets "Sparks' Tasteless Chill and Fever Tonic, a vegetable tonic well adapted to cure the debilitated and nervous conditions produced by ague. Stops the chill, cures the fever, strengthens the patient—makes him a man again!" (167); the Stub Pen Company from Minneapolis promotes "**The Stub Pen**, the cleanest, neatest, brightest, and best magazine published in the great Northwest" (168). The Mexican Opal Company offers its eponymous products from Los Angeles, while *Ye Quaint Magazine* from Boston hypes "Pure Books on Avoided Subjects": "Circulars of these and a trial trip subscription to a Quaint and Curious Magazine all for 10c. Positively none free" (171). Presumably, a price indicated value, however readers might measure it.

More ominously, at least for the Native nations in the territory, H. H. Hellen, civil engineer and surveyor from Muskogee, guarantees "Blue Prints at Reasonable Rates" for "City and Country Work" (170); similarly, H. S. Hackenbusch, civil engineer and surveyor, notes "Allotments Located, Lots Staked, and Grades Given. Special Attention Given to Boundry [*sic*] Disputes" (171); while the Creek Nation Land and Investment Co., from Tulsa, Indian Territory, invites readers in bold italicized print to "***WRITE FOR BOOK OF INFORMATION***," citing Kansas City and Tulsa banks as references and (in small print), stating that it deals with "City and Farm Property. Business Trans[a]cted for Non-Residents" (170). *Twin Territories* remained quite inexpensive at $1/year, even later in its run when it gained far more advertising. Eddleman Reed notes that some thought they should increase the cost, but she felt strongly that it should be affordable for everyone.[43]

In 1876, two decades before *Twin Territories* was established, there were two prominent newspapers in Eddleman Reed's region: the *Cherokee Advocate*, a descendant of the *Cherokee Phoenix* that was edited by Elias Boudinot's son, and the *Indian Journal* at Muskogee, which Creek writer Alex Posey purchased in 1904. Both served two main audiences: Native Americans and whites in and outside of Indian Territory. They published DC political news and reports from missionaries and agents. The *Advocate* reported a circulation of 1,300 in 1877, and the *Indian Journal* reported subscribers in seventeen states in 1876. The editors were quite diplomatic in their coverage, muting critiques of whites where it might hurt Cherokee

rights, but extending some complaints about events such as the Battle of the Little Big Horn. Editors typically considered the Five Civilized Tribes superior to the Sioux and other Native nations.

One striking characteristic of *Twin Territories* was its national audience. The *Indian Journal* of October 3, 1902, tells an interesting story, for instance, of how Eddleman Reed received two cents from a business owner in Montana who had seen the magazine advertised. A few weeks later, "she received through the mail a copy of TWIN TERRITORIES that had been literally worn to pieces. An accompanying note explained that the Montana gentleman had allowed the 400 employees of the manufacturing establishment to peruse the pages of the distinctly original publication and they had really 'read the magazine to pieces.'"[44] Eddleman Reed pursued an energetic campaign to reach readers, noting in December 1899 that she had agents traveling throughout the country to solicit subscribers. Upon her retirement from *Twin Territories* a few years later, editors were confident enough in the publication that they pledged circulation would reach 100,000 by the end of the year.[45]

The magazine became even more national, and even international, when Charles Reed joined the publication as the AP reporter. With his arrival, *Twin Territories* even began to cover such events as the war in the Philippines and strife in South Africa. And as the *St. Louis Republic* of April 1901 reports, the Indian Bureau in Washington DC displayed visitors' copies of *Twin Territories*, apparently as evidence of the literary production in Indian Territory.[46] One of Eddleman Reed's marketing techniques, as she did with the June 1902 issue, was to bundle the magazine with a series of other regional papers ranging from *Good Housekeeping* to the *St. Louis Republic* to the *Dallas Semi-Weekly*.[47]

Eddleman Reed did not hesitate to publish applause for her magazine. In July 1902 she printed the following words from the *Montgomery Advertiser* (Alabama), which noted that "a woman edits the only magazine published in Oklahoma and Indian Territories":

> Among the unique magazines to be placed on *The Advertiser*'s exchange list none is more deserving of commendation, than *Twin Territories*. Published at Muskogee, I.T., by Miss Ora V. Eddleman, the young Cherokee girl whose portrait, with short biographical sketch[,] appeared in *The Advertiser* some weeks ago. It is beautifully printed, with many half-tone illustrations which would be creditable to any publication in the country, and the reading mat-

> ter is interesting. It is only by reading it, and looking at its contents that we can realize how far the educated Indians of the Territory are removed from the savages most people are accustomed to consider all Indians. This little magazine would be a credit to any portion of the country, or to any race.[48]

In 1902 a large number of newspapers across the country ran similar articles about Eddleman Reed; many readers and editors seemed intrigued with this successful young editor and publisher. "Kind Words," an item in the June 1903 *Twin Territories*, includes a quote from a Texan reader: "You have a unique magazine. It interests me both from the standpoint of sex and race.—MD, Dallas, Texas."[49] The May 1902 issue of *Twin Territories* promises that an extract from an article about the magazine appears in the Easter edition of *Harper's Weekly*: "* * * TWIN TERRITORIES—a unique magazine of its kind. Edited by Miss Edelman [*sic*], who is now its principal owner, it has a circulation of several thousand copies in Indian Territory and Oklahoma alone, and its contributors are Indians, among them chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes. It is not an ameteur [*sic*] production, but handsomely illustrated in half tone, and contains a variety of special articles, stories and poems which are excellent samples of Indian literature."[50] Eddleman Reed even had celebrities among her readership: the "Comment" from the June 1902 issue reprints an item from the *New York Times*, describing her encounter with famous Polish pianist and composer Ignacy Jan Paderewski. "Miss Ora V. Eddleman, perhaps the only Indian woman in the United States who publishes a magazine. She is editor and publisher of TWIN TERRITORIES, printed at Muskogee, the metropolis of the Indian Territory, and no one but those of Indian blood, as a rule, contribute to its pages. There is much literary excellence in the publication."[51]

Other praise connected her and *Twin Territories* with nationally famous authors. In the January–February issue of 1900, Eddleman Reed included references to Boston's *Youth's Companion* and mentions such eastern writers as "Kate Douglas Williams [Wiggin], Sarah Orne Jewette [Jewett], Mary E. Wilkins, Elizabeth Stuart Phelps, Edith Whartin [Wharton], Kate Chobin [Chopin]," as well as "other noted authors who are deeply interested in the future of the 'girl editor.'"[52] The fact that her work was known and respected by these preeminent authors solidifies her position as a significant author.[53] Judith Fetterley and Marjorie Pryse have argued that these celebrated regionalist writers composed culturally resistant texts: that their stories and novels placed in distinctive locations and centering on

women protagonists, many of them elderly, poor, or otherwise outsiders, countered the prevailing realist discourse of the late nineteenth century.[54] Like Sarah Orne Jewett's "The Town Poor" and Mary E. Wilkins Freeman's "A Mistaken Charity," regionalist stories often value community and family over individual identity; place may feature largely as a character, and plot figures less significantly than characters or location. These narratives also teach elites, who sometimes reside outside the local setting, community values. As stories such as "Her Thanksgiving Visit" and "Aunt Mary's Christmas Dinner" demonstrate, Eddleman Reed clearly knew these regionalist conventions, but she frequently gave them her distinctive vision, rejecting whites' conventional views of Indians as savage and humorously educating elites about their prejudices. Like Zitkala-Ša, whose autobiographical narratives Fetterley and Pryse discuss, Eddleman Reed's nonfiction work such as "Tahlequah," "Daughtery Canyon," and even her "What the Curious Want to Know" columns also merit further discussion in this context.

Cherokee Literature and Culture

In *Our Fire Survives the Storm*, Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee) centers on two forms of consciousness that he argues pervade Cherokee literature: Chickamauga and Beloved. The former stems from Dragging Canoe (Tsiya Gansini), a man who was portrayed as a "savage" in white history but who was instead an important figure of Cherokee resistance against U.S. colonialism, refusing to sign a treaty that would have ceded lands, leading land defense, and advocating for a Native confederation. He was so feared by whites that in his death his body was divided to "prevent [him] from coming back."[55] Justice pairs Dragging Canoe with Nanye'hi (also known as Nancy Ward [Cherokee]), the Beloved Woman of Chota famous for pursuing peace with the United States. Far more than a simple, binary distinction between a figure of war and a figure of peace, however, Justice argues that Chickamauga and Beloved consciousness is based on a commitment to balance; just as the Chickamauga spirit disavows the "yoneg" response of "slash-and-burn warfare," Nanye'hi was herself a warrior who was committed to "peace and adaptation when she believed it to be in the best interests of her people." As Justice writes, "The Chickamauga and Beloved path distinctions represented by Tsiyu Gansini and Nanye'hi, as understood here, are distinctions in *degree*, not in *kind*: they are historically rooted extensions of the shared red/white political structure that defined each Cherokee town before the governmental centralization (and which

continue in various forms today), not just those of Chota."[56] Ultimately, we have used Cherokee scholars to help us frame Eddleman Reed's Cherokee identity, regardless of how it was determined by the United States. We have also relied on her lifelong connection to Cherokee leaders and the larger Cherokee community.

Although we apply these terms somewhat cautiously to Eddleman Reed's work given that she was not a fully recognized member of Cherokee society, we can see moments of Beloved consciousness—when, for example, in a story such as "The Honor of Wynoma," she imagines a Cherokee woman marrying a white man only after he and his family demonstrate they respect her identity. Similarly, her writing evokes the Chickamauga path when, in "What the Curious Want to Know," she blasts ignorant non-Natives who have inaccurate ideas concerning Indian Territory. Her column answered questions from readers from around the country who had ignorant impressions (questions that, notably, she did not include in the newspaper). Janet Dean argues that because Eddleman Reed essentially silences these readers, she goes much further than Alexia Kosmider allows: this column is not simply an attempt to "bridge" differences between whites and Native Americans.[57] Consider some additional segments of the December 1900 installment of "What the Curious Want to Know" (with which we began this introduction), as perhaps the best example of her Chickamauga consciousness:

> Archie, Haddam, Conn.
> I don't know of any Indian girl with great wealth who is looking for a handsome husband. The story read was no doubt untrue. The Indian girls out here have better sense than to advertise themselves in that manner. As you suggest, you might 'come out and look around for yourself,' but unless you have some sense with your good looks, I won't be responsible for the result. (b) No, please don't send your photograph. Your description sufficed.

Another response takes a similar turn:

> J.A.K., Westfield, Mass.
> (a) It is no more dangerous to live in Indian Territory than any part of the United States. (b) Yes, you are safe in bringing your wife with you—so far as I know. I am not acquainted with her, but if she doesn't whip you, no one here will, as long as you are a law-abiding citizen.

Eddleman Reed inverts both gender and ethnic stereotypes here, assigning superior power to the (presumably) white letter writer's wife. Her acer-

bic wit resembles that of such Indigenous writers as Sarah Winnemucca (Northern Paiute) and William Apess (Pequot), who corrected non-Natives' stereotypical accounts of Native Americans. Indeed, some installments echo such texts directly; in July 1902 Eddleman Reed responded to a "Violet" of Columbia, Minnesota, "Don't believe the 'chief' you mention wants 'a white wife.' He has one already and a most charming family." This statement startlingly echoes a line from Apess's "An Indian's Looking Glass for the White Man" essay (1833): "But as I am not looking for a wife, having one of the finest cast, as you no doubt would understand while you read her experience and travail of soul in the way to heaven, you will see that it is not my object."[58]

Eddleman Reed's tone was sometimes satirical, like those of other Native writers; as she wrote in "The Indian's Passing," "The white man has educated him, the major part of which education consists in teaching him to chew, smoke, and drink." She also remarks, "Yes, the Indian has been civilized, but in some instances it has had a bad effect," evoking Winnemucca's comment that the whites "did not come because they loved us, or because they were Christians. No; they were just like all civilized people; they came to take us up there because they were to be paid for it."[59] "What the Curious Want to Know" also reflects, we would argue, the spirit of Chickamauga in its blatant resistance to whites' ignorance and prejudice about Indian Territory. Eddleman Reed's technique of refusing to include the authors' questions effectively silences them, retaining her perspective as the center.[60]

Daniel Littlefield and James Parins offer some biographic and bibliographic information about Eddleman Reed, but her work is secondary to Posey's publications. Dean's *Unconventional Politics* includes a chapter on the author, where Dean foregrounds how Eddleman Reed's writing attempts to establish a space between full-blood "squaw" (which she references in scare quotes to distinguish herself) and a member of the white race. Like *Twin Territories*, which encompassed both Indian Territory and Oklahoma, she identified with both Cherokee and white legacies. It was the genre of the commercial magazine, Dean argues, that most allowed Eddleman Reed to "redefine what it meant to be a Native American at the turn of the twentieth century."[61] From this position she could both critique whites' simplistic, inaccurate images of Indigenous peoples and propose versions of Cherokee identity that sometimes countered the community's own.

Twin Territories also exhibits a central characteristic of periodicals: an active exchange of differing opinions, made possible by the range of

voices in its pages. In "The Passing of the Indian," Montague Chamberlain (which may have been a pen name for Eddleman Reed, her granddaughter believes)[62] criticizes Charles Gibson's account of Native Americans falling away: "The Indian is just as well fitted as the white man to enter into and enjoy the higher life. Mr. Gibson argues that the people of his race are not ready for education, and cannot be prepared to compete in the pursuits of civilization; but Mr. Gibson is mistaken—he has not taken a correct measure of the capabilities of his people; his own life proves the falsity of his argument."[63] Eddleman Reed's willingness to publish this critique even of the esteemed Gibson, whose works she often printed, shows her comfort with political debate. She was familiar with other Native American writers, including Alice Callahan and Zitkala-Ša; she owned a copy of the latter's *Old Indian Legends* at her death.[64]

As Kirby Brown (Cherokee) has detailed in *Stoking the Fire*, while the period after Oklahoma statehood has been largely dismissed as the "dark age" of Cherokee literature, it actually was a time in which many Cherokees produced literature: "Thus, while it might be accurate to say that the Cherokee *nation* entered a roughly sixty-year period of political dormancy following Oklahoma statehood in 1907, Cherokee *nationhood* remained very much a part of how Cherokees from this period continued to understand themselves and the multiple worlds in and across which they moved."[65] As Brown notes, Eddleman Reed was one of this period's female authors whose work even Cherokee scholars have largely ignored. As such, she is one of the key authors whose work indicates Cherokee visions of nationhood following statehood, but she is not the only one.

We have compared Eddleman Reed to numerous earlier and contemporaneous Native American authors. Both on the basis of biography and literary accomplishments, the closest comparison between Eddleman Reed and specifically Cherokee authors is perhaps John Milton Oskison. Both had white fathers and immigrant ancestors; Eddleman Reed's grandfather immigrated from Ireland, while Oskison's father arrived from England. The writers were near contemporaries—Oskison was born in 1874 and Eddleman Reed in 1880. And both spent their childhood in Indian Territory and many adult years living in Cherokee country. Unlike Oskison (or other contemporaries such as Gertrude Bonnin and Charles Alexander Eastman), Eddleman Reed wrote little autobiography—as we noted above, the only text we found that straightforwardly addresses her life experience is her essay about meeting the famous pianist Paderewski. Like Eddleman

Reed, Oskison worked as a journalist, but unlike her, he worked in the East, reporting for the *New York Evening Post* between 1903 and 1906, and then as a financial editor for *Collier's Magazine* between 1909 and 1914.[66]

Additionally, their literary approaches have many parallels. Like Eddleman Reed, Oskison worked in the regionalist tradition—which led to reviews that emphasized the ostensible "non-Indianness" of his writing. As Lionel Larré documents, contemporary scholars have critiqued Oskison's work harshly for its melodrama, sentimentalism, and stereotyped characters.[67] Although Eddleman Reed chose to claim a Cherokee identity and emphasize Native themes, she is vulnerable to similar charges of what some might label aesthetic malfeasance.

Rather than dismissing such work as inauthentic, however, we might remember what purposes a mode such as sentimentalism serves in Eddleman Reed's (and by extension, Oskison's) work. By the time she was writing, this affective literary mode had lost its popularity as a strategy widely used by many famous American writers. The well-educated Eddleman Reed would have known this fact, which indicates that her choice to use the genre was deliberate. As we discuss above regarding regionalism, her short fiction responds forcefully to the racism and colonialism of U.S. society. Deploying white authors' stereotypes and sentimental tropes—including family members' death, orphanhood, and lost love—Eddleman Reed asserts Indigenous characters' humanity while undermining unidimensional understandings of what constitutes, or should constitute, Indian identity or love and family relationships. Concerning Oskison, Larré has remarked: "[He] himself very early questioned the preconceived notion of 'Indianness.'"[68] This argument applies as well to Eddleman Reed.

Eddleman Reed's short stories seem performative, speaking from what W. E. B. Du Bois called "two-ness" or double consciousness, which addressed *Twin Territories*' dual audiences—white and Native—very differently.[69] Is she, to borrow another term from African American literary scholarship, "signifying" on her stock heroines and familiar plots? We might consider whether her stories ranging from "A Pair of Moccasins" to "A Christmas Legend" gesture toward parody. As Justice has observed, "Cherokee realities are far more complicated than [the] simplistic and simple-minded stereotypes" of the civilized savage and the Cherokee princess.[70] Yet in "Aunt Mary's Christmas Dinner," for example, Eddleman Reed introduces a "real" "Indian princess" disguised as a white servant. In doing so, she not only underscores the white characters' ignorance and castigates their

cringe-worthy racism, but she also questions static categories of race, gender, and class.

We have avoided conventional labels such as "traditional" and "assimilated" to describe Eddleman Reed and her work. Here it might be helpful to introduce a third term that Justice defines and that can illuminate her oeuvre: "acculturated." "*Assimilation* . . . is the wholesale rejection of Indigenous values and their replacement with Eurowestern values, either through choice, coercion, or violence. *Acculturation* is both more proactive and amenable to Cherokee continuity, thus changing some cultural expressions while maintaining the centrality of Cherokee identity and values."[71] To return to "Aunt Mary's Christmas Dinner," we see Eddleman Reed emphasizing the orphan protagonist's Cherokee identity partly through emplacement. As the narrative opens, Aunt Mary opens a letter she has just received, as her nephews look on: "'But it's such a queer post mark,' continued Aunt Mary, slowly breaking the seal. 'T-a-h-l-e-q-u-a-h—how do you pronounce it? Must be somewhere in the Indian Territory—capital, ain't it, Joe? I don't remember my maps very well.'" Situating Tahlequah, the capital of Indian Territory, on the story's first page, Eddleman Reed underscores its centrality to the narrative and to her protagonist Nannie's Cherokee identity. This placement also signals the degree of Cherokee influence on the broader territory. She augments this strategy by repeating "Cherokee" again and again, and she ironizes this repetition by having the nephews *name* the impending visitor "Cherokee," simultaneously erasing Nannie's individuality and highlighting her representative power.

The moment when Nannie reveals her identity is extremely melodramatic, as she offers financial assistance to Aunt Mary's bankrupt nephew Frank, despite his offensive racism and sexism:

> "Aunt Mary!" she exclaimed, ignoring her surprise. "Frank! Joe! I've got it! Here's the money—at least, I can give you a check for it—right now! See here!" and opening the grips she produced several letters—one from Dr. Lambert, introducing her, and another written by her father just before his death.
>
> Aunt Mary, Frank and Joe stared.
>
> "You can't be—Cherokee?" gasped Frank.
>
> "I am Nannie Jenkins, a Cherokee Indian girl, sir," she returned proudly.

Two elements deserve particular attention here. First is Nannie's affirmation of family relationships, a central Cherokee value. Second, is her power as

"*a Cherokee Indian girl*"—one whose culture assigns authority to Cherokee women. Eddleman Reed emphasizes acculturation rather than assimilation partly by ostensibly centering the story on Christmas dinner—but more importantly Nannie's gift giving. The author ends with an exchange that suggests this approach even as it ironizes her white characters' obtuseness:

> "I think, Aunt Mary," [Joe] said, "we'll keep her in the family!"
>
> "Oh, ho!" cried his aunt, and she shook them both.
>
> "Now who says we won't have a happy Christmas dinner!" exclaimed Nannie, as they sat down to finish their interrupted meal.

"Maintaining the centrality of Cherokee identity and values," in Lionel Larré's words, Eddleman Reed's story prioritizes an alternative narrative: it is *Nannie* who keeps Frank, Joe, and Aunt Mary "in the family." Simultaneously, Eddleman Reed, like Oskison, Eastman, and other Native intellectual contemporaries, offers a "counter-representation" of "Indian modernity": Nannie emerges as an educated, up-to-date New Woman.[72]

Several nonfiction Eddleman Reed texts address topics Oskison also explored, such as land appropriation and recovery, the figure of the cowboy in Indian Territory, the sophisticated accomplishments of various Cherokee individuals (and the Cherokee Nation as a whole), and the relationship between Native and mainstream U.S. cultures. She also addressed more traditionally gendered subjects, such as the exploitation of Indian orphans and the misrepresentation of Indian women in the mainstream press. Her approach to these issues varies; some selections are reportorial while others are more personal. Overall, however, her aim—like Oskison's—was to upend negative stereotypes surrounding life in Indian Territory and the people, especially the Cherokees, who lived there.

Oskison's "Cherokee Migration," published in the *Tahlequah Arrow* on May 31, 1902,[73] opens by describing the effort to remove the Cherokees west of the Mississippi River; it begins almost legalistically: "In accordance with the policy of the United States in dealing with the Indians, and in pursuance of treaty stipulations entered into with a small fragment of the tribe, it was determined by the federal government in 1838 to remove the Cherokees from the lands occupied by them in Georgia, Alabama, North Carolina, and Tennessee." The description includes noteworthy dates, as well as an observation that "Georgia professed an utter inability ever to assimilate a body of Indians, declaring that she would never rest until they had been sent out of her boundaries."[74] Oskison resists standard accounts

of removal, subtly stressing the "small fragment of the tribe" that authorized the removal treaty.

The next section, "Cattle and Horses," initially seems detached as well, but it undermines conventional histories by presenting an extensive inventory of the Cherokee Nation's economic, cultural, and social wealth. A small sample here represents the whole. A federal War Department agent who has conducted a survey "as early as 1825" provides a telling report after "an extended tour in the Cherokee country": "Numberless herds of cattle grazed upon their extensive plains; horses were numerous, many and extensive flocks of sheep, goats, and swine covered the hills and valleys; the climate was healthy and delicious, and the winters were mild; the soil of the valleys and plains was rich and produced corn, tobacco, cotton, wheat, oats, indigo, and potatoes." This description continues, recounting such features as trade, education, and cultural institutions and occupying a single sentence in a very long paragraph that ends caustically with a second sentence: "These were the people whom Georgia held in contempt; and this is the Arcadia that General Scott was sent in 1838 to destroy."[75] The lengthy inventory celebrates the Cherokees' accomplishments, making the terse last sentence especially powerful.

In a section called "Stationed Forces," the essay incorporates historical facts such as General Scott's plea to the Cherokees to prepare for removal, the horrific losses on the journey, and the murder of the treaty party. Oskison concludes with "Final Settlement," which lauds the Cherokees' progress (despite Civil War–era setbacks), itemizes further land cessions, and supports Indian Territory statehood.[76]

Eddleman Reed's published statements on this period of Cherokee history often parallel Oskison's. "About the Cherokees," published in the April 1899 *Twin Territories*, begins in 1621 and reviews some of the disastrous early interactions with white settlers before the narrative arrives at the catastrophe of removal:

> Seventeen thousand of these pilgrims started upon the journey to their new home, but hundreds were destined never to reach this country. Their teams were poor and their vehicles for the most part were rough contrivances, constructed by themselves. Provisions gave out and disease attacked their ranks. As many as fourteen died per day for weeks, and the great procession was turned into a funeral cortege. Many poor fellows lay down by the roadside in despair, weakened and emaciated by hunger and disease, never

> to rise. Not more than five miles per day could be made, and their bones whitened the trail they made in their march through the wilderness.

Eddleman Reed's account focuses more closely on particular miseries and corporeal details than Oskison's. Like his, however, her narrative similarly emphasizes Cherokee resilience, evident in "the numerous handsome dwellings, fertile farms and the prosperous schools [that] remain as eloquent testimony." She concludes with a detailed account of Sequoyah, the creator of the Cherokee syllabary, that includes a personal narrative about her correspondence with Sequoyah's granddaughter, "Mrs. Downing, who lives near Texana, I.T.," which provides specific details about the circumstances surrounding his death that rebut the conventional narrative.[77] In referencing this letter, Eddleman Reed underscores the centrality of Cherokee community and history and their relationship to her own life and work.

Both Oskison and Eddleman Reed serve as cultural recorders. When these essays were published, both spoke principally to Indian Territory, even local, audiences, although both writers would eventually reach a much wider public. As they did so, they documented not just the pre-removal past and its key figures; they also highlighted admirable contemporaries, as we see, for example, in Oskison's "Making an Individual of the Indian" and "The Indian in the Professions," and Eddleman Reed's "Three Indian Writers of Prominence" and "Great Work of an Indian."[78] Another comment that Larré makes about Oskison resonates for Eddleman Reed: "[His] counter-representations of Indian modernity were the acts of resistance that Oskison, Eastman, and other Indian intellectuals of the time accomplished in their writings."[79] Eddleman Reed's earliest works, including "Modern Mistress Lo," combat stereotypes, presenting Indian women (especially Cherokees) as intelligent, educated, modern, acculturated Americans. At the same time that she—again, like Oskison—emphasized the value of education, she expressed complicated attitudes toward "full-bloods" and "mixed-bloods," as we see both in her early prose and in "Night Brings Out the Stars."[80] We need to continue exploring how the powerful contemporaneous pressures toward assimilation may have impacted her writing, and how she responded to such pressures.[81] Was she, as Larré calls Oskison, "an integrationist rather than an assimilationist"?[82]

Genres

Activist Writing and Journalism

Eddleman Reed portrayed images of American Indian women in Euro-American style dress to simultaneously show their civility and to resist prominent images of supposedly "savage" Indians. Simultaneously, in presenting images of women—including herself—in traditional dress, she challenged the ethnocentrism of so-called civilization, instead centering Cherokee definitions. Relying on a satirical tone that compares to that by Native American writers Sarah Winnemucca and William Apess, Eddleman Reed worked to correct the dominant society's misperceptions. In doing so, and in contributing to the Cherokees' active role in the Oklahoma government, she worked to replace stereotypes of the "Vanishing Indian" with a vibrant, resilient personhood. The story "Modern Mistress Lo," which appeared in *Harper's Bazaar* in 1908, resembles E. Pauline Johnson's essay "A Strong Race Opinion" (1892), in which Johnson critiques the common representation of the First Nations woman: "She is always desperately in love with the young white hero, who in turn is grateful to her for services rendered the garrison in general and himself in particular during red days of war. In short, she is so much wrapped up in him that she is treacherous to her own people, tells falsehoods to her father and the other chiefs of her tribe, and otherwise makes herself detestable and dishonourable."[83] Johnson rejects insulting depictions that suggest First Nations women's inferiority.

Eddleman Reed's similarly acerbic words appeared in the October 1908 *Lincoln Star*, which credited the *Harper's Bazaar* essay:

> The mere mention of the word Indian usually calls up a vision of a hideous savage, in war paint and feathers; and speak of an Indian woman! One has heard and read all sorts of stories about "squaws," and they are not generally regarded as in the least interesting, except perhaps to the student of ethnology. The popular idea seems to be that Mistress Lo is uncouth, dull, and unattractive—her surroundings are supposed to be such as to make her so. She has been so often pictured as a sort of drudge, a packhorse, to bear the burdens imposed upon her by her warrior—an ambitionless creature with no thought outside of her own narrow sphere—that the world, in its hurry and rush, has scarcely given her a thought, nor even dreamed that she could have developed into anything more than she was in the days of savages.

Rejecting this stereotype, she describes contemporary Cherokee women as graceful and assured, like "any other refined and cultured American woman." Such women are distinguished, she suggests, by their education, musical ability, writing ability, and intelligence—and she includes herself in their company. More broadly, she asserts that Indian Territory is not a dangerous place filled with "savage" people, but a place of "great progress and development." Both Native women and Native nations are modern and forward-thinking.

Not surprisingly, Eddleman Reed was furious when eastern papers began to refer to her as the daughter of an "Indian squaw." She corrects the offensive term "squaw."[84] In the last *Twin Territories* issue of 1899, she expressed her frustration with eastern perceptions of American Indians: "The idea some people in the states have of the Indians of the Five Civilized Tribes is rEdiculous [*sic*] and everybody who comes here should hasten to tell their friends in the states the real condition of affairs, as Mrs. Benedict did. We are not a lot of savages out here and we want the world to know it."[85] Eddleman Reed used her editorial authority to demonstrate that writing could serve activist purposes.

The editor formulated other strategies for combating noxious stereotypes. Dean has analyzed the photographs of American Indian women in *Twin Territories*, noting how they depart from traditional photography of women, particularly Native women: "In the regular feature 'Types of Indian Girls' (sometimes titled 'Types of Indian Women,') Eddleman Reed reconfigures commercial photography to disrupt that system. The department presents a 'counterarchive' of images that at once claims a space for Native females in the middle class and challenges essentializing representations of indigenous exoticism and inferiority."[86] The American Indian women in these photographs offer a contemplative smile, exist in a modernized space, and represent the diversity and tribal affiliation of actual Native women, as Eddleman Reed insists in her March 1903 piece, "Some Pretty Costumes Donned for the Occasion":

> In presenting the pictures of the girl in aboriginal dress, it is not intended to convey the idea that this is the conventional attire of the Indian women of Indian Territory. On the contrary, the editor ventures the assertion that these "quaint Indian dresses" will attract as much attention among her Indian Territory and Oklahoma readers as among those readers in the

> States whose impression it is that the feminine portion of the inhabitants of Indian Territory still cling to the habits and dress of their mothers' mothers. Certainly the women of Indian Territory who are fortunate enough to be able to claim Indian blood are very proud of it, and to them, perhaps, there is the sweetest fascination for the Indian manner of dressing.[87]

Stereotypical images of Native women abounded at the time, and as Amanda Zink notes, works such as Penrhyn Stanlaws's comparable "Girls of Many Nations" in *Everybody's Magazine* omitted Indigenous women entirely. Eddleman Reed upends stereotypes, presenting Miss Leola Stidham, for example, as an "accomplished young Creek girl."[88] See figure 1.

Twin Territories is also replete with photographs of the burgeoning landscape that contrasts sharply with the "terra nullius" of the colonizers' gaze. Instead of imagining Indian Territory as empty and ready for settlement, Eddleman Reed portrays a land that is both beautiful and inhabited. The periodical appeared following the era of 1875–85 that historians have called the "Golden Age of the Cherokee Indian"—a title Robert J. Conley says was due to the era's Anglo influence.[89] The Indian Territory that *Twin Territories* envisions is not defined entirely, however, by white influence. In pieces such as "Daugherty Canyon" and "Tahlequah," Kosmider notes, Eddleman Reed was invested in countering the most frequent representations of Indians at the time: dime novels, Wild West shows, and children's literature.[90] These pieces combine natural beauty with economic development. As "Daugherty Canyon" reads, "For a full half-mile, the Santa Fe road-bed is literally carved out of the solid face of the cliff, which rises to a distance of 300 feet above the track, while on the other, not a dozen feet from the steel rails, the noisy river brawls and foams above the rocky bed."[91] "The Land of the Chickasaws" includes engravings of the railroad at the north entrance of Daugherty Canyon and the bridge across Washita near the canyon. The accompanying article describes peaceful settings where the natural world and technology combine: "Out of the grey shadows of these lofty walls the train sweeps into the loveliest dells imaginable, carpeted with softest mosses spangled all over with many-hued wild flowers of sweetest fragrance."[92] Eddleman Reed resists and revises both the pastoral image of nature's "purity" and the mechanized representation of the Industrial Revolution.[93] The author had some advertising intent here, describing the area's beauty from an outsider's perspective: "The tourist in anticipation unconsciously catches his breath."[94] Such representations

MISS FANNIE NASH, one of the popular young ladies of the Cherokee Nation.

MISS IDA MILLER, daughter of Mr. B. Miller, of Muskogee. She is an attractive Creek Indian girl.

MISS LEOLA STIDHAM, of Eufaula, I. T., the accomplished young Creek girl who was chosen sponsor to represent the Indian Territory division of the U. C. V's at Dallas, Texas.

MISS ALMA NASH, the Cherokee girl who represented the U. C. V. Post at Fort Gibson at the annual reunion held at Dallas, Texas.

1. "Types of Indian Girls," *Twin Territories*, May 1902. Courtesy Betty Groth.

contrast significantly with the dominant society's depictions of Indian Territory as a place of "liquor, lawlessness, and unprotected whites."[95] The narrator of "Daugherty Canyon," a tourist of sorts, evokes the era's burgeoning southwest tourism literature: "There is no regular railway station at the canyon, but any Santa Fe conductor, with the usual courtesy of the officials of that road, finds it a pleasure instead of an annoyance to stop his train and allow pleasure-seekers to get off at a switch which has been put in at the north extremity of the gorge." "Courtesy" and "pleasure," not "savagery" and "lawlessness," accompany visitors to spectacular, canyon-filled Indian Territory.

Eddleman Reed's stories paint Indian Territory as a romantic place of gurgling brooks and beautiful women, full of some of the same advantages that Elias Boudinot emphasized in "An Address to the Whites" (1826): male and female seminaries and material wealth. John Milton Oskison similarly highlights economic, agricultural, and educational prosperity in "Cherokee Migration" (1902). As Leah Dilworth notes, the early twentieth-century Southwest witnessed an impressive uptake in tourism.[96] Images such as these photographs no doubt fed, and were fed by, such interests.

An article in Posey's *Indian Journal* of September 19, 1902, similarly depicts Indian Territory as a place of "rich, fertile soil . . . beautiful rivers and streams . . . and delightful climate"; Posey's own interest in such representations increased when he became involved in real estate in the early 1900s. The reporter emphasizes the "marvelously rich bottom lands, vast stretches of timber land and valuable, unexplored mineral deposits. Coal mines are being developed and railroads are building and extending in every direction."[97] Similarly, in "The Choctaw People," Eddleman Reed emphasizes that the nation's chief wealth is its inexhaustible coal beds, which generate immense income. Eddleman Reed also notes the prevalence of timbering: walnut, pine, and oak abound. Stressing the region's beauty, she writes, "In point of natural scenery, also, the Choctaw Nation is unsurpassed by anything this side of the Sierra Madre mountains." Again Eddleman Reed appeals to potential visitors, who would bring profits to Indian Territory.

Those surprised or troubled by Eddleman Reed's emphasis on the economic development of Indian Country might consider the work of Mark Rifkin, who argues that we should consider Native authors as producing *mediating* texts that, in Bruno Latour's words, "transform, translate, distort, and modify the meaning of the elements they are supposed to carry."[98] As

Rifkin goes on to say, "treating texts as mediators suggests that they perform important intellectual and perceptual labor, drawing attention to the ways they alter the meaning and shape of Indigenous peoplehood in the process of portraying it."[99] Their alterations depend on how they maintain their own conceptions of Indigenous sovereignty, not in an effort to integrate it into the settler mode, but, as Kiara M. Vigil remarks, to tip "the balance of power in their favor."[100] These writers depend, Rifkin continues, on their own conceptions of governance: "Nineteenth-century Native writings might be read less as expressing or enacting an extracolonial sovereignty than as negotiating the possibilities for signifying sovereignty in relation to non-native networks."[101] Sarah Winnemucca, for instance, resisted the narrative of the Ghost Dance, a mode that suggested the Paiutes as part of a complicated, extensive group, instead presenting Northern Paiutes as a cohesive, land-based, singular polity with a familial governance in order to argue for their sovereignty in terms consistent with the settler state. The Cherokees, notably Elias Boudinot, used an elitist version of Cherokee nationhood in the form of the Treaty Party, a version that fits well with settler interpretations of this nationhood. Eddleman Reed faced a different time in Cherokee history, when Oklahoma's impending statehood threatened any claim to Cherokee sovereignty. We can understand her emphasis on the capitalist development and modernity of the nation as a reading that inflected settlers' own, while still encouraging a sovereign ethos.

In a somewhat similar vein, James Cox takes issue with many critics' expectations when approaching Native American literature. He argues that scholars have typically privileged the study of resistance, which often comes in the form of AIM (American Indian Movement) and other actions of the 1960s and 1970s. Instead, he remarks that "critics in Native literary studies might productively bring these challenging political moments into conversation in an effort to demonstrate the full richness of the politics in American Indian literary history and Indigenous communities and to derive from that conversation ideas about how best to confront enduring, deeply entrenched settler-colonial states."[102] Without acknowledging the diversity of opinion that exists in Native literature, Cox contends, scholars fail to treat it with the depth and complexity it deserves. We should remember Cox's argument when studying Eddleman Reed, a woman who valued sovereignty, but who also approved of the capitalist development that may not seem appropriate for progressive resistance. *Twin Territories* itself, with its mix of opinions, seems an ideal version of the dynamic text Cox envisions.

One of Eddleman Reed's most important contributions to Native American studies is the historiography of *Twin Territories* and, in particular, her column of *Sturm's* that focused on American Indian history. Especially as editor of the Indian Department of *Sturm's Statehood Magazine* (later *Sturm's Oklahoma Magazine*), she penned several historical accounts of Indian Territory, including, for example, a story describing the five million dollars won by Cherokee lawyer Robert L. Owen in 1906, a victory of a campaign that Owen began in 1900.[103] She reported on the duties of J. George Wright, U.S. Inspector for Indian Territory. And she used her position to speak to the contentious issues of Black rights in Indian Territory in June 1899, with "Do Not Want Them." This essay is more measured about these rights than the title would suggest: Eddleman Reed notes that "the negro has had full and equal rights with ourselves, and in many instances more, as there are thousands who may have become citizens." Here she references the question of African American citizenship, which had become more complicated in the twentieth century; Freedmen, people who had been slaves of Cherokees, were first made U.S. citizens following the Civil War with the Civil Rights Bill of 1866. In 1906 Eddleman Reed authored "The Averted Catastrophe" in *Sturm's Statehood Magazine*, which described the recent decision, following the 1898 Curtis Act (which threatened to end most dimensions of tribal government by March 4, 1906), to extend tribal government for a year.[104] This decision allowed Indian schools to stay open.

Among her more interesting accounts of regional affairs is "When the Cowboy Reigned"; here, cowboys seemingly take the place of stereotypical Indians, whom crushing civilization has replaced:

> The cowboy, who braved the territory in days of danger and lawlessness, who once galloped over its far-reaching prairies, lord of his ranch kingdom, has had to move on. He saw, as he sat on his faithful cow pony, his kingdom usurped by the progress of civilization. His domain has been converted into neat farms. Instead of the isolated ranch house, where, after the roundup, the boys gathered to "spin yarns," sing rollicking songs, to play a friendly game of cards, and to dream sometimes of homes far away "in the States"—this has been displaced for comfortable farm houses.

The Native Americans, in contrast, seem less affected by this change: "The Indians, learning of their white neighbors, are waking up, and their homes, too, put on a more prosperous appearance." Eddleman Reed positions the

cowboy as a distinctive, if passing, figure in this new colonized landscape: "The allotment of lands, the progress of the Indians, the onrush of civilization, the incoming of thousands of investors, capitalists—and grafters—all this has changed the old order of things, and the cow-man is dethroned." Perhaps she found in the figure of the cowboy a substitute for the stereotypical Indian who, in easterners' eyes, belonged to the past. In this sense, she rewrites the white-centered version of U.S. history, in which it is the Indian, not the cowboy, who is fated to disappear. Ironically (and perhaps purposefully), in this description she attributes "savage" characteristics to the white cowboy and "civilized" ones to his Indian counterparts (although as the work of Oskison, Riggs, and other Cherokees suggest, these cowboys may have been American Indian).

In "The Dying of the Council Fires," Eddleman Reed tells a story of Cherokee history that ostensibly mirrors the nation's defeat with the Trail of Tears—a defeat that the Cherokees must have felt particularly strongly as U.S. legislators passed the Curtis Act and created the state of Oklahoma. But she also conveys Cherokee capacity: "Civilization had now so far progressed among the Cherokees that in 1820 they had adopted a regular republican form of government, modeled after that of the United States." This passage envisions the Native American state of Sequoyah. Eddleman Reed also documents in detail the degree to which Georgia took advantage of Cherokees once gold was discovered there in 1829: "All Cherokee laws and customs were declared null and void. . . . An Indian property owner had no right to defend himself in any court, or to resist the seizure of his homestead." Paralleling the efforts of Sarah Winnemucca in *Life among the Piutes* (1883) and Zitkala-Ša in various writings, ranging from her essays in the *Atlantic Monthly* (January–March 1900) to her acerbic exposé in *Oklahoma's Poor Rich Indians* (1924), Eddleman Reed's description of land appropriation resonates with what we would now call environmental injustice.[105]

Eddleman Reed's additional commitment to the Native community emerges in her record of publishing important Indigenous writers; she published at least nineteen, including Mabel Washbourne Anderson (Cherokee), Charles Gibson (Creek), Robert Owen (Cherokee), Pleasant Porter (Creek), John Rollin Ridge (Cherokee), and Joshua Ross (Cherokee). These authors published important accounts of their tribes' cultural rituals, such as Gibson's "A Creek Festival: Green Corn Dance" in July 1899 and "A 'Medicine Man's' Examination" in December 1899. Alex Posey's poetry was

the most significant. Eddleman Reed published several Posey selections, including "Pohalton Lake" (November 1899), "Song of the Oktahutche" (May 1900)—a poem that gained new relevance when Posey drowned in the same river in 1908—"To a Robin" (July 1900 and September 1902), and "Bob White" (August 1900 and November 1902). *Twin Territories* also ran some of his Fus Fixico letters, for which he is best known.

Posey and Eddleman Reed admired one another, as evident by his comment in the *Indian Journal* of October 3, 1902: "Miss Eddleman has the distinction of being the original Indian woman in journalism and has displayed so much originality and enterprise that her literary efforts have been exceedingly popular."[106] She published articles about him, including an obituary that celebrates Posey as "one of the most brilliant men the Indians of any tribe have produced."[107] Three years after his death she wrote another article to draw attention to a book of his poetry that his widow had just published. Eddleman Reed describes him as "the greatest poet the Indian race has produced," attributing these literary skills primarily to his Indigenous ancestry. She also praises the humorous Fus Fixico letters, a treasure of his newspaper that was "sought by well known writers throughout the United States."[108]

Though Posey was a particular favorite, many other Native authors appeared in *Twin Territories*. Eddleman Reed features a piece by Yankton author Cetan Sepa, who depicts assimilated American Indians. She also includes an engraving of Gypsy Callahan, Alice Callahan's sister. As Eddleman Reed notes, Alice authored the first novel by a Native American woman: "Her sister, Alice, who died several years ago, was an exceptionally brilliant girl, having taught a number of years in the Creek schools. She was an interesting writer, and when merely a girl she produced several volumes. One of her books, published in 1890, was entitled 'Wynema, a Child of the Forest,' and created quite a stir in the literary world of the west, and the talented young lady received much praise."[109] As this careful accounting suggests, Eddleman Reed energetically advanced the growth of early twentieth-century Native American literature.

Short Fiction

We can read Eddleman Reed's short stories, most of which appeared in *Twin Territories* with the pen name Mignon Schreiber—which she may have chosen due to her diminutive stature—as subtle responses to the colo-

nialism and racism she encountered in white society. The story "A Pair of Moccasins" seems a virtual retelling of the story of colonialism: it begins with a brother and sister nestled in the depths of nature, who are abruptly and for no apparent reason separated. The girl eventually finds herself in a boarding school, a victim of prejudice from the daughter of the man who originally rescued her from a rail accident. With time, the daughter repents, and the siblings are reunited, as the moccasin enables her to find her brother, who possesses its match. Notwithstanding their loss—of time together, of history—this single memory helps the Cherokee characters move on and reestablish family relations. As the story concludes, "But always there existed between himself and his sister a bond unbreakable. And Eloise's children cherish an old, torn pair of moccasins—and often clamor for this story." Throughout the narrative, Eddleman Reed reiterates common themes: some whites are racist, but others provide essential help; schooling is beneficial, as well as helpful in passing on the community's stories. Ultimately the story underscores Native peoples' resilience despite the chaos of a changing world.

Many Eddleman Reed short stories depict a mixed-blood young woman who falls in love with a white man. At some point—often when his parents learn of her ancestry—this plot becomes a problem for the white characters. Such stories resemble two by her contemporary, the Mohawk writer E. Pauline Johnson: "As It Was in the Beginning" and "A Red Girl's Reasoning." Like Johnson, Eddleman Reed portrays a strong Indigenous woman who refuses to buckle when she encounters her potential in-laws' disrespect. The heroine of "As It Was" poisons her lover to avenge his and his uncle's rejection of her, while in "A Red Girl's Reasoning" the lead character leaves her fiancé when others challenge her parents' traditional, non-Christian marriage. Charley, the latter story's rejected lover, ends in a dismal position:

> He tossed off his coat and sat for ten minutes looking blankly at the sputtering gas jet. Then his whole life, desolate as a desert, loomed up before him with appalling distinctness. Throwing himself on the floor beside his bed, with clasped hands and arms outstretched on the white counterpane, he sobbed. "Oh! God, dear God, I thought you loved me; I thought you'd let me have her again, but you must be tired of me, tired of loving me too. I've nothing left now, nothing! it doesn't seem that I even have you to-night."

> He lifted his face then, for his dog, big and clumsy and yellow, was licking at his sleeve.[110]

Essentially unmanned, the strong white lover proves no match for his courageous, ethical Indian counterpart.

Eddleman Reed's "The Honor of Wynoma" (November 1902) is most similar to Johnson's stories; it features an Indian girl who, knowing her potential mother-in-law opposes her, agrees to visit the woman's home for a Thanksgiving visit with the lover's sister, pretending to be the sister's friend. As the sister, lover Horton Boynton, and the Indian girl predict, Wynoma's graceful appearance and obvious wealth charm Mrs. Boynton, and she even asks Wynoma to flirt with her son. Initially Wynoma agrees, as the two enjoy several conversations apart from the family; but ultimately she declares her Native pride and insists on separating from Horton. The young man suffers the same fate as Charley—"Horton is miserable"—until his mother finally apologizes to Wynoma and begs her to return to Horton. Similarly, in "The Fate of Starry Eyes," a young Indian woman graduates from college only to find her fiancé horrified by the sight of her Indian family at the commencement ceremony. Enraged, Starry Eyes returns home to her father, though she is doomed to an early death, heartbroken from the fiancé's rejection. Eddleman Reed's stories voice an Indigenous pride similar to Johnson's, though this pride does not always seem as intense. This element of her stories also resembles Callahan's *Wynema*, which includes the title character's love affair with a white man.[111]

In many Eddleman Reed stories, the equality of the Indigenous woman to whites stems at least partly from her material wealth: in both "The Fate of Starry Eyes" and "The Honor of Wynoma," the author emphasizes the heroine's monetary privilege. Starry Eyes, for example, has a wealthy, prominent father who sends her to college and denies her nothing: "Rich clothes were hers in plenty, furnished by the lavish father." Similarly, the latter story corrects Mrs. Boynton's (and, perhaps, the reader's) presumption of the Cherokee girl's poverty: "Her home, instead of the tepee which Mrs. Boynton had pictured, was a spacious white house surrounded by grounds as lovely as Mrs. Boynton's own. The interior furnishings, too, were equal in taste, beauty, and value to those found in other homes—for John Littleheart belonged to a progressive tribe, and his daughter had had lavished upon her every advantage that money could buy."

Theda Perdue has described the emphasis on wealthy Cherokees as

related particularly to slave owners of the first half of the nineteenth century. The concept of "half-bloods," she argues, became associated with a progressive, "friendly" identity in sharp contrast to the so-called savage whom most Americans believed had less connection to white society. In the early nineteenth century, Cherokees such as Chief John Ross were affluent, and such wealth became a way for certain Cherokees to argue for their political rights. As Circe Sturm (Mississippi Choctaw) contends, in a time when blood quantum was becoming increasingly important, racism against Blacks became a routine way for Cherokees to claim their superiority.[112] Further, the nineteenth century witnessed greater antagonism between Cherokee slaveholders and non-slaveholders than earlier periods. Importantly, however, these differences were more a stereotype than a reality: although slave-owning Cherokees typically had more white blood, the population was too diverse to support such an easy distinction between "half-bloods" and "full-bloods."[113] In the early 1800s white federal agents emphasized differences in individuals' wealth and their relationships to Cherokee tradition, finding it easier to see those with less Cherokee ancestry as more progressive. We can understand Eddleman Reed's emphasis on her characters' wealth, then, as a contribution to this popular narrative rather than as a statement affirming actual racial and class identities.

Eddleman Reed's short fiction also frequently includes illness or accident, typically among parents or guardians. In "A Pair of Moccasins," the young girl protagonist is immediately devastated by a train accident that kills her guardian. "Only an Indian Girl" depicts a girl whose father is injured in a fall. In "Her Thanksgiving Visit," the American Indian woman must leave her white lover's house to visit her sick father. In "Lizonka," the girl's father dies of snake poisoning. Given these stories' emphasis on racial identity, such accidents seemingly offer the main character the opportunity or even the obligation to support that identity. When we recall Rich's analysis of how the era's writers represented the New Woman, such tragic events could perhaps offer Eddleman Reed the opportunity for her Native heroine to be Native, whereas the Progressive model assumed a white woman.

Those events could also signal the precarity of life in Indian Territory. In "The Honor of Wynoma," for example, the father's sudden illness conveniently requires Wynoma to leave Horton to tend her father just when she seems to be solidifying her life with her lover. The accident or illness serves as a reminder of that other identity that disrupts her connection with a wealthy white fiancé, clearly breaking from the normative New

Woman narrative. Eddleman Reed's incorporation of the New Woman narrative is perhaps most evident in "Her Thanksgiving Visit," in which a young woman travels alone to meet an editor. As if the marriage plot is inevitable, she ends up happily wed to the magazine editor. A similar plot exists in "Only an Indian Girl," in which a young Cherokee woman is convinced by another journalist to resubmit a story to an eastern magazine. She, too, ultimately weds *that* journalist, suggesting that a woman's professional success requires an accompanying marriage. Such stories offer a parallel to Eddleman Reed's own life: an experienced journalist, she married a white man.

Several of Eddleman Reed's stories imagine multiracial families, usually in which white families take in Cherokee children—another theme that indicates the period's changing landscape. The Cherokee child often serves, as does the editor of "What the Curious Want to Know," as a challenge to the whites' stereotypical preconceptions concerning their Native charge. In "Aunt Mary's Christmas Dinner," for example, two white adults share their expectations: "'I do hope she won't be too backward,' continued Joe. 'I bet she'll come wearing a little red shawl and buckskin moccasins and will raise the mischief when we try to convert her into an up-to-date girl, and teach her to speak English correctly,' ventured Frank, who was not quite sure he was going to enjoy having 'a little Indian' about him." When she arrives, however, she is "neatly dressed." Despite her attire, family members mistake her for hired help, a perception she decides to play along with: "'Goodness me! I didn't think of hiring out when I left home,' thought the girl, as she hastily slipped into a neat calico dress and brushed her shining, black hair." Her ability to recognize the mistake and play along with it indicates a maturity that isn't expected. As the days pass, the family grows increasingly concerned about the missing Cherokee girl—"I'll bet that little 'Injun' will be a fright, with her uncivilized ways," Frank asserts; and Nannie in turn grows more guilty about her part in sustaining the joke. At last she reveals herself, complete with the promised inheritance from her departed guardian: thus surprising them not only with her appearance but her financial holdings as well.

Similarly, in "Only an Indian Girl," a white man recognizes his faulty assumptions when he meets a Cherokee girl who challenges them. The story becomes a fictional version of "What the Curious Want to Know," in which the outsider realizes his misperceptions: "Why is it I am so ignorant concerning these people? Why have I persisted in regarding what must be

a civilized race of Indians as a band of wild savages? Why have I thought their houses are wigwams?" The story goes on with this journalist surprised to find that the Indian Territory he is visiting has its own respectable newspaper: "Well, I'll be John Browned! If it isn't a Territory paper. Well, it's a good one, no question about that. Blockhead that I am, I didn't suppose they had papers away out here." It is as if a visitor to Indian Territory has stumbled upon a copy of *Twin Territories* itself. "Lucy and I as Missionaries," a story about two white girls who move to Muskogee, Indian Territory, to teach in an Indian school, does its own work to challenge white stereotypes of Indians: "I think, as I stood shivering (not from cold) on the platform and heard the train speeding away towards Texas, that I really expected to be eaten alive the next moment. By what? The Indians, of course. I have been told since by others that they once thought the same thing." Those "others" may be the American Indians, thus recentering the story on the Indians' fear of white "savagery."

Given the wealth Eddleman Reed's fictional characters enjoyed, her opinion piece "The Indian Orphan" makes the pointed claim that people mistakenly think all Indians are wealthy. As she writes, "It is easy to see how such an idea has become general. Almost every day one may read in their papers of some wealthy 'Indian Princess' or may find articles in which the wealth of individual Indians is estimated in large figures." Here Eddleman Reed critiques allotment, at least from the perspective of full-bloods: "When you are a full blood, maybe you may know where your land is and maybe you don't; and when you don't know how to make a living off that land even if you do know where it is located; and when maybe the land is productive and may be it is rocky and sterile; and when you can't sell any of it to get money to work it—granted you have the inclination—you see, taking all these things into consideration, I say you wouldn't feel like a very rich Indian." The Indian orphan, she notes, epitomizes this poverty. Taken together, Eddleman Reed's reiterated themes reveal Native Americans' intelligence and agency, especially when they encounter misinformed whites.

Poetry

Eddleman Reed turned to poetry more frequently after she raised her children and, later, lost her beloved husband. Most works are brief and reflect on her family. "The Mother-Heart" speaks to a son, proud of "his manhood" but "miss[ing her] little boy!" (lines 2, 8). Although we do not know the occasion that elicited "Love's Inspiration," the poem echoes Anne

Bradstreet's much earlier lament in "A Letter to Her Husband, Absent upon Publick Employment." "To One Bereaved" speaks, with hope gained through religious faith, to an intimate who has lost a partner. Perhaps most poignantly and powerfully, "Memory" exposes the speaker's—and likely the author's—suffering in the face of her beloved's "courageous" suffering, while it hopes that time will diminish and perhaps "erase the sting / Of grief, and ease the parting's sorrow" (lines 5, 12–13). It was writing, Betty believes, that helped save her grandmother from despair. Despite Eddleman Reed's sadness over her husband's death, Betty remembers laughing all the time with her grandmother, usually about memories or while playing amusing games. Eddleman Reed was amused by a guy down the road who was "sweet on her," saying simply, "I'm too old for that."[114]

Other moods than sadness inform other poems. Reflecting the sprightly, often wry humor that Eddleman Reed displayed in her *Twin Territories* writing, especially in "What the Curious Want to Know," "How Doth He?" tracks the speaker's efforts to swat a pesky kitchen fly. "Ho Hum!" plays with language as it follows the bear's hibernation ("long winter's snooze"), the groundhog's return to sleep after he cannot see his shadow, and, in a playful rhyming line, asks readers to "consider a mosquiter, his plan is even neater": he "fills up on blood, gets fat, goes to sleep, and that's that" (lines 2, 6–7). This dark humor precedes a more philosophical conclusion: "Oh, these bears and bugs and such have ways we cannot touch" (line 8). Whether her poems express whimsy or sadness, however, as a group they use relatively conventional rhyme and meter to convey their message. Reading them, one often feels that they articulated private, even intimate sentiments and were intended more for self-expression and consolation than for sharing.

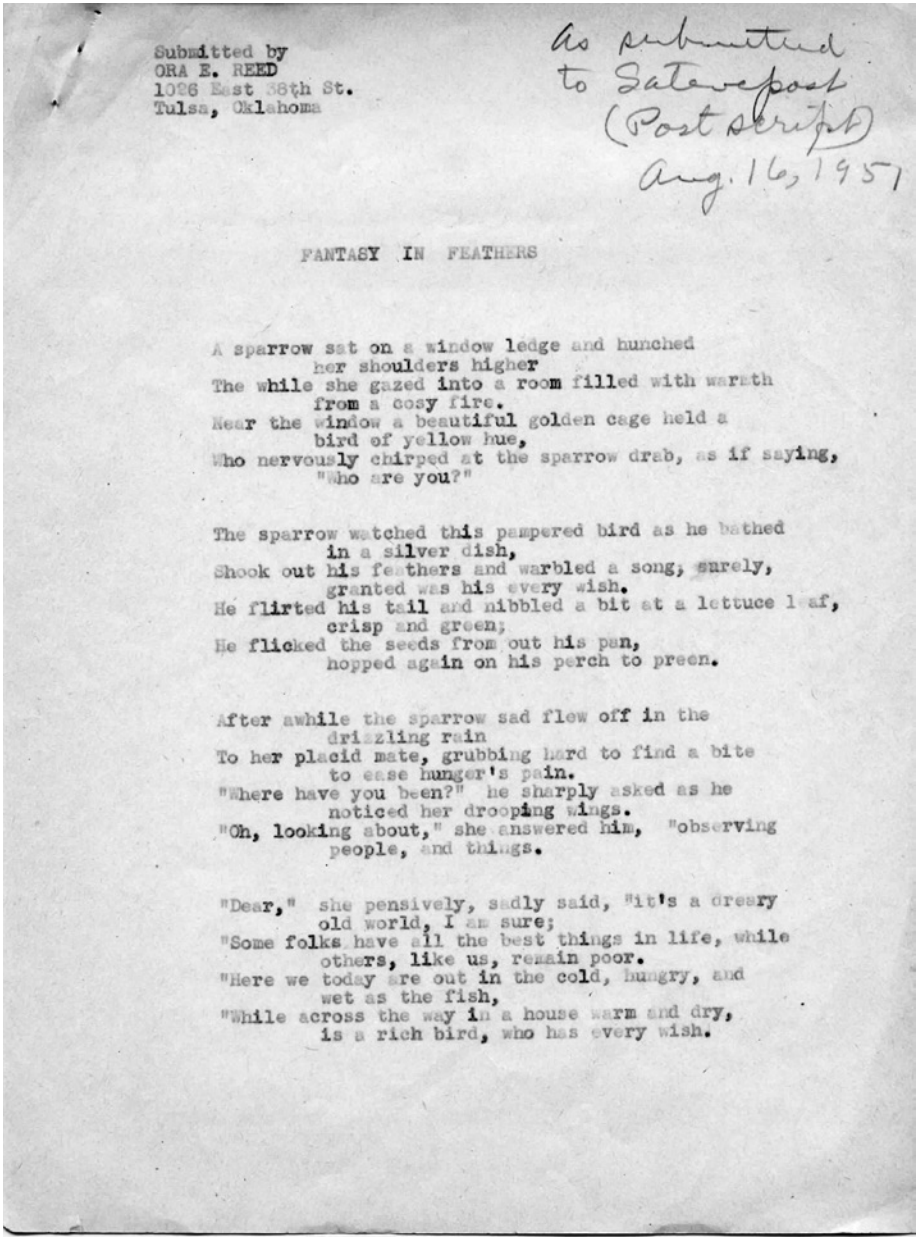
Notwithstanding this private inflection animating most of the extant poems, Eddleman Reed submitted several more outward-facing verses for publication and prizes. Imagining "Gran'dad" as its speaker and describing a three-year-old grandson, "Sturdy Little Fellow" appeared in the *Red Earth Magazine* in March 1945. Published in Oklahoma City, the beautifully presented magazine emphasized community efforts and "the good, the beautiful and true in poetry." The contents range in subject matter. The poems that precede Eddleman Reed's are Welford Inge's "Naive," about disillusioned love; Inez F. Ford's "Spring," which describes "the green mist in the trees"; Lincoln Gunn's "Night on the Western Front," whose speaker is a World War II soldier; Gwen Hendrickson's "Zoo Woo," a comic poem

about "Hippo, Hippo in the Zoo"; and Carrie M. Judge's "Gwenie's Nursery Rhyme," a comic sentimental poem.[115]

The most ambitious Eddleman Reed poem we have, "Fantasy in Feathers," received the First Award for a narrative poem in the AAUW (American Association of University Women) Arts and Crafts contest, and the author also submitted it to the *Saturday Evening Post*'s Post Scripts feature on August 16, 1951, according to a note in Eddleman Reed's handwriting. Appearing by 1931 and continuing into the twenty-first century, Post Scripts appeared both as individual works scattered throughout the magazine and as a discrete column that could include cartoons and brief sketches.[116] Much of the material was humorous; the *Post* generally selected poems that were relatively slight. For example, "In Color on the Wide, Wide, Wide, Wide Screen" describes an absurdly miscellaneous film and concludes that "weary though it leaves me, I'm / Still fresher than the plot."[117]

Eddleman Reed's submission was longer than most Post Script entries and, despite comic moments, intimated some serious messages. "Fantasy in Feathers" stages an encounter between a "drab" female sparrow perched on a window ledge and "a bird of yellow hue" in "a beautiful golden cage" in "a room filled with warmth from a cosy fire" (lines 4, 3, 2). Jealous of the canary's ease, the sparrow expresses frustration to her mate about their poverty and necessary labor. He rejects this perspective, emphasizing their freedom and their divine status. Inside, the male canary complains to his mate about boredom, and she responds bluntly: "It's a very good thing you're NOT out there—in a very short time you'd be dead" (line 40). Gallows humor accompanies the male canary's silliness, as he admits his wife is probably right but confesses, "My mood's for a darned good 'fling!'" (line 44). As the poem nears its conclusion, both discontented individuals dream their circumstances are inverted, and that they are mated with their opposites. The final stanza emphasizes that such dreams are "absurd" and stresses that both birds accept their status—unlike humans, whom the speaker questions in the poem's last line: "Can it be that birds are wiser than men? I wonder, sometimes. Don't you?" (line 52).

On its surface "Fantasy in Feathers" recommends gracious acceptance of one's social position; it explicitly rejects adulterous behavior from those who believe that others' circumstances are always better. But as an educated reader who would probably have encountered nineteenth-century American poetry at Henry Kendall College, Eddleman Reed would likely have read some of the numerous poems that encoded antislavery messages through



Submitted by
ORA E. REED
1026 East 38th St.
Tulsa, Oklahoma

As submitted
to Saturday Post
(Post Script)
Aug. 16, 1957

FANTASY IN FEATHERS

A sparrow sat on a window ledge and hunched
her shoulders higher
The while she gazed into a room filled with warmth
from a cosy fire.
Near the window a beautiful golden cage held a
bird of yellow hue,
Who nervously chirped at the sparrow drab, as if saying,
"Who are you?"

The sparrow watched this pampered bird as he bathed
in a silver dish,
Shook out his feathers and warbled a song, surely,
granted was his every wish.
He flirted his tail and nibbled a bit at a lettuce leaf,
crisp and green;
He flicked the seeds from out his pan,
hopped again on his perch to preen.

After awhile the sparrow sad flew off in the
drizzling rain
To her placid mate, grubbing hard to find a bite
to ease hunger's pain.
"Where have you been?" he sharply asked as he
noticed her drooping wings.
"Oh, looking about," she answered him, "observing
people, and things.

"Dear," she pensively, sadly said, "it's a dreary
old world, I am sure;
"Some folks have all the best things in life, while
others, like us, remain poor.
"Here we today are out in the cold, hungry, and
wet as the fish,
"While across the way in a house warm and dry,
is a rich bird, who has every wish.

2. *Saturday Evening Post* handwriting in "Fantasy of Feathers" (1958). Courtesy Betty Groth.

the image of a caged bird that longs for freedom. In her own poem, despite the conventional message that ends the poem—accept your status—the sparrow clearly represents the more desirable alternative. When the female sparrow bemoans, "Here we today are out in the cold, hungry, and wet as the fish" (line 15), her mate expounds on their good fortune:

> We're born to this life—sweet freedom is ours—
> and I'd never trade with him.
> Be a yellow bird in a silly cage?
> and hang in a house all day?
> And have all my food and my bath and such things
> brought in on a silver tray?
> Bah! What's the matter with you, my dear?
> surely you're making a jest!
> Fancy never flying from tree to tree,
> never making your own downy nest.
>
> Never looking above to the blue, blue sky,
> never hopping about in the rain
> To find your own sweet bugs and worms—
> ugh! that life would give me a pain.
> Why, sparrows are God's chosen creatures, my dear,
> and we answer His every call.
> He made us lowly, and yet it is said that
> He marks ev'ry sparrow's fall.
> (lines 20–28)

Written well after abolition, this poem may encode other messages, whether consciously or not. "Wild" was a term often applied to Native Americans, and the free sparrow is a wild bird that possesses far more sense than his ostensibly privileged, frivolous counterpart. The class differences between the pairs of birds also stands out, perhaps to intimate a more spiritual message reflecting Eddleman Reed's strong Christian faith, and evoking numerous biblical verses about the poor, among them Jesus's teaching in Luke 6:20–21: "Blessed [be ye] poor: for yours is the kingdom of God. Blessed [are ye] that hunger now, for ye shall be filled."[118] "Fantasy in Feathers," the most complicated of the writer's poems, merits further study.

Drama

"The Success of a Charity Concert" was a play ostensibly written by Belle Meredith: a nom de plume, Betty Groth believes, of her grandmother. The selection details, in a form that seems part short story and part play, a narrative of a young Cherokee woman who masquerades as a singer to win her (wealthy) future in-laws' regard. A document closer to screenplay form, "Night Brings Out the Stars" was written along with Lena Daughtery (not related), a friend from her Muscogee writer's group, between 1958 and 1962.[119] It offers a striking commentary on both her writing ability and the correlation of her life in relation to American Indian affairs. Complete with a romantic story of the independent Wynoma and the easterner David Stuart, the play reimagines the historic mock-wedding that occurred between "Miss Indian Territory" and "Mr. Oklahoma Territory" in 1907. As Grace Steele Woodward describes it, the ceremony, performed by a Guthrie church pastor, featured the bride, "Mrs. Leo Bennett (of Cherokee descent)" who "wore a floor-length satin gown, an exquisite picture hat, and carried in her gloved hands a mauve-colored chrysanthemum. Mr. C. C. Jones, as her groom, was properly attired in a morning coat and striped trousers. At the conclusion of this unique ceremony, the Whittaker Orphans' Home Band appropriately played the national anthem."[120] The wedding was immediately followed by the inauguration of Oklahoma's first governor, Charles N. Haskell. Haskell began his address optimistically: "When the brilliant rays of this morning's sun spread over the land it lighted forty-five sovereign states between the two oceans. The sun will set tonight and its last rays will light a grander federation composed of forty-six states."[121] In the play, the mixed-blood Cherokee heroine Wynoma Littleheart weds David, the morally sound white hero, in a wedding that echoes both the historical performance of a "marriage" between "Miss Cherokee" and "Mr. Oklahoma," that accompanied Oklahoma statehood, and Eddleman Reed's own marriage to the white man David Reed in 1903. While we might be tempted to think of Oklahoma statehood as a failure for the Native American leaders who had pushed, in the Sequoyah Convention, for a separate Indigenous state, the play shows the degree to which Native Americans maintained a key governance role. Thus, although the work may seem like a concession, it—like Eddleman Reed's oeuvre as a whole—represents an empowering Indigenous agency.

The play begins by asserting the importance of its Indigenous place and players: an early setting for this story is "INDIAN TERRITORY, home of the FIVE CIVILIZED TRIBES, namely, Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaws, and Seminole Nations." Eddleman Reed describes the lead character as opening a law business in "Okeeway, Cherokee Nation, the north-eastern section of Indian Territory, with its beautiful low-lying nature, many plains of Oklahoma territory." This description echoes her meticulous *Twin Territories* portrait of Daugherty Canyon: "Here is a scene worthy the brush of the most gifted painter. For a full half-mile, the Santa Fe road-bed is literally carved out of the solid face of the cliff, which rises to a distance of 300 feet above the track, while on the other, not a dozen feet from the steel rails, the noisy river brawls and foams above the rocky bed. At intervals the channel narrows and the turbulent stream deepens into quiet pools, whose mirror-like depths reflect the giant white sycamores that clothe the northern margin of the river." As with most of her Native texts, the play begins with a racist set of white folks, David's mother and father, who bemoan his plans to leave a Boston legal career to work in Indian Territory. In contrast, David describes the territory as "more modern than Boston. That country is going to be heard from one of these days." The next scene works hard to establish an industrial "early territorial town with business houses, a NEWSPAPER, barbershop, and printing house" with "no saloons": a pointed reminder that it is a dry county. David stays in "the largest and best furnished hotel" in this "Indian Paradise." "Beautiful streams, fertile fields, azure skies. The sun shines all the year long."

So as to emphasize that this story extends beyond whites, the Indian characters quickly appear; we hear of "Isparhecher, the present Chief of the Creek Nation," and "General Porter, a mixed blood, [who] has great influence too . . . [and] will probably succeed Isparhecher." The subsequent scene takes place in a beautiful room of the hotel that is decorated much like David's "superior" Boston home with linen, a piano, and lace curtains. There Sam Johnson, a mixed-blood Cherokee lawyer, explains the difference between Indian Territory and Oklahoma Territory: the former bans alcohol sales, operates under Arkansas laws versus those of North Carolina, and lacks public buildings and taxes.[122] As Sam then explains, trouble exists between the Dawes Commission and tribal councils regarding allotment. The tribes, he contends, should be the ones empowered. Sam and David then compare and contrast white men who become noble

Cherokee members and those who are motivated purely by opportunism. In turn, Sam reminds us about tribal hatred for the Dawes Commission. "I, sir, am a citizen of the Cherokee Nation." The play is intent, then, on affirming Native citizenship as equal to that of the United States.

Complicating the initial meeting of Wynoma, the mixed-blood Cherokee beauty, and David is their lengthy discussion of the tragic history of the Trail of Tears. Wynoma voices optimism: "It makes me proud to think of my people beginning again. Almost immediately. Forgetting the past—planting corn, homes, drawing together their tribal governments, thinking about churches and schools." Sam expresses a similar commitment to Native leadership in state governance: "Statehood, when it comes, will bring many changes. That is the real reason the Five Tribes want to continue land holding in severalty, rather than individual allotments. We want to govern ourselves—not to become wards of the United States Government."

In addition to displaying Natives' early commitment to severalty rather than allotment, the play represents the distinctions and collaborations between mixed-blood Cherokees and the full-bloods. In one scene they engage in traditional activities, fishing for bass, catfish, buffalo, drum, and crappie with bows and arrows, engaging in Indian ball play, and pounding Devil's Shoestring. Eddleman Reed also displays the potential conflicts between them: as Sam asserts, full-bloods are "clannish" and "dislike white blood." Despite these differences, however, the play shows the necessity of their collaboration.

Porter's election to chief closely follows the Curtis Act, which gave the Dawes Commission the ability to allot individually. As Porter notes, this development is ominous: "Little can be done now, except by compromising to retain some honors for our nations. This is the final crushing blow, taking away from us the happy privilege of ruling our own nations." Porter tries to move forward despite resistance from a full-blood Creek citizen. In a move that indicates his respect for such citizens, Porter insists that the man be allowed to stay in the session despite his outburst:

> We Creeks are people of intense emotions. To compete with the white settlers, with the Dawes Commission, with the Congress of the United States, we must understand the white man's tongue, we must understand the white man's way.

> Perhaps had we newspapers in Creek sent out among our people, much sorrow in our own Nation could have been avoided. But we had none. We tried to handle each matter as it arose.

Thus he explains that the distinction between the full-bloods and others is not the former's lower stature but simply a linguistic difference. One of the play's most important moments follows Chief Porter's words, when several Creeks recite "mourning chants":

> "Believing in the integrity of our white brothers we consent to a great migration westward—"
> (*another takes up chant*:) "Leaving the homes of our Fathers before us, their bones to bleach beneath intruders' feet upon our tribal lands—"
> (*another takes up chant*:) "Sixteen thousand of our people lie buried along that gruesome trail. Through swamps, steep woods, and open prairies."
> (*another*:) "The buffalo so long hunted is no longer seen upon our pastures—"
> . . . . . .
> (*another*:) "As long as grass grows and water flows—"

Frequently associated with treaties, the final line makes this speech itself a kind of treaty in a time when such agreements were no longer made between Indigenous nations and the U.S. government. What follows is Porter's touching call to vote for what he deems as inevitable support for the United States paired with his promises to "negotiate for the best interest of Creek Nation." With "tears streaming down his face," he responds to the unanimous agreement of his people.

The Cherokees' fervor and optimism contrasts sharply with a stereotypical article from the *Vinita Chieftain*. Eddleman Reed includes this article to show the contrast between her own and others' take on the Indigenous role in statehood: "The spectacle of half a hundred old warriors picked from the Five Nations, together with their followers, trying in a last endeavor to save themselves from being lost in the onward roll of civilization is pitiable to say the least of it."[123] Here she demonstrates the racist mentality of the white media with which Native peoples have to contend. David later reads a speech by Porter that seems a fitting counter to this representation: "We are asked to forego our rights to govern our-