

Relative Families: Kinship and Childhood in Early Canadian Juvenile Literature,

1843-1913

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Thesis submitted to the University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Doctorate in Philosophy degree in English

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Abstract

This thesis examines representations of Indigenous and non-Indigenous children that circulated through various reports, magazines, and fictional stories that were produced for and about children in Canada's settler colonial context. Particularly, I focus on the archives of two related institutions, the interdenominational Canada Sunday School Union's annual reports (1843-1876), and the Shingwauk Industrial Home's monthly juvenile magazine, *Our Forest Children* (1887-1890), as well as two juvenile adventure narratives, *Canadian Crusoes* (1852) by Catharine Parr Traill and "The Shagganappi" (1913) by Emily Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake). Through the nineteenth century, childhood emerged as a stage of development in the making of a racialized adult identity; I find that these archives and texts record uneasiness about racialized systems of feeling and reveal the colonial management regime's preoccupation with strengthening certain affective bonds of relationality in order to naturalize dominant, Eurocolonial practices of kinship.

My argument through this thesis follows and extends critical approaches to discourses of kinship from scholars interested in deploying Indigenous and postcolonial critiques of Western kinship traditions (Gaudry 2013, Justice 2018, Morgensen 2013, Rifkin 2010). These scholars variously draw on Michel Foucault's theory of biopower, which they find to be central to the production and proliferation of the institution of settler colonialism in North America, and query how the biopolitical management of Indigenous people was constructed through particularized institutions (such as the residential school) and discourses (such as blood quantum). My project builds on this work by focusing on the representation of child-centered affect in Canada's settler-colonial context. While kinship figures as a dominant narrative through this thesis, I argue that the figure of the child emerged as the node through which the colonial management regime worked out competing forms of kinship in Canada's settler-colonial context.

In the first chapter, I close read the content of the annual reports that were published by the Canada Sunday School Union. I focus specifically on the "technologies of transparency" that reveal the kinds of investments that were made in the lives of real-life settler children in Canada. The Union's interest in tracking the circulation of Sunday school libraries, for instance, reflects an impulse to inculcate Christian feeling within the nuclear family. The second chapter builds on the colonial management regime's investment in the emotional lives of children, but shifts the focus to the lives of the Indigenous children who attended the Shingwauk Industrial Home in Sault Ste. Marie through the late 1880s. I demonstrate how Reverend Edward F. Wilson utilized the generic codes of popular British juvenile magazines of the period to showcase how the home's Indigenous students learn how to articulate appropriate expressions of Christian feeling. In chapter three, I draw attention to Catharine Parr Traill's undertheorized juvenile adventure novel *Canadian Crusoes*. I argue that Traill represents vignettes of an Indigenous kinship practice in order to stage the incorporation of a young Kanien'kehá:ka woman into the Euro-Canadian family. Finally, the fourth chapter examines how Emily Pauline Johnson represents the incorporation of mixed-race children into the Canadian nation in her juvenile adventure novel, "The Shagganappi." While scholars read "The Shagganappi" as a tale of successful racial-intermixture, I argue that such readings only serve to reinscribe the fantasy that Canada is comprised of a "mythical métissage" (Gaudry 85).

Acknowledgements

The experience of writing this thesis has been challenging, and it wouldn't have been possible without the 'kin' that the PhD program has brought into my life and who have supported me through this process.

I have been incredibly fortunate to write this thesis under the guidance and patience of my supervisor, Dr. Jennifer Blair. Dr. Blair's commitment to pedagogy, scholarship, and just being a kind person is a model that I'll always emulate. This thesis is better for her expansive knowledge, incisive commentary, tireless commitment, problem solving, gentle nudges, *and* firm pushes.

I would also like to thank my committee, comprised of Dr. Lauren Gillingham and Dr. Thomas Allen, who provided invaluable feedback and insights on my chapters. Professors shoulder tremendous commitments and obligations, and Dr. Gillingham's and Allen's commitment to and encouragement of this project challenged me to expand my thinking and only made it better. Thank you.

I have also been fortunate to receive tremendous help and guidance throughout my degree from the superb faculty and administrators at the Department of English. Dr. Robert Stacey, Dr. April London, Dr. Anne Raine, and Dr. Craig Gordon each, in different ways throughout my degree, provided support, encouragement, and feedback, and for that I'm so grateful.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to Dr. Jade Ferguson, at the University of Guelph. It was Dr. Ferguson who first showed me how richly diverse (and complicated!) early Canadian literature really is, and encouraged the seeds of this project years ago.

I have made incredible friends through this process who have shared their own struggles and accomplishments. Thank you, Sandra Macpherson, for being there, even when you were so far away. It has meant the world to me; thank you, Tanya Aguila-Way, for being a trusted confidant, a patient guide, and a good friend; thank you, Jennifer Baker, for working alongside me from the start—I am so happy to reach the finish line with you; thank you, Kja Isaacson, for your friendship and perspective; and finally, thank you to Karenza Sutton-Bennett, for sharing your focus and levity, it has helped immensely in the final stages of writing.

Thank you to my family who knew when to ask how it was going, and who also knew when to say nothing and just listen. Thanks for believing in me.

This thesis is for Brodie, who deserves all the credit for his superhuman patience, his gentle reality checks, and his endless support. In my lowest moments, he always helps lighten the load.

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Introduction

Relative Families in Settler Colonial Canada

This thesis considers literary representations of racialized childhood in English Canada through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Through this time, the colonial management regime turned both its attention and its resources towards children and initiated a range of projects and policies that foregrounded the figure of the child as the bright future of the British Empire. This thesis advances cultural and literary criticism which argue that representations of childhood matter, and suggests that historically located, settler-colonial representations of childhood (both real and imagined) have shaped, and continue to shape, contemporary experiences of childhood in Canada (Maxwell 2017, Alexander 2016, Ishiguro 2016). My project traces the intersection of two racialized childhoods—white, settler childhood and Indigenous childhood—as they are represented (and fictionalized) across a range of different institutions and genres, including the Canada Sunday School Union’s annual reports (1843-1876); the Shingwauk Industrial Home’s monthly juvenile magazine, *Our Forest Children* (1887-1890); as well as two juvenile adventure stories, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains* (1852) by Catharine Parr Traill; and “The Shagganappi” (1913) by Emily Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake).¹

¹A note on terminology: through this thesis I use the capitalized proper noun Indigenous to denote the distinctive political status of Indigenous peoplehood. For Daniel Heath Justice, Indigenous is a “broadly inclusive and internationally recognized term” (*Indigenous Literatures* 7). In my use, Indigenous encompasses “those kinship-based tribal nation peoples in lands claimed by Canada” including the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit; when appropriate, I have tried to specify the First Nation that is relevant to my discussion. I also take a cue from Justice and refer to myself and other non-Indigenous scholars and authors as settlers. “Settler” and “settler-colonial” encompasses those non-Indigenous people who, “whether intentionally or inadvertently, ...displaced Indigenous peoples and, in many cases, laid claim to the land and took its resources as their own” (11). In his discussion, Justice reminds us that the term “settler” recognizes that, “through force, coercion, trickery, or other non-consensual means, Indigenous peoples lost lives, lands, and livelihoods as a result of non-Indigenous appropriation of their territories.” In some cases, I use “Aboriginal” to denote where Indigenous populations are discussed in the context of the contemporary settler state. Like Indigenous, the term Aboriginal refers to the first inhabitants of North

Contemporary conversations about reconciliation reckon with the ways in which Canada's history of colonial paternalism reverberates in the lives of Indigenous children and their families. Politicians, scholars, community activists, and other stakeholders widely recognize that the structural inequity that Indigenous children experience today is the result of settler colonial institutions and policies that have historically disrupted traditional Indigenous systems of child rearing and that have led to the removal of "tens of thousands" of First Nations children from their homes and communities (Sinha, Trocmé, Fallon et al. x). In Canada, the mass removal of First Nations children from their communities began with the residential school system in the mid-nineteenth century and was continued by the child welfare system under the policy of the "sixties scoop."² Other legislative efforts, such as the Indian Act (1876), further alienated Indigenous children from their tribal families and communities by regulating who counted as "status Indian" and who did not.³ Such colonial policies contributed to the view that some innate deficiency made Indigenous families less capable of expressing the intimate affects, and thus

America but came into popular usage after the term was defined in Section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982). This act further divides First Nations peoples into "status" and "non-status" First Nations; or, those who are entitled to federal benefits under the terms of the Indian Act and those who are not.

² I will elaborate more on the history of the residential school through my project, but it bears to mention here that these policies intersect with one another in the modern era. Canada's residential school policy dates back to the 1870s and the final school, the Gordon Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan, did not close until 1996. "Sixties Scoop" is the colloquial term for provincial child welfare policies that removed Indigenous children from their homes and adopted them out to white households across Canada and, in some cases, the United States. In 1985, Justice Edwin Kimelman released a review of Indigenous child apprehension in Manitoba; in his report, "No Safe Place: Review Committee on Indian and Métis Adoptions and Placements," Justice Kimelman found "cultural genocide had been taking place in a systemic, routine manner" (274). While the Kimelman Report marks the end of the Sixties Scoop era, my introduction reflects on the lack of progress that has been made across Canada in regard to contemporary child-welfare policies concerning Indigenous families and communities.

³ See Bonita Lawrence (2003, 2004, 2013) on the ways in which the Indian Act regulated Indigenous identity and created racialized and gendered notions of Indianness; Lawrence explains that the Indian Act disrupted "the viability of Native communities ... by forcibly removing tens of thousands of women and their descendants from their communities for marrying nonstatus or non-Native men" ("Gender, Race, and the Regulation of Native Identity" 5-6).

affect the obligations of care that were seen to hold together the nuclear, heteropatriarchal family.

This family is the ground on which the project of settler colonialism in Canada is carried out. Canadian literary criticism has traced the production and representation of the nuclear heteropatriarchal family across a range of settler discourses (such as journals, instruction manuals, prose, and poetry) where strong genealogical connections are commonly represented to be a significant means of securing white, settler hegemony in an unfamiliar context.⁴ Building from this existing scholarship, my project reveals how the discursive production and circulation of heteropatriarchal, nuclear family formations contributed to complex forms of colonial violence that targeted the Indigenous sovereignty. Centrally, I recognize how Indigenous nations are constructed differently than the closed, heteropatriarchal relationships that compromise the settler-colonial family form. Indigenous kinship traditions turn on principles of relationality that orient the obligations that individuals have to one another and to the land (Justice 2018, Simpson 2011). Though contemporary reconciliation efforts broadly seek to affirm Indigenous families, such efforts still maintain a preoccupation with restoring families along genealogical lines, rather than recognizing the expansive, relational modes of Indigenous nations. Jennifer Henderson, for instance, observes that the “spectacle of broken Indigenous families” still significantly informs

⁴ This has been well noted by scholars of Canada’s social and literary history. See, for instance, Julia Emberley, “The Bourgeois Family, Aboriginal Women, and Colonial Governance in Canada” (2001) or Richard Phillips, “Settler Colonialism and the Nuclear Family” (2009). In Canadian literature, scholars have recognized how the (re)production of the nuclear family is developed as a central narrative across genres; some examples include Susanna Moodie’s journals (1852), where she records vignettes of domestic pioneering life in Upper Canada, and Isabella Valency Crawford’s long poem, *Malcolm’s Katie: A Love Story* (1884), which routes the construction of the nation through the marriage of two young lovers. Throughout this project I develop examples or refer to such significant tropes wherein the settler family was represented through Canadian discourse. A notable example of scholarship on this issue that I extend through chapter three includes Carl Murphy’s essay “The Marriage Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century English Canadian Fiction” (1988).

the conversation about child-welfare and contributes to the ways in which the “nurturing work” of the nuclear, “private” family is magnified under neoliberalism (“Transparency” 300).

Settler-colonialism turns on specific aspirations about childhood and the child’s contribution to the production of national domesticity; in turn, the child takes on outsized metaphorical purchase within the nuclear family. My project’s specific focus on the figure of the child helps to elucidate this issue in a particular way: through this thesis I show how settler-colonial representations of non-Indigenous and Indigenous children systemized an ideology that foregrounds the production and circulation of “appropriate” Christian feeling over the biological connections that historically anchored the primacy of the nuclear family in Eurocolonial contexts. Through my analysis, I argue that the archives and texts feature appropriate (and racialized) sentiment and feelings that reflect racialized capacities of care and concern that non-Indigenous and Indigenous children were variously taught to embody and to articulate. In doing so, I demonstrate how colonial agents, evangelical reformers, as well as Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors, viewed childhood as a vector through which to construct and cohere a new kinship story that established Canada as an uncontested settler home for a multi-racial family.

My project considers this in a series of different contexts that emerge in Upper and Lower Canada between the years 1843 to 1913; from the ways in which the Canada Sunday School Union sought to make modes of “Christian feeling” representable *and* reproducible through the circulation of Sunday school libraries and the publication of its annual reports, to the manner in which Reverend Edward F. Wilson (1844-1915) utilized the genre of the popular juvenile miscellany magazine to represent how the Indigenous children and adolescents under his care at the Shingwauk Industrial Home could learn to affect “appropriate” Christian feeling. While these examples concentrate on the colonial management regime’s preoccupation with *real*

children and the institutions that were built to enculturate them into Canada's settler-colonial social milieu, my analysis further focuses on representations of childhood within popular literary texts that were written *for* and *about* children. Catharine Parr Traill (1802-1899) and Emily Pauline Johnson (1861-1913) both utilize popular conventions of juvenile genres to represent childhood's capacity to work through competing kinship discourses. My project responds to dominant readings of these narratives that position them as representations of Canada's happy multi-racial future in order to refocus the ways in which these texts diminish traditional Indigenous kinship practices in order to stage Canada as uncontested territory on which to build the new, multi-racial nation.

My analysis through this project is informed by the discourses of kinship that shaped conditions of childhood in Canada between 1843 to 1913. I draw on scholarship that considers how Eurocolonial and Indigenous modes of kinship variously circulated through North America in the service of cohering invisible norms of whiteness (Justice 2018, Rifkin 2010). The changing demographics of the colonial space necessitated this kind of broad project. Through the nineteenth century, British (and later, Canadian) officials sought the most effective way to delegitimize Indigenous territorial claims to Canada's vast landscape. Various immigration schemes, such as the influx of British home children for instance, took place alongside efforts to erase and displace Indigenous populations in order to control land and resources and to erase Indigenous histories in cultural and representational terms (Alexander 398).⁵ Thus, the "quality"

⁵ For more on British home children, see Ellen Boucher's *Empire's Children: Child Emigration, Welfare, and the Decline of the British World, 1869-1967* (2014). Boucher explains how the British child emigration movement of the nineteenth century contributed to the belief that every British child "contained the seeds of future greatness" (42). Through this time, over a dozen private British agencies sponsored around 80,000 children to live and work on family farms in Canada. Boucher's work importantly expands on how the concept of whiteness was entrenched through this scheme: child migrants, who were perceived to be without ties to genealogical kin, could attain self-reliant citizenship in

of the Dominion's immigrants was necessarily forefront in the minds of colonial reformers. Scholars have long demonstrated how contemporary Anglo-Canadian identity is rooted in standards of physical, mental, and moral fitness that were derived from Britain's earliest colonial incursions into North America (Morgensen 2011, Razack 2002, Thobani 2007). The expansion of the British empire abroad, however, necessitated a loosening of terms—how might non-British individuals be enveloped into the contours of whiteness that were understood to denote the mental, physical, and moral capacities of British heritage? The development and expansion of whiteness created the conditions that rewarded certain abilities and that enabled European emigrants and their children to secure white status in British colonies.

The contingent and changing standards of whiteness intersect with the ways in which kinship was being worked through at this time. I will elaborate in more detail on this point, but the expansion of whiteness as a racialized identity is inextricable to how settler colonial reformers and state agents expanded (*and* contracted, in certain situations) genealogical kinship traditions. Kinship, in any form, is always a narrative—it is a story that relates individuals to each other and to their communities, to their past, and to their future. The dominant story of kinship in Canada is rooted in the settler-colonial preoccupation with importing dominant, genealogical discourses of kinship into the colonial space. This project foregrounds racialized, biological narratives of kinship that are rooted in heteropatriarchal traditions, and that further stress the physical, mental, and moral health of the biogenetically linked nuclear family. In turn, this kinship story imagines the productive capacities of this family to settle and cultivate imperial outposts like British North America and projects those capacities into the future. The realities of settler-colonial emigration and the vastness of the colonial space, however, necessitated new

British colonies. See also Joy Parr's *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada 1869-1924* (1994).

kinship stories to be constructed, or more pointedly, appropriated, in order to encompass the settler nation-state's growing and changing population, which included individuals who were located outside of the dominant story of kinship, but who were central to the capacity of Britain to colonize this new world space. Those included the poor, the orphaned, the non-British, *as well as* the Indigenous inhabitants of North America. Colonial agents thus sought to craft new kinship narratives that might link individuals and communities together beyond biogenetics, and so turned their focus to the forces that were seen to contribute to healthy and productive individuals and families—that is, the *actions* of kinship or, in Daniel Heath Justice's terms, the *doing* of kinship (*Indigenous Literatures* 55). The doing of kinship encompasses feelings and actions that foster the impulse of individuals to care for one another, to recognize interdependence, and to create new identities that are rooted in “new practices, relationships, and cultural forms” rather than in one's ethnic identity or “blood” heritage.

In *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* (2018), Justice outlines a methodology of narrative analysis that foregrounds the productive capacity of Indigenous kinship practices. Whereas Eurocolonial discourses of kinship value “one story” that prioritizes the singularity of genealogical lineage and patriarchal hierarchy, Indigenous kinship traditions recognize humans as one of a multiplicity. The social hierarchies that characterize the West's interpretive authority and that have justified centuries of “expansion, invasion, expropriation, and exploitation” are dispersed, throughout Indigenous kinship traditions, into diverse and interdependent relations (depending on the tradition, these relations may include plants, animals, or the elements) that make up Indigenous kinship systems (40). In his introduction to *All My Relations* (1990), Thomas King explains that the “web of kinship” that Indigenous people enact extends “to the animals, the birds, to the fish, to the plants, to all the animate and inanimate forms that can be

seen or imagined” (ix). For King, the *doing* of kinship recognizes the interconnectedness of these relations and is accepting of the responsibilities that an individual has within “this universal family by living our lives in a harmonious manner.” Thus, Indigenous kinship traditions recognize the complex subjectivities of “other-than-human neighbors” and understand that good relations “require acknowledgement, and more importantly, mindful accommodation of difference” (Justice, *Indigenous Literatures* 38).

Kinship, understood in this manner, is a useful analytical tool. If kinship is the result of a process whereby individuals are linked through meaningful connections of “respect, reciprocity, accountability, commitment, [and] generosity,” then Indigenous stories (in any form, oral or otherwise) reflect and enact this same commitment (69); stories, Justice explains, “are truthful about who [Indigenous people] are, ... connect [Indigenous people] to the world, one another, and even to [themselves]” (4).⁶ In this way, a story acts much like the practices of kinship that bind Indigenous people to the human and the other-than human. It is important to note that my primary analysis through this thesis focuses largely on settler-colonial archives and writers (with the exception of Emily Pauline Johnson), so my argument does not take up the method of literary analysis that Justice outlines. I do, however, understand Indigenous kinship traditions as a multiplicity of stories that are (and have been) restricted, delegitimized and “othered” through

⁶ Justice’s methodology of reading and interpreting Indigenous stories foregrounds the significance of oral storytelling traditions in Indigenous cultures. Indigenous activists and scholars have lately focused on the importance of storytelling practices in renewing and strengthening community relationships. In “Indigenous Storytelling, Truth-telling, and Community Approaches to Reconciliation” (2009), Jeff Corntassel and Chaw-win-is T’lakwadzi explain that practices of Indigenous stories reflect “lived values that form the basis for Indigenous governance and regeneration” and argue that Indigenous stories “are critical to the resurgence” of First Nation communities and decolonization across North America (138). For more on Indigenous oral storytelling traditions see Jo-Ann Archibald, *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body and Spirit* (2008); Renée Hulan and Renate Eigenbrod, eds. *Aboriginal Oral Traditions: Theory, Practice, Ethics* (2008); Sophie McCall, Deanna Reder, David Gaertner, and Gabrielle L’Hirondelle Hill, eds. *Read, Listen, Tell: Indigenous Stories from Turtle Island* (2017).

the project of settler colonialism. This is reflected in settler colonialism's long project of silencing and misinterpreting Indigenous stories and practices that express traditional kinship responsibilities. The archives and narratives that I take up in this thesis contribute to the construction of dominant, patriarchal kinship stories that retain social and political purchase in the world today.

The chapters of my thesis are organized to explore how discourses of kinship circulated through Canada's early social reform and literary project for settler and Indigenous children. While kinship figures as a dominant narrative through this thesis, I argue that the figure of the child emerged as the node through which the colonial management regime worked out competing forms of kinship in Canada's settler-colonial context. Emerging in the long eighteenth century, and developed throughout the nineteenth, the figure of the child as a subject position distinct from the adult circulated throughout English cultural discourse via two conceptual frameworks.⁷ In the first, the child is characterized as ignorant and educable: John Locke's (1693) Enlightenment view posits that the child emerges into the world in a state of *tabula rasa* and has the capacity to acquire knowledge as she grows into adulthood. In the second, the child is innocent and corruptible. This view of childhood, developed most prominently by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1762) and advanced through the romantic period, echoes Locke's influential thinking but focuses on the potentially disabling hand of the social world in the child's development. For Rousseau, the child must remain as close to a "state of nature" as possible as the social world has the capacity to corrupt the child. These frameworks contribute to the emergence of the figure of the child in colonial discourse as a subject position *and* as a

⁷ The idea that the child had the capacity to grow from ignorant and unknowing subjects was developed by John Locke in *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1693). In *Émile, or On Education* (1762) Jean-Jacques Rousseau outlines the concept of the child as an innocent product of nature who is corrupted by the social world.

productive metaphor for progress or regress.⁸ In Canada, political and social discourse often drew on the idea of childhood as a stage of emotional and physical growth to forecast the strength of the British empire and, later, the Dominion in its own right. The metaphorical currency of the child circulated *within* settler-colonial Canada in different registers—Indigenous peoples, for instance, were characterized as childish (if not infantile) civilizations, whereas white settlers and their descendants “stood as exemplars of the maturity of human accomplishment and civilization” (Justice, *Indigenous Literatures* 62).⁹

Charles Bagot’s *Report on the Affairs of Indians in Canada* (1845) is one of the first comprehensive documents to summarize stereotypical assumptions about First Nations in British North America. Bagot’s report characterizes the “Indian temperament” as childlike: “in his native state the Indian is simple-minded, generous, proud, and energetic” (15).¹⁰ The discursive

⁸ See Hugh Cunningham’s *Children and Childhood in Western Society Since 1500* (2005).

⁹ Scholars have identified instances where childhood’s metaphorical purchase circulated through early Canadian social and political discourse. Duncan Campbell Scott’s widely anthologized “Indian poems,” such as “The Onondaga Madonna” for instance, call to mind Scott’s work as the deputy director of the Department of Indian Affairs where he pursued assimilation based policies that legally infantilized Indigenous peoples as wards of the federal government. For more, see Gerald Lynch, “An Endless Flow: D.C. Scott’s Indian Poems” (1982); Julia A. Boyd’s article “Fugitive Visions: Cultural Pseudomemory and the Death of the Indigenous Child in the Indian Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott” (2015); see also Sarah de Leeuw, “‘If anything is to be done with the Indian we must catch him very young’: Colonial Constructions of Aboriginal Children and the Geographies of Residential schooling in British Columbia Canada” (2009).

¹⁰ Stereotypes of Indigenous peoples were complex and were constructed by the colonial regime to serve its own assimilatory goals. In this same paragraph as the one I have quoted above, Bagot observes that “[Indians] are generally docile and possess a lively and happy disposition.” At the same time, he writes, [Indians] are also “indolent to excess, intemperate, suspicious, cunning, covetous, and addicted to lying and fraud” (15). These competing stereotypes figured Indigenous peoples as childlike and in need of the civilizing influence of Christian education and guidance, *as well as* indescribably dangerous. In *Seeing Red: A History of Natives in Canadian Newspapers* (2011) Mark Cronlund Anderson and Carmen L. Robertson usefully trace how reporting in two of Canada’s most widely read and influential English language newspapers, the *Montreal Gazette* and the *Toronto Globe*, depicted Indigenous people in articles and opinion pieces through the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth century. Anderson and Robertson’s work elaborates how competing stereotypes were worked out in public discourse; they find First Nations peoples depicted as “simultaneously barbaric— “bloodthirsty” and “dangerous”—and yet cowardly,

construction of First Nations as childlike was certainly not initiated by Bagot, but his depiction of Indigenous peoples as such justified British North America's intervention into Indigenous lives and contributed to the formation of Indigenous peoples as subjects who could, with the proper guidance, grow into a "state of adulthood that corresponded to ... Eurocolonial whiteness" (de Leeuw 129). Later, in his eponymous *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* (1879), Nicholas Flood Davin drew on the idea that a child's personality was shaped by the "forces of family and community" (de Leeuw 129). Davin's report outlined the recommendation that the federal government should cooperate with the churches to establish industrial schools throughout the Northwest. While the *Bagot Report* depicted the "Indian race" as childish, Davin's work focused pointedly on Indigenous children who, for having been subject to the childlike capacities of Indigenous adults, were supposed to want for proper moral guidance but were also considered to be capable of growing into the civilized capacities that similarly inscribed whiteness onto non-Indigenous and non-British subjects. For Davin, the only way to educate and "civilize" Indigenous children was to fully separate them from their families and communities—or, more pointedly, from their kinship stories—so that they might be immersed in the civilized environment of the state funded residential school; in his report, Davin writes, "the plan now is to take young children, give them the care of a mother, and have them constantly in hand. Such care must go *pari passu* with religious training" (12).

The Davin Report relies on the language of heteropatriarchal forms of kinship to further infantilize First Nations peoples and to delegitimize Indigenous families.¹¹ Davin's "mother" is only a metonym for the Dominion (and, more specifically, the federally-funded and church-run

quick to retreat from a fair fight" (47). They also identify examples of press reports that depicted Indigenous peoples as "needy and not self-reliant, and "the unsophisticated children of the plains."

¹¹ The Davin Report appears as a central text to help contextualize my analysis of Indigenous childhood in chapters two and four.

residential and industrial schools as well as Christian nuns and priests who ran them). Under her care, Indigenous children would be subject to the doing of kinship as it was conceived of by the colonial state—they would be fed, clothed, and educated. Significantly, important aspects of the doing of kinship as it is conceived of within the nuclear family—the impulse of care and concern, those feelings of affection and sympathy that were coded as “Christian” and naturalized through “whiteness”—were not quite extended to Indigenous children in this instance. We know, for example, that the child’s experience of residential schooling was violent, and that children who attended industrial and residential schools throughout the nineteenth and into the twentieth century were subject to physical, emotional, and sexual abuse.¹² The expectation of the residential school, however, was that the Indigenous child might come to *affect* the doing of kinship in a Euro-Canadian manner. Once properly fed, clothed, and educated, Indigenous children would feel for one another in the manner of white, settler subjects and enact a kinship story that further delegitimized Indigenous kinship traditions.

In his report, Bagot observes a general improvement in the conduct of First Nations people who are subject to the “proper guidance” of Christian missionaries and colonial agents (16). He writes, the “pagan ceremonies and observances” have been abandoned and “the rites of baptism, marriage and burial are observed among them as among the whites. The possession and descent of property are regulated by the same rules.” Here, Bagot broadly differentiates between different kinship stories through a Eurocolonial lens: the “pagan ceremonies and observances”

¹² See *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (2015). First Nations authors and storytellers have written extensively—through fiction, drama, memoir, poetry—about personal or familial experiences with Canada’s residential school system. Some significant examples of memoir and poetry include Maria Campbell’s *Half-Breed* (1973); Basil Johnson’s *Indian School Days* (1988); and Rita Joe’s “I Lost my Talk,” published in *Songs of Eskasoni: More Poems of Rita Joe* (1988). For literary criticism on the subject of Indigenous writing about residential schools, see Sam McKegney’s *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community After Residential School* (2007).

that he identifies are the Indigenous kinship practices that inform sovereign Indigenous self-government traditions. The Christian rites of “baptism, marriage, and burial” cohere the genealogical, heteropatriarchal family (and further elaborate “proper” practices of property transmission). The regulatory regime that the *Bagot Report* initiates reflects Patrick Wolfe’s theorization that settler colonialism performs genocide through “multifarious procedures whereby settler-colonial societies ... [seek] to eliminate the problem of indigenous heteronomy through the biocultural assimilation of indigenous peoples” (102).¹³

My own argument is informed by scholarship that centers the importance of childhood, both as a stage of development in an individual’s life and as a metaphor that is deployed in the service of state racisms in an imperial frame (Elleray 2011; Morrison 2013, 2015; Stoler 1995, 2005, 2006, 2009). Through her influential work on childhood in the Dutch East Indies, Ann Laura Stoler demonstrates how, in this narrow colonial context, childhood was one of the key sites where “racial transgressions were evident and national identities formed” (*Race* 138). Stoler’s assessment of colonial childhood in the Dutch Indonesia cuts across races—she demonstrates how settler Dutch children were attributed with different racial capacities (and futures) than the Javanese. Still, she points out, the Dutch child’s close contact with Javanese nursemaids, servants, *and* children in public and private spaces gave force “to the urgency for a more clearly defined bourgeois order based on white endogamy [and] attentive parenting.” The

¹³ In “Structure and Event: Settler Colonialism, Time, and the Question of Genocide” (2008) Wolfe argues that settler-colonialism’s genocidal “project of elimination” is distinct from other forms of colonialism (chattel slavery or the British-Indian model of franchise colonialism, in particular). Wolfe explains that settler colonialism is first and foremost “a territorial project, whose priority is replacing natives on their land rather than extracting an economic surplus from mixing their labor with it” (103). The focus on territorialisation is a basic precondition of settler society, and should be integrated into any theorization about the contexts of racialization. Wolfe observes that settler colonialism’s project of “territorial (re-)cession” includes policies of “expulsion and other forms of geographical sequestration,” as well as “programs of incorporation that seek to efface the distinguishing criteria—biology, culture, mode of production, religion, etc.—whereby native difference is constructed in settler discourse.”

child had become, in Stoler's calculation, the "sign and embodiment" of a racial rule that might be undone in "the intimate frontiers of empire" ("Tense and Tender" 24).

Kinship is an intimate frontier—it is a practice of intimacy that is expressed in private *and* public spaces and further encompasses the "tender ties" Stoler identifies as the sites where "colonial inequities" are formed (24). Kinship stories encompass the private lives of individuals and mark certain obligations of care and concern that are believed to affect the productive (and reproductive) capacity of the individual within the public sphere. Stoler usefully extends Michel Foucault's important conceptual tool, biopower, to think through how the "management of agents and subjects of colonial rule depended on reformatting the visceral and mediating ties that bound families" (*Affective States* 27). The "visceral and mediating ties" that Stoler identifies here, are the ties of kinship that are expressed through feelings and actions and through "alternative" kinship stories. My thesis asks: what happens to our understanding of kinship in a settler-colonial Canada when we place the figure of the child at the center of the analysis? The investments that are made into the lives of real-life children in Canada, such as the circulation of Sunday school libraries, for instance, reflect a settler-colonial impulse to track early childhood attachment, sentiment, and affiliation—the forces and feelings that are at the core of Stoler's mediating ties.¹⁴

¹⁴ Broadly, industrial schools are a subset of the residential school project. Early in the nineteenth century, specialized industrial schools were established by the government in conjunction with evangelical Christian groups. These schools' "curricula" would include English language and bible classes, but also instruction on different vocational work, such as farming, industrial production, and in the case of the Shingwauk Home, periodical publication and telegraph transmission. According to J.R Miller (1996), the residential school system "consisted of larger institutions designated 'industrial' which were usually located far from reserves, and smaller boarding institutions which were normally near or even on a reserve. The process of evolution would continue after the amalgamation of industrial and boarding schools into a single residential school system in 1923" (148). Through this thesis I use the term residential school to signal the broad project of assimilating Indigenous children in government-funded institutions. However, because the Shingwauk Home is classified specifically as an "industrial school" I use that label to refer to Reverend Wilson's Shingwauk and Wawanosh homes.

I. The Contemporary Context of Indigenous Childhood in Canada

“Relative Families” took shape as the history and lived experience of Indigenous childhoods emerged as increasingly central to social and political discussions of reconciliation and decolonization in Canada. Accordingly, this project responds to contemporary political, public, and academic conversations about Indigenous-settler relations and state policy (Blackstock 2017). In this section of the introductory chapter, I draw attention to public conversations about reconciliation and redress politics in Canada. I find that this discussion highlights contemporary outcomes of Indigenous child welfare in Canada, and further contextualizes how we might think about the effects of dominant kinship stories that were constructed and reproduced within the archives and texts that I analyze through this thesis.

Since the 1980s, settler Canadians have been compelled to acknowledge the violent and assimilative practices that were carried out in the service of building the nation over and beyond the past hundred and fifty years. A range of federal and provincial committees and commissions—the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (1991-1996), the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2008-2015), and the National Inquiry into Missing and Murdered Aboriginal Women and Girls (2015), for example—have revealed that the colonial policies of the nineteenth century have intergenerational effects that still undermine the wellbeing of contemporary First Nations communities. These commissions have further led to increased recognition of how past policies have contributed to significant systemic inequalities which reproduce the racism, sexism, and classicism that is at the core of Canada’s colonial relationship with Indigenous people. Such systemic outcomes include (but are not limited to) lower life expectancy, employment, and education rates, and higher rates of incarceration, homelessness, substance abuse, and suicide.

The federal government has made incremental gestures to recognize its primary role in the violent history of Indigenous peoples in Canada. On June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper stood on floor of the House of Commons and issued a “Statement of Apology to former students of Indian Residential schools.”¹⁵ Harper acknowledged the “sad chapter” in Canada’s history and focused, at first, on articulating the primary historical objectives of the residential school: “to remove and isolate children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions and cultures, and to assimilate them into the dominant culture” (“Statement of Apology”). The statement further set out the government’s historical reasoning for removing and isolating children from their families and communities. Harper explained that, in part, children were removed from their homes so that the government might meet “its obligation to educate Aboriginal children.” This statement significantly frames the forced removal of First Nations children from their families as an obligation rather than an official (and enduring) policy that was rooted in the goal of eliminating Indigenous peoples in order to control and exploit their territory. Moreover, the notion that the government had an “obligation” to educate Indigenous young people underscores the deeply Eurocentric assumption that these children were without education within their own communities and so further undermines Indigenous epistemologies that encompass kinship governance systems.

¹⁵ Many scholars have since reflected on Prime Minister Harper’s statement of apology. In their edited collection *Reconciling Canada* (2013), Pauline Wakeham and Jennifer Henderson attempt to elucidate a “robust understanding of the conditions of possibility under which the culture of redress in Canada has emerged” (5). In their introduction, they contextualize the federal government’s 2008 apology to Indigenous peoples within Canada’s complex history of redress. They locate a “wave of redress politics” that emerged and proliferated since the 1980s, as minority constituencies “sought reparations for a range of specified wrongs” (6). They trace Canadian government’s history of reconciliatory gestures, from the 1988 settlement with the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), to the formal apology related to discriminatory immigration policies that was delivered to Chinese Canadians in 2006 (6). Since, Canadian politicians have kept apologizing. On 7 November 2018, for instance, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau apologized for turning away Jewish refugees who were fleeing Nazi prosecution in Europe in 1939 (“Federal Government”).

In 2008, the federal government hoped that the apology would act as the foundation of a new relationship between Aboriginal people and other Canadians, a relationship based on knowledge of our shared history, a respect for each other and a desire to move forward together with a renewed understanding that strong families, strong communities, and vibrant cultures will contribute to a stronger Canada for all of us.

In fact, the statement initiated a range of responses that reflect both on what it means to apologize, as well as what the reconciliation process should look like. In the “Apologizer’s Apology” (2013), for instance, Eva Mackey points out that settlers’ perceived “obligation” to teach Indigenous young people agricultural labour practices and Christianity was dependent on a “sense of superiority and entitlement to legally define Indigenous cultures as inferior” (51). Mackey argues that the government’s apology “was articulated in very particular ways that limit the definition of wrongdoing ... that was the subject of the apology and therefore also limit the responsibility for it” (48). The result, Mackey observes, is that the apology diminishes two hundred years of colonial violence “so that the nation may move forward into a unified future.” Indeed, Harper’s invitation to reflect on the shared history between Indigenous people and “other Canadians” effectively marks colonial wrongdoings as past practice and avoids, according to Mackey, the “complex questions about how similar colonial structures” are perpetuated in the present day.¹⁶

¹⁶ See Krista Maxwell “Settler Humanitarianism: Healing the Indigenous Child Victim” (2017). Many scholars and commentators, for instance, acknowledge that the Statement of Apology was accompanied by the establishment of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, as well as the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) initiatives which have since underscored how the legacy of colonization (including the residential school system) continues to negatively affect the wellbeing and family support systems of First Nations children.

The 2008 apology further articulates the need for a “renewed understanding” of what a strong family, community, and culture look like by calling attention to the ways in which assimilationist policy weakened Indigenous families, communities, and cultures: it reads, “the government of Canada built an education system in which very young children were often forcibly removed from their homes ... many were inadequately fed, clothed and housed. All were deprived of the care and nurturing of their parents, grandparents and communities” (“Statement of Apology”). In this instance, the government acknowledges those “tender ties” that are so central to successful kinship stories, and the interdependent kinship practices of Indigenous communities in particular: the actions of care and nurturing that extend obligations that are primarily linked to genealogical kin across communities and cultures.¹⁷ This portion of the apology further underscores how the primary rationale that was used to justify the removal of Indigenous children from their families (beyond the government’s so-called obligation to educate them) was linked to stereotypes that characterized Indigenous extended family structures and practices of communal living as immoral and primitive (Mackey 53). While the “Statement of Apology” acknowledges the poor conditions of residential schools—children were indeed inadequately fed, clothed, and housed—it further reproduces the dehumanizing stereotype that has historically contributed to the idea that Indigenous families are “naturally” dysfunctional.

¹⁷ In later chapters, I’ll explore how these relational kin ties are also effects of Indigenous governance systems. There are larger issues at stake concerning how Eurocolonial kinship concepts are applied in Indigenous contexts; the term “adoption,” for instance, has historically been conceptualized in relation to the nuclear family and is not a term that should be applied uncritically to Indigenous contexts. In “Honoring Our Caretaking Traditions” (2015), Lara di Tomasso and Sandrina de Finney explain that Indigenous languages “typically have no equivalent word for adoption because Indigenous ways of caring for children do not estrange children from their birth families, communities, and cultures” (19-20). They use the term *custom adoption* to refer to practices of caretaking that have traditionally taken place in Indigenous communities. They explain further, custom adoption is “much more than an Indigenous way of doing adoption; it is a complex institution by which a variety of alternative parenting arrangements, permanent or temporary, may be put in place to address the needs of children and families in Aboriginal communities.”

Mackey observes that the language of the apology still reproduces the trope of the “damaged status” of Indigenous families, and specifically focuses on parents who have “lost the ability ... to adequately parent their own children” (53).

The idea that Indigenous families are unable to “parent” their children still significantly affects how such families are subject to inequitable social services and funding in the present day. The *Canadian Incidence Study of Reported Child Abuse and Neglect* (CIS-2008) captures data on child maltreatment investigations, as well as specific health and socioeconomic issues facing caregivers and children, from child welfare agencies across Canada.¹⁸ In 2011, the authors of *Kiskisik Awasisak: Remember the Children, Understanding the Overrepresentation of First Nations Children in the Child Welfare System* presented the results of analyses that compared investigations involving First Nations and non-Indigenous children that were included in the CIS-2008 sample (ix). The report presents a profile of child maltreatment related investigations but contextualizes any risk of harm to the child’s physical or emotional development through the lens of Canada’s colonial history. In doing so, the authors of *Kiskisik Awasisak* recognize that what may be perceived as “maltreatment”—such as extreme poverty, poor housing, and parental substance abuse problems—necessitates an approach that expands the “narrow focus on interactions between children and their caregivers in order to consider the broader context in which these interactions take place” (x). Importantly, experts agree that these social outcomes are rooted in the intergenerational effects of colonialism and the continued marginalization of Indigenous knowledge within Eurocolonial public policy and practices (Blackstock and Brittain 2011). The overarching result is that inequitable social services policy codifies “structural risk and historical disadvantage as personal and family deficits” (Blackstock 290). Mackey makes a

¹⁸ The report is prepared in 10-year cycles and the preparation (and publication) for the 2018 *Canadian Incidence Study* is ongoing.

similar observation, and points out that First Nations individuals, families, and communities are “still painted as deviant because they have ““social problems that continue to exist”” (53).

In 2007, Cindy Blackstock, a Gitksan scholar, child-welfare activist and executive director of the First Nations Child and Family Caring Society of Canada (Caring Society), along with the Chief Lawrence Joseph of the Assembly of First Nations (AFN), filed a complaint pursuant to the Canadian Human Rights Act on behalf of Canada’s First Nations children. The complaint argued that status First Nations children are not afforded the same rights as other Canadian children and detailed how inequitable levels of child and family services funding on First Nation reserves contributed to the over-representation of status First Nations children in provincial child welfare care (Joseph and Blackstock). The Caring Society and AFN complaint cited the aggressive colonial policies that targeted Indigenous children through the residential school system and argued that status First Nations children and families were subject to such inequitable levels of child welfare services because of their “race and national ethnic origin as compared to non-Aboriginal children” (Joseph and Blackstock 3). The complaint alleged that such inequities arise because INAC requires First Nations Child and Family Services (FNCFS) agencies to abide by provincial and territorial child welfare legislation and policies when dealing with Indigenous clients on and off reserves; this limits the ability of FNCFS agencies to deploy programs and practices that favor “preventative, community based, and culturally sensitive approaches” to identify child maltreatment situations (*Kiskisik* 8).¹⁹ Furthermore, the federal

¹⁹ While child welfare services are largely shaped by provincial and territorial legislation, the *Kiskisik* report acknowledges that legislation increasingly includes recognition of the need for culturally appropriate services for Indigenous children and families. Indeed, since the report was published in 2008, a number of provinces (including Quebec and British Columbia) have recognized new jurisdictional models of child-welfare.

government funds FNCFS services at lower levels and with more restrictions compared to the funding that provinces and territories provide children living off reserve.²⁰

On January 26, 2016, The Canadian Human Rights Tribunal (CHRT) ruled that the federal government racially discriminated against 163,000 First Nations children (“CHRT Decisions”).²¹ The decision found that the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs’ provision of First Nations Child and Family Services is flawed, inequitable, and thus discriminatory under the Canadian Human Rights Act. In its decision, the CHRT acknowledged “the suffering of those First Nations children and families who are or have been denied an equitable opportunity to remain together or to be reunited in a timely manner” (*FN Child vs. Canada* 167). The finding illustrates how many First Nations children and families are adversely affected by FNCFS program services that do not reflect the actual needs of the communities. In fact, the CHRT found that the main funding mechanism of the FNCFS program actually *incentivized* removing First Nations children from their families and communities. The CHRT ruling further revealed that INAC was not only aware of the flawed funding model, but that the agency repeatedly failed to act to correct the problem for at least sixteen years (386, 454, 461).

The CHRT case demonstrates that federal child welfare is a significant area of social policy that perpetuates raced-based inequality in Canada and, more specifically, perpetuates dehumanizing, historically located discourses about Indigenous families. Since the decision, the Caring Society has continued to lobby on behalf of Indigenous children in Canada who are still

²⁰ The groundwork for a system of First Nations child and family services agencies emerged in the 1980s. These agencies were established in response to growing concerns about the scale of child removal and the treatment of First Nations children by provincial child welfare authorities. The *Kiskisik Awasisak* report finds that in 2008, there were 125 Aboriginal child and family service agencies across Canada (x). FNCFS agencies have “developed programs or practices that favour preventative, community-based, culturally sensitive approaches” that reject the child-removal based strategies of the past.”

²¹ Since the ruling in 2016, the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal has issued four non-compliance legal orders against the Federal government on First Nations child welfare (“Tribunal Issues”)

not afforded access to equitable social services in order to bring forth a policy approach that focuses on providing substantive and equal social services that focus “on the distinct needs and circumstances of First Nations children and families living on-reserve, including their cultural, historical, and geographical circumstances” (“First Steps”).²² Indigenous children remain severely overrepresented throughout Canada’s provincial welfare systems—almost half of the children in foster care across the country are Indigenous.²³

The federal government’s 2008 apology necessarily initiated consideration of the place of childhood in Canada’s colonial history and how that history reverberates today. One of the outcomes of the apology was the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) which, in 2015, released a final report that included ninety-four calls to action in order to “redress the legacy of residential schools and advance the process of Canadian reconciliation” (*The History Part One* 1). The first five of the Commission’s recommendations all address child welfare, and primarily call upon federal, provincial, territorial and Aboriginal governments to “commit to reducing the number of Aboriginal children in care.”²⁴ Significantly, the TRC instructed the federal government to enact Indigenous child-welfare legislation that affirms the right of First Nations governments to establish and maintain their own child welfare agencies, and to provide adequate resources so that Indigenous communities and child-welfare

²² The First Nations Caring Society has compiled a range of “first steps” in order to encourage immediate action for reform. The recommendations focus on implementing and funding culturally based practice standards and programs.

²³ The most recent available data, compiled by Statistics Canada, finds that Aboriginal children represented 7% of all children in Canada in 2011. They also accounted for 48% of all foster children in the country (“Living Arrangements” 1).

²⁴ The TRC’s calls to action include: reducing the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the care of child welfare, publishing data on the exact numbers of Indigenous children in child welfare and the reasons and costs associated with these services, fully implementing Jordan’s Principle, ensuring that legislation allows for Indigenous communities to be in control of their own child welfare services, and developing culturally appropriate parenting programs (*The History Part One* 1).

organizations might “keep Aboriginal families together ... and to keep children in culturally appropriate environments.” Since the TRC ruling, inaction from dominant stakeholders on this issue serves only to reinforce, in Kristine Alexander’s terms, the “multiple ways that Canada has failed to protect many of its youngest inhabitants” (398).

In January 2018, the minister of Indigenous Services Canada, Jane Philpott, called an emergency meeting to bring together federal, provincial, and territorial governments, as well as First Nations Elders, youth, community service organizations, and advocates to address the disproportionate number of Indigenous children that are held within provincial child welfare systems. Philpott called the situation a “humanitarian crisis” that followed the residential school model of forcibly removing children from their home (McKay 2018). The ensuing report on the emergency meeting underscores the urgent need to address the child welfare crisis in Canada. The meeting’s participants shared stories of the challenges that they face in their particular communities; significantly, different representatives from different First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities were able to address their particular concerns. One discussion in particular centered on the systemic causes of child welfare involvement for Inuit children. The participants identified that the central outcome of child welfare intervention in their communities included the “erosion of cultural forms of family caring, where extended families and grandparents played a key role in parenting.” Following this meeting, Philpott’s agency proposed a six-point commitment to address Indigenous child welfare that is focused on fully implementing the Canadian Human Rights Tribunal ruling that found the federal government has an obligation to fully fund equitable and culturally relevant services for First Nations children.

Canada’s federal, provincial, and territorial governments’ inaction on the issue of equitable child services sustains harmful impacts on the lives of Indigenous young people. Krista

Maxwell points out that, while the TRC's ninety-four "Calls to Action" prioritize addressing the overrepresentation of Indigenous children in the contemporary child welfare system, it is critical to "analyze how and why child-removal remains central to relations between the settler-state and Indigenous peoples" (977). Without such analysis, the practice of child-removal from Indigenous homes and communities is too easily normalized as an effect of the perceived dysfunction that is taken to be "inherent" within Indigenous families rather than the long practice of an ideology of Eurocolonial kinship-making that is rooted in settler colonialism.

II. Settler-Colonial and Indigenous Childhoods in Literary Criticism

My project recognizes the cultural and textual history that has contributed to naturalizing neoliberal kinship ideologies that affect the lives of Indigenous children and families today. While my analysis focuses specifically on how the child is represented as the object (and, at times, agent) of systems of feeling that cohere the private, nuclear family across racialized subjectivities, I do not wish to flatten the categories of imagined, or represented, childhoods and real childhoods through my analysis. Rather, the contemporary reality of Indigenous child welfare in Canada situates my interest in how childhoods were racialized through the nineteenth century. The ways in which the lives of Indigenous children are circumscribed by structural inequalities today is deeply rooted in how childhood is imagined and represented in the texts that were produced by, and circulated back through, settler colonial contexts. Part of this history is located in how scholars of the history of childhood, as well as the literary history of childhood, approach the representation of various gendered and racialized childhoods in Canada. While scholars have lately turned more pointedly to considering the representations of immigrant and Indigenous children in the twentieth century, the scholarship that attends to nineteenth century

and early twentieth century childhoods in Canada is rooted in questions that pointedly focus on the experience of white, settler children. In her article, “Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History” (2016), Kristine Alexander, for example, points out how subjugated histories of Indigenous childhood have largely been left unconsidered in some of the most foundational studies of the social history of childhood in nineteenth-century Canada.

Neil Sutherland’s *Children in English Canada Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (1976) is a foundational text in the development of the field of childhood studies in Canada. Sutherland traces how in “the context of national transformation,” English Canadians arrived at a new set of beliefs about childhood that initiated a range of new policies and programs that focused on directing and improving the health, education, and welfare outcomes of the settler children (xi). Sutherland’s work contributed significantly to how scholars of English-Canadian childhood historicize the ways in which children were reared and families were organized from the mid-nineteenth century. The classic view of Canada’s economic and social history locates broad changes in the nation’s economy at this time, including increased industrial development and immigration. Such changes brought new familial roles that centered childhood as a phase of mental, emotional and social development. Sutherland submits that, as the roles of individuals changed in society, the relationship between children and parents was perceived to be the “gravest of individual ties and obligations” (17). English-Canadians, Sutherland posits, understood that the future welfare of Canadian society was inevitably bound with the health of the nuclear family.

While Sutherland explains that his purview of “English-Canadian society” between 1870-1920 includes *all* of the Dominion’s non-French-speaking population outside of Quebec, he conflates the experiences of Indigenous children through the turn of the twentieth century into

the settler-focused reformer movement. Sutherland explains that English-Canadian social reformers created social policies that they sought to apply not only to themselves, but also to “all those—including the native population, the immigrants, and the Francophones outside of Quebec—whom they intended to assimilate into their culture” (x). The school doctor, Sutherland notes, would eventually “get to the reserve” after attending to the urban, white child. This comment pointedly hierarchizes which kinds of childhoods mattered to the various reformer regimes of the nineteenth century, but it also signals Sutherland’s own methodological manner of approaching the social history of childhood: he assumes that white childhood might best represent the sum of experiences of all children in Canada. In rendering Indigenous and other minority groups as the inevitable subject of settler-focused reform policies, Sutherland’s work fails to elucidate how minority groups were subject to specific reform policies based on their status as racialized “other” and contributes to emphasizing the invisible norm of whiteness.

This settler-focused view of the historiography of Canadian childhood has been reproduced in some significant scholarship on fiction for children in Canada. In *From Nursery Rhymes to Nationhood: Children’s Literature and the Construction of Canadian Identity* (2008), Elizabeth A. Galway traces the development of literature for children in Canada after 1867. Galway argues that scholars of Canadian literature have “failed to fully acknowledge the degree to which writers intended to foster feelings of national identity, independence, pride, and unity following Confederation,” especially as it relates to English-Canadian texts (5). Her analysis extends across a number of different popular genres and includes texts that were written by British and Canadian settlers about Canadian imaginaries. The boy’s adventure genre was one popular mode through which writers represented Canada to young audiences across empire. Starting in the mid-nineteenth century, authors such as Frederick Marryat, *The Settlers in*

Canada (1844), R.M Ballantyne, *The Young Fur Traders* (1856) and *Snowflake and Sunbeams* (1886), G.A Henty, *With Wolfe in Canada* (1886), J.M Oxley, *The Young Woodsman or Life in the Forests of Canada* (1884), and Egerton Ryerson Young, *Three Boys in the Wild North Land: Summer* (1896), all contribute to the development of the boy's adventure story.²⁵ While these authors placed many of their adventure tales across different outposts of the British Empire, Elizabeth Waterston (1992) finds that the Canadian North was generally "fixed ... as a great stage for boy's adventures" (132). Galway traces major themes of the adventure genre across these texts, pointing out the impulse to thematically reflect racialized British values onto settler-contexts and to represent the vast Canadian landscape as an empty space to be conquered by heroic British boys.

Galway turns her focus to representations of Indigeneity in juvenile literature and claims that post-Confederation children's fiction reflects a growing "awareness of, and in some cases an increasing appreciation for, the unique culture of First Nations people and their role in shaping Canadian identity" (95). For Galway, "the figure of the "Indian" emerged as a "staple of stories set in Canada," but her own analysis limits any critical examination of Indigenous childhoods. While she acknowledges that the stereotypes which circulated through the popular stories of Oxley and Egerton Young were often negative (wherein Indigenous characters are typically represented as a treacherous figure or a dangerous enemy), Galway suggests that, ultimately, instances of textual representations of Indigenous peoples and children in Canada's earliest examples of children's literature circulated as a "means of representing diversity within Canada" (95). The limitation of this argument is primarily that it overlooks the fact that colonial agents

²⁵ See Renee Hulan's "Northern Experience and Myths in Canadian Culture" (2002) for her in-depth discussion about nineteenth-century boy's adventure stories in Canada.

were less concerned with representing diversity than they were, on the whole, with assimilating diverse subjects *into* the dominant body politic.

In “Childhood and Colonialism in Canadian History” (2016), Alexander observes that childhood in Canada is still written about in an uneven manner that privileges the experience of settler childhoods. Alexander argues for an analytical approach that recognizes representations of non-Indigenous Canadians *as* settlers; she suggests that scholarship on stereotypical representations of the “Indian” in children’s cultures and discourses intersects in meaningful ways with “the rhetorical and material power of whiteness” (401). It is incumbent on scholars, then, to include settler and Indigenous children in the same analytical frame to account for the ways in which Indigenous children remain marginalized in critical analysis of representations of historical childhoods (398). Such work might suggest a more complicated perspective and introduces its own limitations, especially for settler scholars who might face certain ethical and other limitations when analyzing Indigenous texts and cultures.²⁶ Patricia Kmiec’s robust and

²⁶ In “Strategies for Ethical Engagement: An Open Letter Concerning Non-Native Scholars of Native Literatures” (2016), Sam McKegney writes about the position of the settler-academics in the practice and development of contemporary Indigenous literary criticism. McKegney observes that the “dominant strategies” that are adopted by settler scholars to avoid doing damage to Indigenous texts (such as “intense self-reflexivity or even silence”) have “unintended inverse (and adverse) effects of obfuscating Indigenous voices and stagnating the field” (81). This article appears in *Learn, Teach, Challenge: Approaching Indigenous Literatures* but is a revised excerpt from McKegney’s longer discussion on the subject in *Magic Weapons: Aboriginal Writers Remaking Community after Residential Schools*. The editors of *Learn, Teach, and Challenge*, however, pair McKegney’s essay with useful responses, including “A Response to Sam McKegney’s “Strategies for Ethical Engagement: An Open Letter Concerning Non-Native Scholars of Native Literatures” by Robert Appleford. Appleford draws on Gayatri Spivak to argue that non-Indigenous critics often conflate two modes of representation: “representation as ‘speaking for,’ as in politics, and representation as ‘re-presentation,’ as art and philosophy” (92). He observes that these conflated “senses of representation elide the discontinuity between them, where aesthetic versions of identity are misrecognized as both politically transparent and concretely metonymic “vox populi” of the “people” under representation.” Thus, Appleford encourages critics of Indigenous literature and cultures to delineate between aesthetic issues and categories of “ethical/ethnic communal voice” (93). I deal with this most concretely in the fourth chapter, in my reading of Johnson’s “The Shagganappi.” Aesthetically, “The Shagganappi” reflects most clearly the genre of the nineteenth-century boy’s adventure story. In turn, contemporary critical responses observe how the narrative represents an Indigenous representation of Canada’s happy, multicultural future; I argue

original work on the Canada Sunday School Union archives, for instance, is central to my own analysis of the institution through the first chapter of this project; her writing elucidates a thorough view of the history of the Union across Upper and Lower Canada as she contextualizes the historical specificity of the cross-denominational Sunday schools that proliferated through the Provinces. Kmeic's settler-focused historical work, however, limits a critical analysis of the *effect* that the distribution of Sunday school libraries had in Canada. By placing the Sunday school within its settler-colonial context we can see how the child, as a reader and participant in the Sunday school's print culture, contributed to the normalization of racialized genealogical kinship formations. While Sunday schools did not specifically minister to Indigenous children in their practice, they did encourage their own students' affective identification with Indigenous children through the circulation of Sunday school libraries, where Indigeneity was represented in stories and periodicals like *Our Forest Children*.

My project, then, draws on scholarship that highlights the production and effects of racial hierarchies in settler-colonial discourse. While Alexander calls attention to the kind of work that needs to be done in the field, scholars of cultural history and Canadian literatures have variously highlighted how the idea of childhood was, in Laura Ishiguro's words, "invested with the generational power and responsibility to create racialized and exclusive settler futures" (18).²⁷ Daniel Coleman's influential *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (2006), for instance, is central to my thinking about race and subjectivity in regard to childhood in English Canada. Coleman identifies how four gendered allegorical figures—the Loyalist brother, the enterprising Scottish orphan, the muscular Christian, and the maturing colonial son—circulated

that the "double perspective" that is so widely applied to Johnson's work precludes readings that develop the significance and complexity of Johnson's representation of Métis identity.

²⁷ Ishiguro's forthcoming *Nothing to Write Home About* (2019), is a history of British family correspondence between the United Kingdom and British Columbia between 1858-1914.

through the nineteenth century to reify the “privileged, normative status of British whiteness in English Canada” (6). For instance, Coleman finds the fraternal allegory to be a common rhetorical trope of Loyalist literature that “contributed significantly to the naturalization of White British masculinity as the assumed norm for Canadian citizenship” (47). While Coleman’s analysis is settler-focused, he importantly expands the frame of reference to suggest that the naturalization of White British masculinity is irrevocably tied to the “denial of Indigenous presence [in North America]” (29).

While my thesis focuses narrowly on settler-colonial texts that were produced for and about children in Canada, my project necessarily reflects a broad view of childhood discourse as it was produced and circulated through the British empire and, in certain cases, through the United States. Scholars have likewise centered their literary analysis of settler childhood across different colonial contexts (Elleray 2013, 2011; Fulton 2013; Morrison 2015; Morrison and Martin 2017). Hugh Morrison, for example, writes about the intersection of evangelical Christianity and childhood in colonial New Zealand and Canada. His work on the British Sunday School movement in these British colonies importantly reveals how the evangelical Sunday school movement sought to inculcate appropriate emotional norms for non-Indigenous children. In “Settler Childhood, Protestant Christianity and Emotions in Colonial New Zealand 1880s-1920s” (2015), Morrison observes how childhood religion was “construed to be both a thing of the heart and of the mind” (77). He demonstrates that, through the widespread distribution of Sunday school periodicals and texts, it was believed that settler children could be taught to internalize appropriate Christian emotions and to identify wrong emotions. Proper expressions of Christian feeling might encompass kindness, empathy, and selflessness, for instance. The ability of the child to internalize (and externalize) the “right emotions” helped to consolidate racial

difference and would come to define “an intergenerational community of people who would live thoughtfully, generously and sacrificially in reference to each other, to a wider society and to the whole world” (83). Morrison’s work develops the idea that the child has a capacity to enact a range of specific emotional references that are not transitory feelings, but that are “habits of the heart and mind to be cultivated over time” through proper, evangelical training.

Morrison, along with other scholars of Eurocolonial children’s literature and cultures, such as Michelle Elleray, reveal how evangelical reformers tied together emotional and theological imagery in order to instruct settler-colonial children in important theological messages and systems of feeling. These insights into the hearts and minds of settler-colonial children are tied to my thinking about what kinds of sentiments encompass the “tender ties” of the nuclear family (Stoler, “Tense and Tender Ties”). Through this thesis, I focus on the circulation of emotions. In the context of the evangelical Sunday school movement, for instance, the evangelical reformer Horace Bushnell (1847) argues that the cultivation and circulation of strong emotional bonds was central to impressing religious feeling and conduct in children. For Bushnell, this process took place within the “organic” bounds of the nuclear family (94). While the first chapter elaborates on how the CSSU annual reports reveal how such expressions of emotion are perceived by evangelical reformers, the other archive and texts that I consider through this thesis represent what Laura Mielke (2008) calls “moving encounters” (2). For Mielke, moving encounters are scenes in which two differently racialized individuals or communities participate in “highly emotional exchanges that indicated their hearts had more in common than their external appearances or political allegiances suggested.” My own project builds on this work in order to foreground how the colonial management regime sought to

further inculcate Indigenous children into particular racialized systems of feeling in order to consolidate nuclear kinship practices.

III. Kinship as a Conceptual Framework

During the early and mid-twentieth century, the combined scholarship of the North American, European, and British schools of social anthropologists was crucial to consolidating kinship as an analytic construct.²⁸ This section broadly introduces how anthropological studies normalized the nuclear, genealogical family as the universal relation of kinship in the West. Following, I explain how, through the 1980s and 1990s, scholars started to develop critical analysis of this scholarship. I demonstrate how the field of critical kinship studies, which flourished through the turn of the twenty-first century, calls attention to how kinship historically circulated as a biopolitical practice through cultural discourse in North America. I conclude this section by examining how scholars of black, Indigenous, and postcolonial studies have lately worked to address the power of genealogical kinship to normalize gender, race, and class subject hierarchies in the service of the nation state. This scholarship importantly reveals how “alternative” kinship practices—actions which reflect non-biological, political, spiritual, and ceremonial commitments—are meaningful and legitimate in their own right.

While the kinds of ties that were seen to constitute kinship varied across the anthropological field, through the early-twentieth century one dominant interpretation viewed kinship to be an effect of the natural facts of sexual reproduction (Franklin and McKinnon 2).

²⁸ In their introduction to *Relative Values: Refiguring Kinship Studies* (2001) Sarah Franklin and Susan McKinnon provide a thorough overview of anthropological kinship studies and explain how anthropological scholars such as Lewis H. Morgan, W.H.R. Rivers, Bronislaw Malinowski and A.R. Radcliffe-Brown investigated the structural or functional aspects of kinship across cultures.

While anthropologists practiced charting “the transfer of biogenetic material from parents to offspring” in order to identify “bilateral lines of ancestry and descent,” genetic science purported to establish a scientifically verifiable record of the “facts of kinship” through the transmission of DNA (5). The nuclear, biogenetic family thus emerged as the fundamental and universal relation of kinship (Carsten 10). W.H. R. Rivers, an influential British anthropologist during the early twentieth century, for instance, wrote that the familial components of “father, mother, child, husband and wife” are “universal” precisely because they can be applied to both “savage and civilized people” regardless of the “great difference between the systems of relationship” (qtd. in Emberley 312).

When viewed as an *effect* of biogenetic substance, kinship operates as a “classificatory technology and practice” that has “powerful naturalizing effects” (4). That kinship is legitimized and made intelligible vis-à-vis the biologicistic nature of the nuclear family reveals the intrinsic link between kinship and socially constituted subject positions. Through the mid-twentieth century, the biologicistic nature of anthropological studies contributed in part to the decline of the field as scholars began to regard kinship as a Western preoccupation that imposed ontological categories onto “other” peoples and cultures (Franklin & McKinnon 2). David Schneider (1984), for example, influentially rejected the notion that kinship had “anything to do with reproduction” (198). Kinship, for Schneider, was “undefined and vacuous,” an “analytic construct” that, he found, seemed to have “little justification” as such (185). Since Schneider, however, scholars have revisited kinship theory in “more complex and multidimensional ways” (Franklin 6). Judith Butler (2002) writes that, while kinship has “lost the capacity to be formalized and tracked in conventional ways,” it is still not “over” or “dead” (15). Indeed, social anthropologists such as Janet Carsten (2004), for instance, find that the field of critical kinship studies acknowledges a

“considerable and very explicit unease about what kinship is, and what it should mean, at the beginning of the twenty-first century” (185).²⁹ This unease, in turn, has been translated “into some quite remarkable debates and contestations in which the rights and obligations of kinship are apparently renegotiated.” The critical practice of kinship studies, in this view, is not just an “analytic construct” that is created and imposed onto other people and cultures after the fact but is a means to reflexively critique “naturalized” differences in order to “unpack the cultural assumptions embodied in [such concepts]” (Franklin 4).

In the view of acknowledging kinship’s expansive use, scholars have worked to extend David Schneider’s once influential assertion that, in the West, kinship is “whatever the biogenetic relationship is” (30). As such, the problems of kinship have changed. Formalist approaches, Carsten argues, do not account for the “crucial experiential dimensions of kinship” (*Cultures* 14). Through the turn of the twenty-first century, critical kinship studies worked to displace biology and “denaturalize” the language of kinship in order to account, Marilyn Strathern explains, for the “choice as to whether or not biology is made the foundation of relationships” (196). The theoretical shift away from the classically Euro-Western anthropological tradition was captured in the title of Carsten’s influential *After Kinship* (2004), wherein she finds that the anthropological tradition of the early twentieth century focused on biological analysis that “too often fails to capture what made kinship such a vivid and important aspect of the experience of those whose lives were being described” (8). Kinship, in Carsten’s view, encompasses modes of relatedness that are affective, rather than singularly biological.

²⁹ Janet Collier and Sylvia Yanagisako, eds. *Gender and Kinship: Essays towards a Unified Analysis* (1987); Marilyn Strathern, *After Nature* (1992); Sarah Franklin and Susan McKinnon, *Relative Values: Reconfiguring Kinship Studies* (2002).

Even though kinship is conceived in this view outside of its ruling sign of biology, the concept still stands as a set of practices that institute various kinds of relationships that, Butler writes, negotiate the “reproduction of life and the demands of death” as well as address fundamental forms of human dependency, which may include “birth, child-rearing, relations of emotional dependency, and support, generational ties, dying and death” (15). Thus, Michel Foucault’s prolific conceptual tool, biopower, inflects important analysis on the capacity of kinship to circulate as a framework of analysis in its own right. In *The History of Sexuality* (1978/1990) Foucault writes that biopower evolved, beginning in the seventeenth century, from sovereign mechanisms of power dedicated to “impeding [bodies], making them submit, or destroying them,” to a power “addressed to the body, to life, to what causes it to proliferate, to what reinforces the species, its stamina, its ability to dominate, or its capacity to be used” (136, 147). The difference between the two expressions of power, generally, is identified by the ways that individuals are formed, but also by how they are made to cohere into docile, yet biologically and economically productive, social bodies. Foucault seemingly deploys dichotomous language to describe the shift from one means of power to the other over time, but scholars such as Stoler and Renisa Mawani (2009) pursue the “suggestive kernels” in Foucault’s work that are indicative of the ways in which biopower and sovereign power are, and have historically been, “conjoined and braided as opposed to distinct” (Mawani 18).

The family is one such institution that reveals the variable ways in which these two regimes of power overlap and interact in meaningful ways. While Foucault writes about the institution of the family across his body of work, his observations about the family do not cohere into a single, unified “theory” that posits the institution as either sovereign or as biopolitical. The family, for Foucault, is perhaps most obviously a traditionally sovereign institution “whose

power has been slowly diluted over time” (*History of Sexuality* 202). Sovereign expressions of power are mediated through a deployment of alliance—a regime that is attuned to “the homeostasis of the social body” (107). In this instance, social hierarchies are based on lines of descent that hinge on a “symbolics of blood” (147). Foucault identifies blood, the central symbol of sovereign power, as that which further lends coherence to a society “in which systems of alliance, the differentiation into orders and castes, and the value of descent lines [are] predominant.” In a 1974 lecture, recorded in *Psychiatric Power* (1973-74/2003), Foucault explains that the aristocratic or bourgeois family coheres through a “constant reference to a type of bond, of commitment, and of dependence established ... in the form of marriage or birth” (80). What gives this family “its solidity” is thus the transmission of genetic kinship—the invisible but symbolic bonds that Foucault argues *secure* this traditionally patriarchal institution. Stoler disagrees—she finds that the “homeostasis” that Foucault equates with the deployment of the alliance elides dynamic in-situ interpretations of kin that were “far from homeostatic” (*Race* 48).

Foucault argues that, as various economic processes and political structures weakened the unilateral organization of sovereign power at the close of the eighteenth century, this iteration of power was slowly replaced by a “biopolitics of the human race” (*History of Sexuality* 203). This modern regime is marked by emergent technologies of discipline and the rise of biopolitics as power circulates through the social body rather than on the individual. While Foucault identifies the family as the target “par excellence” of biopower, a full overview of his work encourages a closer reading of how the biopoliticization of the family is invariably inflected in the modern era by the sovereign “symbolics of alliance and blood” (Taylor 206). Foucault acknowledges that the sovereign family is not dissolved or undone by the biopolitical; rather, it is “concentrated,

limited, and intensified” so that the family is an “essential component of the disciplinary system” (*Psychiatric Power* 80). Chloe Taylor (2012) offers a succinct summary of the nuanced ways Foucault writes about the family; she finds that though the family is at once unequivocally sovereign in Foucault’s view, it is also, as he explains in *Psychiatric Power*, “the hinge, the interlocking point, which is absolutely indispensable to the very functioning of all the disciplinary [and biopolitical] systems” (81). Sovereign and biopolitical apparatuses always function together in a “permanent game of cross reference and transfer” in order to constitute and reconstitute the idea of a sovereign family cell (84). Taylor deftly argues that, when read for its contradictions, Foucault’s writing on the genealogy of the family ultimately reveals the institution’s “novelty, its contingency, and most importantly, its formation through power struggles” (215).

Of course, Foucault’s thinking about the family extends only to a very specific Western European social and historical context; as other scholars note, Foucault’s conceptualization and genealogy of biopower largely elides questions of gender and race, and further, is “unconvincing when [transported] to the colonies” (Mawani 17). In *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (1995), for instance, Stoler picks up on this critical lapse in Foucault’s conceptualization of biopower—specifically, she identifies an under-theorized connection between the normalizing bourgeois project, which includes the institutionalization and solidification of nuclear, white family forms, and the development of state racisms in imperial contexts. Again, in her work on Dutch Indonesia, Stoler finds that colonial authorities were preoccupied with various kinds of affective attachments; the “political rationalities” that marked the policy and practice of Dutch colonial authority and gave rise to various disciplinary and biopolitical apparatus, were actually ground in “the management

of affective states, in assessing appropriate sentiments and in fashioning techniques of affective control” (5). Moreover, Stoler usefully documents the “implicitly racial grammar” and twinned “discourse of degeneracy” that she finds underwrites the biopolitical regime of Dutch Indonesian culture. Stoler points out that dominant discourses of “how to live” in this context actually reflect anxiety about the destructive moral influence of “internal enemies,” or degenerate populations who are made “new targets for internal purification” (93). Mawani similarly identifies how the interconnections that can be drawn between the two modes of power are “evident in the formation of settler colonialism and in the rise of state racisms on which white settlement depended” in the Canadian context (19). She finds this specifically born out in British Columbia from the 1780s onward; she argues, for example that the Indian Act’s contradictory objectives of “improvement, civilization, segregation and assimilation” stand as a “coeval expression of sovereignty and biopower.”

The ideological purchase of genealogical kinship is itself rooted in the “genealogy” of biopower as it extends through settler colonialism. During the mid-nineteenth century, Canada was solidified in British political philosophy as a relatively empty space “ripe for the reproduction of families and British society” (Joseph 4). The filial, Anglo-Saxon family emerged as a forceful (though variable) metaphor that was used to describe not only the British Empire, but later, its federative nature. Anne McClintock has offered perhaps the most enduring summation of how this family was deployed as a productive metaphor throughout the British Empire in *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (1995) wherein she surmises that, in the West, nations are symbolically figured through the “iconography of familial and domestic space” (357). Normalized ideas of what a family could and should be sanctioned and naturalized particular racial, gender, and class hierarchies. Following, the

dominant discourse of the family in the West is, and has historically been, racialized as white and gendered as productively heterosexual. In *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (2006), for example, Sunera Thobani foregrounds how central the “racialized moral order” taken to be inherent (or at least, pliant) within the white, British family was to the founding of Canada (131). Until the mid-twentieth century, Thobani writes, racialized and gendered immigration policies encouraged British emigrants to “bring and build families in the service of national (re) production, while all non-white immigrants were restricted from migrating with their families” (130). For literary scholar Nancy Bentley (2009), the language of kinship is a resource that “has built institutions of modernity” (272). She finds that kinship is a “pivotal modern event,” a fiction that posits the universal and stable “existence of human families” as the foundational feature of the national imaginary in the West.³⁰ Universalized in terms of “whiteness” and “Britishness” the corresponding “right” emigrant family to Canada is afforded certain movement across physical, social, and economic geographies. In turn, this family is expected to fulfill, as Julia Emberley suggests, certain reproductive “duties and obligations to Empire” (314).

My argument through this thesis follows and extends critical approaches to discourses of kinship from scholars interested in deploying Indigenous and postcolonial critiques (Gaudry and Leroux 2017, Morgensen 2013, Smith 2010).³¹ While these scholars variously draw on

³⁰ Bentley’s forthcoming book, *New World Kinship and the American Novel 1850-1920*, proposes to trace the ways in which the genre of the novel mediates multiple forms of kinship in North America.

³¹ Practices of biological racialization in North America have been theorized by scholars working in the field of critical black studies, whose thinking has influenced and supported Indigenous scholars and scholars of Indigenous studies to trace specific practices and effects of racialization through Indigeneity. Bentley, for instance, draws on the work of Hortense Spillers and Saidiya Hartman to argue that the total effacement of kinship, or what she identifies as “kinlessness,” was the defining condition of slavery in the American South. For Bentley, kinlessness is taken to be an *inheritable* condition that is socially and judicially imposed in order to “isolate and extract the sheer materiality of a human population—their bodies, labor, and reproductive capacities—from the sphere of the familial” (270). Kinlessness, Bentley

Foucault's theory of biopower, which they find to be central to the production and proliferation of the institution of settler colonialism in North America, they query how the biopolitical management of Indigenous people was constructed through particularized institutions (such as the residential school) and discourses (such as blood quantum). If, as Patrick Wolfe asserts, biopower authorizes the lives of settler populations over Indigenous lives, then biopower inflects the ways in which dominant kinship stories impose particular systems of feeling that cohere the colonial heteropatriarchy. It is at this crux that my own project extends the influential early work of kinship theorists such as Carsten, but also develops how the logic of settler-colonialism worked to diminish the genealogical ties that were understood to cohere the nuclear family among non-white populations. If Rivers' observation normalized the notion that nuclear kinship practices in the West are an effect of genealogy, the application of a nuclear genealogical structure onto "alternative" systems of relation served to diminish Indigenous claims to ancestry in ways that materially affected individuals' access to their communities, their ancestry, and their land.

Scholars have thus examined how the production of racial taxonomies reflected expansive or subtractive practices among differently racialized populations in North America. In the context of the United States, Wolfe, for instance, observes that "Indians and Black people ... have been racialized in opposing ways that reflect their antithetical roles in the formation of U.S. society" (387). The institution of slavery, for example, turned on an expansive notion of ancestry, whereby "any amount of African ancestry, no matter how remote ... makes a person black." This view of blackness produced an inclusive racial taxonomy that benefited slave

explains, is a pivotal modern event, "a historical innovation designed to separate genetic reproduction from forms of human being and thus a "biopolitical fracture" (271). See also Rinaldo Walcott, *Black Like Who?* (1997); also, Paul Gilroy's influential *The Black Atlantic*; and *The Black Atlantic Reconsidered: Black Canadian Writing, Cultural History and the Presence of the Past* (2015).

owners, as blackness was seen to be an inheritable condition, and the reproduction of blackness through successive generations contributed to the reproduction of slavery. Whereas blackness was viewed as an inheritable condition, the reproduction of Indigeneity was compromised through blood quantum regulations. For Kim Tallbear (2013), nineteenth-century blood quantum regulations initiated a regime of *subtractive* racialization, wherein First Nations became fewer in number, though never exactly white, over subsequent generations. In Canada, blood quantum policies alienate women and children from their communities and kinship stories. Bonita Lawrence's (2014) thorough work on Indigenous identity situates how specific instances of state incursion into the lives of Indigenous peoples specifically target Indigenous bonds of relationality. Lawrence explains policies like the Gradual Enfranchisement Act (1869) and later, the Indian Act (1876), blunted the extra- and non-biological networks of Indigenous kinship practices that support(ed) Indigenous self-determination. Lawrence demonstrates, in turn, how Indigenous kinship traditions do not privilege notions of "race" or ideas of "blood quantum" above kinship obligations. Indigenous kinship is rooted in practices of relationality and the attendant insistence of settler colonialism to recognize Indigeneity only in racial terms, rather than through Indigenous epistemologies and familial relationships, weakens Indigenous kinship traditions.

I extend, in particular, Mark Rifkin's important analysis of Indigenous kinship traditions into Canada's colonial context. In *When Did the Indian Become Straight?: Kinship, the History of Sexuality, and Native Sovereignty* (2011) Rifkin foregrounds the productive currency of unexamined settler-colonial assumptions that privilege biological kinship systems. Kinship, in this view, is oriented "towards reproductive notions of transmitted biological substance [and] privatized homemaking" (9). He argues that the "dismissal of alternative [Indigenous] family

formations helps shape the nuclear norm and imperially overdetermines its significance within public discourse” (50). Rifkin’s discussion is especially relevant to my own here insofar as he explains that the emphasis on biological signs of Indigeneity should be understood in relation to the simultaneous naturalization of the hetero-reproductive, white settler family through the nineteenth century. He argues that these parallel developments are “interwoven, each animating and helping give shape to the other” so that the emergence of this family not only determines “what populations can achieve citizenship” but further establishes that “bourgeois kin-making and homemaking function as a topos for the boundaries of the nation-state.” Thus, Rifkin argues, the rhetoric of heteropatriarchal kinship is used as a “tactic” whereby Indigenous models of “relatedness, affect, conjugality, couplehood and homemaking” are consigned “to the structural position of (failed) family” as it is imagined and privileged along heteronormative and racialized lines (12).

Rifkin’s work has developed alongside a range of other Indigenous and settler-scholars who think through how traditional Indigenous kinship networks have been variously affected by settler colonialism (Andersen 2014, Simpson 2011). I want to end this section of the introduction by returning to a discussion of how practices of kinship circulate in Indigenous traditions and are commonly misinterpreted as an effect of genealogical kinship practices, thereby reinscribing biologically imagined norms of relations. In part, this misinterpretation is tied to continuing the settler-colonial project that focuses on the health of the nuclear family, and that seeks to establish and grow this family on uncontested land. Such focus further naturalizes the history of genealogical kinship that I outlined above and contributes to increased misunderstandings of the relational nature of Indigenous kinship traditions in the present day.

In *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, Justice organizes his chapters under broad questions that all prompt consideration of what it means to live in an interrelational manner in contemporary contexts. He asks, broadly, “how do we behave as good relatives?”; “how do we become good ancestors?”; and finally, “how do we learn to live together?” These questions encompass and reflect Indigenous contexts, of course, but they are relevant to my thinking of settler-Indigenous relations in that each chapter elucidates the ways in which Indigenous kinship ontologies reflect the dynamism of lived relationships. The phrasing of each question is articulated in an active voice: the individual becomes, behaves, and lives as a good relative insofar as they capably and reliably enact appropriate and necessary kinship obligations. In Indigenous contexts, these obligations look different across nations and cultures; they are interpreted and enacted through diverse, culturally-specific frameworks that are generated from Creation stories, language, and traditional knowledge. This thesis does not pursue a specific analysis of any single Indigenous kinship tradition.³² I do, however, acknowledge the principle that First Nations are fundamentally shaped by their own, specific principles of kinship obligations. Following, I recognize that Indigenous kinship obligations broadly encompass and prioritize social interdependence within (and without) communities; Justice, for instance, finds that “tribal web of kinship rights and responsibilities ... link the People, the land, and the cosmos

³² Through this thesis, I have tried to foreground Indigenous sources to give context and specific insight into the culturally specific kinship obligations of First Nations in Canada. Some useful sources are Brenda MacDougall’s *One of the Family: Métis Culture in Nineteenth Century Northwestern Saskatchewan* (2010); *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History* (2015) a collection edited by Carolyn Podruchny, Brenda MacDougall and Nicole St. Onge. See also *Dancing on Our Turtle’s Back* (2011) by Leanne Betasamosake Simpson. In her work, Simpson explains the limitations of contemporary scholarship’s understanding of pre-colonial practices of child rearing and relationality. Partly, this is because traditions and practices are passed down through the stories that Elders tell their communities. As a settler-scholar, my own access to these stories is limited in that they are often told in sacred and ceremonial contexts. As I explain in more detail later, my ability to share such stories, then, is constrained by my position as a settler-scholar.

together in an ongoing and dynamic system of mutually-affective relationships” (6). The responsibilities that people have to themselves and to human and non-human worlds are fundamentally reciprocal. In this view, traditional practices of kinship encompass shared commitments and “enacted obligations” that foreground a practice of *being* and *becoming* a good relative (73).

Rifkin and Justice similarly demonstrate how Indigenous kinship traditions operate differently than the biopolitical practices that cohere the heteropatriarchal family in the West. For Justice, it is important to acknowledge how dominant colonial kinship stories “are designed to destroy Indigenous people’s ties to [their] homelands, to [each other], and to [their] other than human relatives” (*Indigenous Literatures* 84). The racialized systems of feeling that are embedded within the nuclear family’s relations (and that reflect degrees of whiteness) are not “universal,” in W.H. River’s terms, and cannot be applied to the Indigenous epistemologies which circulate differently and more expansively.

IV. Chapter Summaries

“Relative Families” is comprised of four chapters, but it is useful to think of the argument as bifurcated into two separate sections. Through the first two chapters, I pair two related settler-colonial archives: the Canada Sunday School Union’s (CSSU) annual reports, and *Our Forest Children*, a periodical juvenile magazine that was produced by Reverend Edward F. Wilson and the students at the Shingwauk Industrial Homes in Sault Ste. Marie. The CSSU reports reveal how real-life settler children were targeted by evangelical reformers in order to make the contours of Christian feeling widely perceptible, while *Our Forest Children* demonstrates how evangelical reformers sought to extend similar capacities of Christian feeling to the Indigenous

children who were forcibly separated from their own families and communities and subject to the assimilatory project of residential schooling. Together, these two chapters trace how colonial agents worked to naturalize the kinds of systems of feelings that were recognized as legible and reproducible effects of genealogical kinship. Through the second section of the thesis, comprised of the third and fourth chapters, I turn my focus to consider the intersection of Indigenous and Euro-Canadian kinship practices as they are represented through the burgeoning relationships between settler and Indigenous children in two juvenile adventure tales: *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains* by Catharine Parr Traill, and “The Shagganappi” by Emily Pauline Johnson. Through these final two chapters, I consider how both authors deploy the generic tropes that mark the popular form of juvenile adventure narratives—specifically, the contact captivity narrative in the former and the boy’s school story in the latter—to represent how Indigenous kinship traditions were centered as productive metaphors through which white, settler-colonial Canadians might incorporate racialized subjects into the Canadian nation building project.

In the first chapter, I consider how the Canadian Sunday School Union’s (CSSU) archive of annual reports reflect evangelical reformers’ preoccupation with identifying and strengthening the heteropatriarchal familial formation that was thought to necessarily reside behind the settler-colonial child figure. This chapter seeks to establish what the “right” family was expected to feel in Canada and finds that the CSSU annual reports reflect the observations of its agents who identify potentially errant feelings (and the desultory effects of these feelings) in real time. The CSSU supported the development of cross-denominational Sunday schools across Upper and Lower Canada through the circulation of free and inexpensive Sunday school libraries. In turn, the Union required that affiliated Sunday schools submit information on different aspects of the school and its library’s effect on students and on the wider community. Eighteen of these reports

are accessible at Library and Archives Canada and span the years 1843 to 1876. Primarily, the reports track the circulation of the Sunday school libraries that the Union distributed to large and small communities across Upper and Lower Canada. These libraries were, in some locations, the only reading material that was accessible to the communities. The children who attended CSSU affiliated Sunday schools and made use of these libraries came from a range of different backgrounds—each school serviced a different community with different demographics, and so poor children attended the schools alongside the emerging middle class. The Sunday school project was central to cohering racial rule in colonial Canada because not all settler-children (and especially orphaned, paupered, children) were perceived to possess the standards of moral, mental, emotional and physical fitness that characterized whiteness. What was central to the ethos of the Canada Sunday School Union was that any and all children should be invited to partake in their local school's activities and to use the Sunday school library. Thus, the reports reflect the premise that children had a “seemingly boundless capacity for transformation” in settler-colonial space (Boucher 79).

The CSSU annual reports further reveal the colonial management regime's preoccupation with the familial formation that resided behind the figure of the settler-colonial child. They feature the anecdotal returns of cross-denominational Christian reformers who sought to identify and make perceptible the circulation of Christian feeling within the private domain of the nuclear family. My analysis through this chapter focuses primarily on the content of these anecdotal returns, wherein the local Sunday school reformers would report general observations about their school and community back to the Union. I argue that the annual reports reflect settler-colonial attempts to define and defend nuclear family formations in Canada. This project, in turn, contributed to the expansion of whiteness as a kinship category in British North America.

The second chapter elaborates on the lives of the Indigenous children who were separated from their family and communities and compelled to live at the Shingwauk Industrial Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario. *Our Forest Children*, a juvenile magazine that was produced at the Shingwauk Industrial Home was largely written by the Anglican missionary and clergyman Reverend Edward F. Wilson who sought to represent the lives and experiences of Indigenous adolescents in Canada to children across North America. Following the practice of other popular juvenile magazines, such as the London Religious Tract Society's *The Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967), Wilson published the writing (including diary excerpts, reflection prompts, and school work) of the children who lived at Shingwauk.

My interest in *Our Forest Children* is rooted in the magazine's capacity to reveal a racial project that turns on nineteenth-century visions of childhood as a stage of development in the making of a racialized adult identity that could be negotiated into a homogenous national identity. The residential school project sought broadly to eliminate Indigenous kinship practices by removing Indigenous young people from their homes. My reading focuses specifically on the content of the school compositions and excerpts of letters that were written by the Shingwauk pupils and published within the pages of the magazine. I examine these excerpts across the available editions of *Our Forest Children*. On the whole, these excerpts shape and demarcate a homogenous Canadian national identity based upon the representation of appropriate affective relationships that are both established and revealed through the students' improved writing and reading skills. While the content of these excerpts seemingly reflects rote pedagogical exercises, I argue that the varied excerpts of the students' writing that Wilson published showcase the affective language that students were taught to use in order to project 'civilized,' Christian emotion. By showcasing the various ways Shingwauk students came to learn how to express

“civilized” Christian feelings through their writing, *Our Forest Children* works to diminish the racial and cultural alterity of the Indigenous child. Thus, Wilson’s magazine does the work of constructing and representing Indigenous juveniles *as children* capable of expressing emotional depth and moral consciousness. In turn, the representative samples of writing that are published within *Our Forest Children* importantly engender a specific discourse of childhood in Canada: the excerpts affirm the relational and spiritual values that ultimately demonstrate the Indigenous students’ affective similarity to the “right” English-Canadian child and represent Indigenous children as capable of being incorporated into the dominant kinship story of the nation.

In the second section of the thesis, comprised of the third and fourth chapter, I turn my focus to representations of settler-colonial and Indigenous children in two separate juvenile adventure stories. Building on criticism about the genre of the juvenile adventure novel as it circulated through the British empire in the nineteenth century, I examine how Catharine Parr Traill and Emily Pauline Johnson differently adopt and adapt the genre to stage the assimilation of Indigenous and mixed-race children into the body politic. I argue that both of these texts actually represent Indigenous kinship traditions in ways that complicate dominant readings of these texts.

In the third chapter, my analysis of Catharine Parr Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes* builds on criticism of the novel’s place in a history of juvenile adventure novels (Freedgood 2010, O’Malley 2012, Morgenstern 2015). Scholars have identified *Canadian Crusoes* as an anomalous example of the juvenile adventure novel insofar as it turns on the language of literary sentimentalism. *Canadian Crusoes* forecasts a future wherein the British nation engages an expansive form of kinship that is marked by cross-cultural affection and interracial bonding. I argue that Indigenous kinship practices—specifically practices of custom adoption—are

recuperated by Traill in order to reflect the capacities of the dominant settler community to integrate Indigenous subjects (specifically, Indigenous children and adolescents) into the nuclear, Euro-Canadian family. I identify the political dimensions of Indigenous kinship that are only tacitly represented as part of Indiana's traumatic history to argue that Traill routs the possibilities of a companionate and elective model of the national-family through nineteenth-century captivity tropes in order to further expand the possibilities of mixed-race conjugal domesticity in Canada.

In the final chapter, the focus of my argument moves into the early twentieth century as I consider Emily Pauline Johnson's (1861-1913) short story "The Shagganappi" (1913). Johnson, a canonical figure of early Canadian literature, is often noted in contemporary criticism for her popular poetry and performances (Gerson 2012, Monture 2014, Reid 2001). "The Shagganappi" is pointedly not one of Johnson's more popular tales for children—it was only ever published in an eponymous collection of short stories for children after Johnson's death, and scholarly interest in the story remains sparse. Broadly speaking, existing scholarship of "The Shagganappi" suggests that the text reflects a positive outcome of interracial marriage in Canada (Gerson and Strong-Boag 2000, Neigh 2017). The story's two central characters, Shagganappi Larocque and Hal Bennington, variously represent the social effects of cross-racial familial formations and demonstrate how mixed-race bodies are variously welcomed into, and alienated from, certain Euro-Canadian domesticating institutions like the boy's boarding school and further, the conjugal home. Through the friendship that is developed between these two boys, Johnson represents the uneven codification of race and suggests that an individual can revise, however inadvertently, racializing narratives that were central to the construction of settler-colonial kinship in North America.

My own analysis revisits readings that identify “The Shagganappi” as an optimistic vision of the future of racial hybridity in Canada. I argue that this reading is complicated through recent scholarship on the production of Métis identity that critiques the ways in which métissage—the processes of becoming Métis—is commonly co-opted as an identity that can encompass any mixed-race community in Canada. Johnson’s protagonists are not simply “mixed-race”—they are notably described as Métis, and are linked to the Métis nation in Red River, Manitoba. I argue that it is important to delineate the difference between the mixed-race racial identity and Métisness, an identity that reflects sovereign Indigenous peoplehood. Thus, while Johnson does represent the successful incorporation of mixed-race bodies into the Canadian body politic, the Métis identity of her protagonists necessitates culturally sensitive analysis of the story that recognizes sovereign Métis identity.

Together, these chapters move through a number of concerns that shape my analysis; while the first section of the thesis focuses on the archival texts of settler-colonial institutions, the ways in which these archives represent childhood emotion inform my understanding of how dominant systems of feeling circulate in *Canadian Crusoes* and “The Shagganappi.” Both sections interrogate the ways in which dominant ideologies about the *doing* of kinship contribute to the possibilities of the kinship stories that might be told in Canada; they also demonstrate how kinship narratives variously destabilize and rehabilitate “natural” and naturalizing representations of the white, emigrant family that are deployed through the project of settler colonialism in the interest of strengthening an imperial, heteropatriarchal social order. This project builds on the analysis of the biopolitical project of the settler state in early Canadian literary studies by expanding the frame of investigation to include recent work in critical kinship studies, thus allowing me to pose new questions of the genetic, familial, as well as non-biological

affiliations that profoundly shape representations of real children, as well as fictional representations of children, for children, in an early Canadian context.

Chapter I

“The Fearful State of Things”: Christian Feeling and Technologies of Transparency in the Canada Sunday School Union’s Annual Reports (1843-1876)

The Canada Sunday School Union (CSSU) was a non-denominational organization that operated out of Montreal and helped to establish Sunday schools across Upper and Lower Canada through 1843 to 1876. Through this time, the Union published and circulated annual reports; these reports were produced as a result of an explicit agreement between local Sunday school agents and the central body of the CSSU. In return for financial and material support, as well as pedagogical guidance, the Union asked that each local Sunday school compile and return an annual communication about the demographic makeup and pedagogical results of their particular school, as well as provide any other general remarks that the school superintendent or teacher thought fit to report. The Union compiled the information that it received from the local schools to produce data sets that purported to offer a wide aggregate and transparent view of the institution and, more precisely, of the children who attended the affiliate schools. These simple tables help to convey certain information about the Union’s influence on the Sunday schools and, by extension, the communities that it served. For instance, the reports document how many Sunday school libraries were distributed to local schools, record how much the libraries cost, and note the number of students that made use of these libraries. Most editions of the annual reports further include an appendix with lengthy dispatches from the Union’s travelling agents, as well as localized anecdotal updates from the lay directors of the numerous Sunday schools that proliferated throughout the scattered settlements of Upper and Lower Canada.

Library and Archives Canada holds microfiche of the CSSU annual reports from 1843 to 1876. In total, there are 18 accessible reports during this time period. My interest in this archive

is rooted in how the reports frame the production and circulation of the “Christian feeling” between settler-children and the privatized, nuclear family. This chapter focuses on the ways in which the CSSU utilized the Sunday school library to identify how “right” feelings were communicated, perceived and received beyond the institutional boundaries of the Sunday school. In the first section, I draw on Jennifer Henderson’s useful term “technologies of transparency” (2012) in order to develop my argument that the CSSU annual reports utilize two complementary technologies—statistics and the anecdote—to make visible instances of faltering Christian feeling that evangelical reformers identified within settler-colonial communities across Upper and Lower Canada. This disorder was attributed not only to the perceived lack of Christian training within isolated communities, but also to the failure of the natural effects of genealogical kin to impress the child with Christian character within the conjugal home. While the annual reports compile a range of information about the specific operations of the schools, I find that technologies of transparency that comprise the reports strive to make the private sphere of the settler-family perceptible. The reports focus on how the family might require the moral guidance of the Sunday school library to strengthen privatized, genealogical kinship structures that are otherwise perceived to naturally cohere this family together. Thus, the reports at once frame the privatized space of this new, modern family, but also mediate the kinds of interventions that the Sunday school might make in guiding “errant” settlers to become fully invested in the emotional and moral capacities of themselves and their children.

In the second section, I trace the history of the development of the Sunday school in Canada through the turn of the nineteenth century. Social historians such as Allan Greer (1971), Neil Semple (1981), Mary Anne Macfarlane (1991) and, more recently, Patricia Kmiec (2012, 2013), have developed thorough historiographies outlining the establishment of Sunday school in

North America through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I draw on the historiographical work of these scholars to demonstrate how and why the CSSU encouraged the development of Sunday schools across the Provinces. As I have discussed at length in this thesis' introduction, childhood, in Canada's settler-colonial context, was historically narrated through shifting assumptions about the vulnerabilities of white settler-children, including their moral, physical, racial, *and* spiritual health and welfare. The Canada Sunday School Union's literacy goals contribute to the biopolitical goals of the colonial management regime and respond to the perception of an endangered whiteness through the construction and maintenance of the privatized, nuclear family. The CSSU's related archive of reports and speeches, for instance, variously detail how such children were perceived to be vulnerable to the "allurements of error and the paths of vice" in the new world (*The Second Report* 14). In this section, I demonstrate how the Union characterizes childhood as the nexus of "great moral degradation" that may be curtailed through the diligent distribution and circulation of Sunday school texts (*Sunday School Union* 14). I close read a representative example of a Sunday school text by Agnes Maule Machar, titled *Lucy Raymond; or, The Children's Watchword* (1871), in order to demonstrate how the content of the CSSU library sought to represent the production of a familial relationship based on the circulation of Christian feeling.

In the final section of this chapter, I focus my analysis on how the CSSU libraries are tracked and remarked upon in the Union's annual reports. I find that these methods illustrate technologies of transparency that make the private sphere of Sunday school children perceptible to the CSSU in the first place.³³ Shifting nineteenth-century attitudes towards the social power of

³³ McGill University holds an example of a Sunday school library collection ("Sunday School Library Collection"). The books within this collection originally belonged to the Anglican parish of Christ Church in St. Andrews East, Quebec. The 219 titles that represent this collection reflect the broad range of Sunday school texts that were imported into Upper and Lower Canada from international Sunday school

the privatized family reconfigured how children were regarded not only as objects of discipline but also as its agents. The annual reports that track the dispersal of the Union's libraries exemplify how the library not only supports childhood literacy but also how the child, through the use and distribution of the library, might play a key role in cohering the "right" kind of family in Canada's settler-colonial context. I will demonstrate how the Canada Sunday School Union's annual reports focus on the child reader as an object and agent of missionary action that is aimed at strengthening the emotional bonds of the privatized, settler family. First, through a close reading of a Sunday school agent's speech, I will explain how the Union positioned itself as an "ancillary" institution to the privatized family. The CSSU represented itself as an institution that could not supersede the authority (or the natural affect) of this family. I demonstrate how the circulation of the Union's libraries, however, point to the ways in which the Union worked to manage and influence, in Richard Brodhead's (1988) terms, modes of disciplinary intimacy that circulate within this family. Though the CSSU characterized itself as wholly ancillary to the family, the Union nevertheless believed that the Sunday school had a moral imperative to "save" children and families from moral disrepair.

Confronted with widespread anxiety about what a family can and should be, the Canada Sunday School Union emerges as a nascent institution that held promise in its perceived ability to fortify and consolidate the domestic, privatized family in Canada's colonial context. The CSSU annual reports not only reveal how familiar concepts of genealogical kinship (and obligations of familial care) are under scrutiny during this time, but also open up a new world of disciplinary possibilities that are engendered, in part, by the intervention of the CSSU library into the private, familial home. This archive is a productive site through which to unveil settler-

associations, such as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK), the London Religious Tract Society (RTS), and the American Sunday School Union (ASSU).

colonial perceptions of the nuclear, privatized family and its historical significance in Canada. In representing this family as both a theoretical and actual model for a unified and homogenous British empire, the CSSU annual reports not only reveal the privatized family to be a site of uncertainty, unevenness, and instability in this colonial context, but further position the child as an effective agent of disciplinary intimacy.

I. Technologies of Transparency, Disciplinary Intimacy, and Christian Feeling

In “Transparency, Spectatorship, Accountability: Indigenous Families in Settler-State Post-Democracies” (2012), Jennifer Henderson traces how contemporary technologies of transparency, such as anecdotes and statistics, as well as other means of representation, such as photographs and journalism, have engendered the “contemporary circulation of spectacles of broken Indigenous families” (300). For Henderson, historical and contemporary modes of making this family “perceptible” reveal histories of paternalistic state policies that framed Indigenous private spheres, and targeted these spaces as sites where “the reproduction of Indigeneity could be disrupted and controlled” (304). The crux of her argument, however, follows how the contemporary withdrawal of state social services from Indigenous private spheres (in some cases, “in the name of very sincere engagements with the rubric and goals of reconciliation”) purports to promote the “empowerment of the natural space of the [Indigenous] family” (306, 304). Henderson mines the moral imperatives of these shifting policies and argues that technologies of transparency variously bear on how Indigenous lives are rendered “objects of policing” and made visible as “condensations of problems of dependency, lack of incentives, ruined families, or artificially sustained, remote, unviable or failed communities” (307, 308). Such technologies further produce certain emotional responses within settler spectators that, in

some cases, effect “sincere concern and good intentions” (307). However well-intentioned and compassionate these responses to the Indigenous-family-in-crisis may be, Henderson reminds us that they are inherently produced in relation to core assumptions that denigrate the lives of Indigenous peoples and the capacities of Indigenous families, often without a nuanced or sustained understanding of the historical social and political preconditions that exacerbate private and public tragedies in contemporary Indigenous communities.

Henderson argues that the long project of rendering Indigenous families widely perceptible hinges on juxtaposing such families to a “historically contingent thematization of the family as an ecology of relationships and affective investments” that determine “an individual’s chances for healthy development” (302). In her article, Henderson works through Canada’s history of rendering children visible in order to identify instances of “unsound” parenting that may inversely affect the development of the child (and, by extension, the reproduction of the nation). She suggests that Canada’s contemporary reconciliation initiatives must be contextualized not only through the state’s paternalistic history of brutal intervention into the lives of Indigenous peoples, but through concepts of contemporary Indigenous autonomy that legitimize the “downloading of historical and legal obligations so as to relocate the risks attendant upon survival in spheres which are zoned as private” (312). Henderson ties the traumatic effects of settler colonialism on Indigenous families to contemporary instances of “melodramatic participation” wherein dominant settler-society observes contemporary effects of Indigenous trauma through media representations. Henderson’s argument foregrounds how discourse about the natural work of the family (and how state institutions might integrate themselves into that family) is differently located across sub-groups. She identifies this as a historically located, nostalgic vision of family life, wherein “the nurturing work of the family [is

magnified]” to register prominently in political discourse. Here, Henderson tracks a contemporary shift in the manner in which responsibility for social reproduction and discipline is performed by and amongst “those who are bound together by ties of love, or duty, or blood.”

The context of Henderson’s argument may, at first, seem somewhat removed from my concern with the CSSU archive. Indigenous lives and families do not often appear as a central concern in the CSSU reports; in some instances, as I will elaborate in Chapter Two, the Union acknowledges occasions where Sunday school students communicated through letters with residential school students. The ways in which colonial interventionist policies targeted white, settler children are vastly different than the ways that such interventionism affected Indigenous communities, families, and children during the same time period. The Sunday school, however, is one of the first institutions in Canada that worked to justify evangelical interventions into the settler-colonial family, and simultaneously, supported concurrent and later interventionist policies into Indigenous communities through the direct financial and material support of residential schools.³⁴ The CSSU annual reports articulate how the colonial management regime sought to frame the private sphere of the settler-family, and to make the actions of that family widely perceptible as the “normal” counterpoint to Indigenous communities.

In particular, Henderson’s pointed consideration of the historically located, privatized sphere of the family invokes modes of disciplinary intimacy that are locatable within the discourse of the CSSU and that mark the production of the racialized family in Canada. In

³⁴ Rev. Wilson solicits financial and material support from Sunday school students throughout the issues of *Our Forest Children*. See, for example, “A Letter to the Sunday Schools” in which Wilson explains how Sunday school children support the students at Shingwauk and Wawanosh Homes by purchasing subscriptions to *Our Forest Children* (or by sponsoring a child at the cost of \$75 a year, or \$50 with a subscription to *OFC*) (27). Wilson explains that the “Indian children write to the Sunday school once or twice a year, and at the end of each year we send the Indian child’s examination report, shewing how many marks have been gained in the various subjects taught.”

Cultures of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth Century America (1993), Richard Brodhead offers an effective way to think about how familial relationships shifted in North America during the nineteenth century through a means of power he identifies as “disciplinary intimacy.” Brodhead elaborates on Michel Foucault’s theory of disciplinary power to argue that emotion emerged as a significant means of social regulation through the 1830s and 1840s in North America.³⁵ He extends Foucault’s theory of abstract, transpersonal power to articulate the “strategic relocation” of disciplinary relationships into the personalized realm of emotion (19). The first mark of disciplinary intimacy, according to Brodhead, is the extreme personalization of authority within the family, and further, the “strategic relocation of authority relations into the realm of emotion [as well as] a conscious intensification of the emotional bond between the authority-figure and its charge” (19). Brodhead identifies an increasing interest in nurturing childhood in ways that “spared the rod” in favour of a program of “affectional warmth,” a gendered project of cultivating the child’s Christian nature.

Brodhead locates this shift within a discourse of moralism through the nineteenth century that focused on the capacity of the privatized family to nurture and care for the child. He finds that models of disciplinary intimacy were articulated with “massive repetition” through domestic literature concerned with children and childhood. North American Sunday school reformers, such as Horace Bushnell, influenced how the family might affect a child’s moral sensibilities through the circulation of strong emotional bonds. In *Views of Christian Nurture* (1847), a treatise on the nature of childhood and religious training, Bushnell suggests that cultivating certain emotions within Christian families is key to impressing religious feeling and conduct in

³⁵ Brodhead specifically locates this shift through the antebellum period wherein impersonal models of physical discipline (such as corporal punishment) are replaced by modern disciplinary models that, he suggests, are less visible but are more pervasive and controlling modes of modern social regulation (16).

children. Bushnell argues against extreme views of childhood sinfulness, and posits that the production of Christian faith in childhood is a gradual process of enlightenment that begins in infancy. He emphatically supports the idea that true “Christian nurture” was the result of natural processes, wherein “the organic unity” of families strengthened relational bonds and imbued the child with Christian values from birth; in this view, the “atmosphere” of a Christian home—which includes the “manners, personal views, prejudices, practical motives and spirit of the house”—plays a central role in a child’s moral and religious formation. Within the home, the child is subject to certain “dispositions, tempers, capacities.” These comprise the spirit of the home and “[pervade the child], as naturally as the air they breathe” (94). Parents, according to Bushnell, should rather “seek to teach a feeling than a doctrine; to bathe the child in their own feeling of love to God, and dependence on him, and contrition for wrong before him....; to make what is good, happy and attractive, what is wrong, odious and hateful [clear]” (51). This means of religious training might “work a [Christian] character” more deeply within the child and so influence the child’s moral and spiritual formation for adulthood (10).³⁶ This child, Bushnell writes, “should grow up a Christian and never know himself as being otherwise.”

Bushnell’s model of disciplinary intimacy, as Brodhead points out, does not simply identify the practice of a model family, but articulates the production of a *necessary* family form

³⁶ Early on in the history of the North American Sunday school, Kmeic notes that reformers often focused on the moment of a child’s conversion (197). In order to be able to experience conversion, evangelical reformers believed that the child must be familiar with “some of the basic information contained in the Bible” (Boylan 37). The pre-condition of biblical familiarity focused the pedagogy of early reformers as they taught Sunday school students how to read bible passages. Students at this time typically progressed from alphabet classes to reading classes by using the Bible as their primary text of instruction. The conversion experience, however, was not a typical concern of the CSSU annual reports by the mid-nineteenth century; while some teachers made note of the number of conversions (or lack thereof) that they witnessed in their communities and schools, on the whole, the reports, and the CSSU’s theological aims, echo Horace Bushnell’s influential view of Christian nurture.

that extends the assumptions of genealogical kinship and the “ecology of relationships and affective investments” that are perceived, in some measure, as a natural effect of biological ties (Henderson, “Transparency” 303). Bushnell specifically considers shifting assumptions about the “organic unity of the family” and argues that the transmission of character through genealogy is not unlike the transmission of physiological properties such as familial resemblance; for Bushnell, “moral taint” can be passed down through generations (103). However, Bushnell mediates this view and argues that an individual’s character cannot solely be attributed to the “laws of propagation.” While a child may be “tainted” with sinfulness, the impressionability of childhood allows an opportunity to influence improvements of character and “set [the child] forth into responsible action, as a Christian person” (104). Bushnell signals the central concern that Sunday school reformers in North America sought to address: how might the institution influence or else append and correct the “tremendous power” of the family? Here we see an example of how the nuclear family, in Henderson’s terms, “takes centre stage in what registers as political discourse,” albeit in a much earlier instance (“Transparency” 302). The strength of the emotional relationships invested within this family contributed to its perceived ability to properly nurture the next generation of British—and later, Canadian—subjects. The (re)production of this family, steeped in the capacities of disciplinary intimacy, is a counterpoint to not only the production, but also to the spectacle, of contemporary Indigenous families. The Sunday school, particularly the CSSU, thus plays a central role in developing (and showcasing) the privatized family in Canada.

On October 25, 1867, the Sabbath School Association held its fourth annual convention in Toronto.³⁷ A transcript of the convention’s full proceedings was published in short order by

³⁷ The CSSU was part of the Sabbath School Association, which brought together smaller unions, as well as international Sabbath school groups, for annual meetings across North America.

the Toronto publishing house, Lovell and Gibson (1848-1867). The Association's president at the time, Reverend F.H. Marling, gave the introductory address, wherein he foregrounded the relationship of the privatized family to the Sunday school:

The bringing up of children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, is confided, first and chiefly, to their own parents. No system of Sabbath School instruction, however complete in its plan, or however skillfully wrought out, can relieve any father or mother of one jot or tittle of duty to their offspring. The most earnest workers in the Sabbath School continually insist upon this; they never profess to aim or supersede, but only to further, the training given in the family.

(Marling 5)

Marling's speech suggests a pointed focus on the kin structure that resides *behind* the child figure; specifically, the genealogical attachments that characterize the privatized family. Marling reiterates that the Sunday school will not "relieve any father or mother of one jot or tittle of duty to their offspring." Here, he characterizes the education that the child receives through the Sunday school system as ancillary to the family. Marling elaborates that the Sunday school is simply a supplementary disciplinary apparatus that only ever furthers "the training given in the family." Though the work of nurturing children is "confided first and chiefly" to biological parents, the Sunday school is that institutional disciplinary apparatus which, as Michel Foucault observes in his discussion of discipline through the nineteenth century, "rushes in where the family is failing and which, as a result, constitutes the advance of the State controlled power where there is no longer a family" (*Psychiatric* 85). Indeed, Marlin's speech reveals that the Sunday school furthers the disciplinary intimacy *within* and *through* the family, and not solely *upon* the child.

In his address, Marling perceives that the Christian feeling that holds the privatized family together is in danger. The transcript of his speech further records:

... and when, as in the case of a solitary settler in our own forests, the Church and the School cannot yet exist, the Family is there before them. When those follow, it is not to set aside the religion of the family, but to complete it. When most efficient, the School and the Church take care of the children but for an hour, or a few hours in a week; but parents have them in hand every day and all the day. It is often lamented by the best friends of the young, that the frequent changes of residence and the absorbing labours of a new country so greatly interfere with the regular and faithful discharge of the duties of household piety. (Marling 3)

Here, Marling prompts his audience to understand the genealogical, privatized family, along with its attendant rights, rules, and obligations of care, as the defining condition of the nation's Christian population. He recognizes, though, the limiting circumstances of this family's ability to exert the "right" kind of influence over the child. In Canada, specifically, the settler family is rightly absorbed in the labours of clearing land and building homesteads, rather than ministering to the children within the home. The scene that Marling renders, of parents too absorbed in their own concerns to properly "discharge ... the duties of household piety," further suggests an anxious preoccupation with the solidity of kinship ties throughout Canada.

Marling's speech accomplishes two things. He foregrounds the centrality of the privatized family to the project of building the nation, but further calls the efficacy of that family's ability to care for the child, who stands for the futurity of the nation, into question. Marling does not blame instances of social disorder on the spiritual capacity of parents, but ties faltering social mores on the economic and social conditions of the colonial project. In Marling's

view, the system of commitments and obligations that characterize the privatized family is ripe for failure under the pressing labour of the construction of the settler-state. He articulates the assumption that new emigrants may not have the time to effectively teach and mold their children. Reconstituting the disciplinary intimacy that coheres the privatized family (rather than the moral or religious stability of the individual), then, reveals itself to be a significant pedagogical investment of the Sunday school. The successful kin family has the ability to produce well disciplined (and well feeling) subjects, and the failure to do so enacts a whole system of disciplinary apparatus. Marling's speech is thus indicative of an anxiety to re-assert the strength and independence of a certain familial structure.

In its 1843 annual report, published four years before Bushnell's influential treatise and over 20 years before Marling's speech, the CSSU asked its members to estimate how many children and youth in their neighborhoods did not benefit from any Sunday school instruction the previous year. The featured response elucidates how the Union acknowledged, but also sought to brace, the "organic unity" of the privatized family early. The respondent writes,

Hundreds if not thousands [of children do not attend the Sunday school]. This is the fearful state of things; for there is too much reason to fear that the majority of these children who are growing up in ignorance and immorality will shortly spread in the community more wicked principles and practices and will in a future state augment the number of those who will have to endure "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish" forever. (*Sixth Annual* 9)

The fear that this CSSU respondent feels is located in the perception that any desultory behavior that is expressed within the community is the result of a failure of Christian feeling within the

private sphere. It is the privatized family that might first and most successfully impress the child with the principles and practices of Christian feeling.

The response further reflects an ideal of the child as innocent and educable. This common assumption about the special nature of children, Karen Sanchez-Eppler (2005) argues, coincided through the nineteenth century with an increasing concern for child welfare and served to “inform and justify the expansion of the state, creating agencies and institutions, and granting to them a new capacity to intervene in daily domestic life” (xix). While the Sunday school conceived of itself as a wholly “auxiliary and supplementary” institution from the private sphere of the family, Sunday school agents positioned the schools as uniquely poised to intervene in “failing” families. In the same 1843 report, the Union reminds its members not to “exalt [the Sunday school] above the position it is entitled to receive” and to “regard [the Sunday school] as entirely auxiliary and supplementary to the sacred and primary relations of the family” (20). The Sunday school comes to represent how the public influence on childhood intensified through the nineteenth century and led to new forms of state intervention that positioned themselves as ancillary to the privatized family, while, at the same time remained insidiously part of that family.

II. The History of the Canada Sunday School Union and its Circulating Library

The history of the CSSU dates back to the 1780s, when Robert Raikes promoted the first interdenominational Sunday school in Gloucester, England. The Sunday school was initially popularized as a means to keep the children of the lower classes from wreaking “havoc on the neighborhood” on Sunday when, Raikes observed, “the streets are [invariably] filled with a multitude of wretches who spend their time in noise and riot, so horrid as to convey to any

serious mind an idea of hell” (2, 4). Raikes articulates how British Sunday schools emerged as a reaction to the raucousness of the lower classes and the institution spread through empire. In the widely distributed and republished *Sunday School Teacher’s Guide* (1841), John Angell James writes that before the introduction of the school in Britain, it was “almost impossible to form an adequate idea of the extreme ignorance of the poor” (14).³⁸ James identifies a common concern among evangelicals and social reformers, observing the “great mass” of poor and working-class children “[grow] up in the most deplorable ignorance.” James specifically points to the importance of literacy in bolstering moral aptitude as he writes “myriads of children of both sexes [are] continually rising into life, to whom the letters of the alphabet were a set of mystic symbols, and every page of inspired or uninspired writ, an insoluble enigma.” Here, James identifies illiteracy as the “the prolific mother of crimes and of miseries,” a comment that foregrounds the foremost goal of the Sunday School institution: to inculcate moral good within an errant population through literacy. To this end, James instructs his audience that teaching children to read is “the first thing to be attended to, and as it is the basis of all which is to follow, should be done well” (50). In the introduction to the unabridged, Canadian edition of James’ *The Sunday School Teachers Guide* (1841), Reverend Henry Wilkes suggests that the Sunday school was ready to be imported into the Canadian social context. Wilkes writes that “the entire machinery” of the Sunday school had been perfected with a “compactness and efficiency before unknown” (iv). A closer look at the Canada Sunday School Union’s annual reports, however, suggests otherwise. In reality, the “entire machinery” of the Sunday school had yet to be developed to the extent that Wilkes claimed. Thus, the content and concerns that are expressed

³⁸ James’ original 1816 text is reprinted in later American and Canadian editions of the *Sunday School Teacher’s Guide*. In the first Canadian edition of the guide (1841), Rev. Henry Wilkes provides a specific introduction for the Sunday school’s Protestant audience in Canada.

throughout these reports reflect the specificity of the institution's spread through Upper and Lower Canada.

The Sunday school actually arrived in British North America as early as 1783, long before Wilkes declared its ready efficiency.³⁹ It was during the next century that British emigrants reworked the machinery of Sunday schools to address the specific biopolitical anxieties of colonial-settler realities in Canada. The Sunday School Union Society of Canada (SSUSC), a non-denominational organization, supported the development of Sunday schools in Upper and Lower Canada from 1823 onward.⁴⁰ The organization operated out of a book depository in Montreal and created some of the first significant networks of library distribution across the Provinces through the mid-1820s. In an early report prepared by the SSUSC, the committee writes positively about the work of the Union throughout Lower Canada. They report on schools established at Isle Aux Noix, the township of St. Armands, as well as Montreal. In Aux Noix, the committee acknowledges a report from the school that offers "pleasing assurance of its prosperity" (*Second Report* 8). The teachers at Aux Noix claim that, within the first six months, the school's 34 students memorized "more than ten thousand verses of Scripture." The same report, however, flags the concerns that the Union had regarding both their ability to access information about far-afield affiliated schools in Upper Canada, as well as the ability of these schools to procure proper reading material for their libraries (12, 13). Expounding upon these points, the committee acknowledges the work of Reverend Osgood, an agent for the SSUSC and

³⁹ The oldest Sunday school was established in 1783 in Halifax, Nova Scotia by the Church of England (St. Paul's Journal 2013).

⁴⁰ The Canada Sunday School Union succeeded the SSUSC in 1836. Kmeic writes that the CSSU became the central organization through which both non-denominational, as well as denomination specific schools in both Canada East and Canada West connected. The membership of the CSSU included Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, as well as Anglicans and Lutherans ("Canada Sunday School" 45).

a travelling minister who provided the Union with information about his experience travelling through Upper Canada. Osgood recounts the importance of establishing juvenile libraries in townships and villages; he insists that the Sunday school libraries “are essential to the permanent support and general utility of each school” (12, 13). Osgood’s observation reflects a general understanding that the success of the Sunday school, especially in isolated communities, was entirely dependent on that school’s access to a library. The Canada Sunday School library, then, had an “incalculable value” among early settler-colonial communities in Canada: first, as a means of encouraging interest in the Sunday school and second, through furnishing the scattered populations of many districts, otherwise inaccessible, with reading material.

In his history of the development of the Sunday school library in North America, F.A. Briggs identifies the chief advantages of such libraries: the library could “inform, indoctrinate, and convert; it could improve and cultivate not only the morals but the tastes of its users; and it was a valuable device to promote both interest and attendance at Sunday School” (167).⁴¹ Thus, the Sunday school library reflects the value of literacy to evangelicals who stressed the importance of developing an unmediated relationship between the reader and Bible (Bratton 13).⁴² For Michelle Elleray, the RTS library “reflects a broader cultural movement to provide morally appropriate texts for children” (231). The rise of the evangelical movement’s interest in childhood literacy has long been linked to the idea that reading was centrally important to a

⁴¹ Briggs explains that the Sunday school library was first designed to replace the premium books that were initially gifted to students as a reward for good conduct and attendance (166). The SSUSC agreed that investing in libraries was “thought to be much better than to give prizes” (1824 13). Whereas prize tracts allowed teachers to reward good behavior and attendance, the library allowed schools to keep a stock of reading material accessible to students, rather than lose a bible, book, tract, or a periodical from its collection. In most cases, the library was accessible to any enrolled member of the Sunday school; the SSUSC records that the privileged use of the library would remain available to a child even if they stopped regularly attending the school (*Second Report*).

⁴² See J.S Bratton, *The Impact of Victorian Children’s Fiction* (1981).

child's development. In an early annual report, the Union finds that before the introduction of the Union's circulating library, there were "but few books retailed to the young" which "could not be read with safety to the morals of the rising race" (*Eleventh Annual* 13, 14).

In Canada, the Sunday school libraries were populated with bibles, hymn books and maps that were donated by domestic Bible societies, such as the Montreal Bible Society and the Upper Canadian Bible Society.⁴³ They also held books, tracts, and periodicals that were purchased from the London Religious Tract Society (1799-1935), as well as the American Sunday School Union (1824-1960). These societies published and supplied reading material to the Union at reduced rates. The CSSU purchased multiple libraries each for less than half of their value and distributed them at even further reduced rates to rural communities and settlements across Upper and Lower Canada. The London Religious Tract Society (RTS) was particularly influential in the early development of the Sunday school library across the Provinces. RTS titles dominated the libraries from the 1820s to the 1840s, and were distributed as complete libraries of a hundred volumes of selected works. As demand for the libraries increased, however, the CSSU began to import more books from the American Sunday School Union. In 1846, the CSSU committee reported that they had "made considerable additions to our stock, from the American Sunday School Union, which adds considerably to its value and gives increased interest to our operation" (*Ninth Annual* 11, 12).

Typically, the CSSU would choose the contents of the library on behalf of the local schools. The books that were published and distributed by RTS, for example, were not solely

⁴³ By 1840 the Upper Canadian Bible Society had sixty local branches and depositories that provided Bibles to Sunday Schools (Kmeic, "Canada Sunday School" 46). See also Janet B. Friskney's article "Spreading the Word: Religious Print for Mass Distribution" in *History of the Book in Canada: Volume 2 (1840-1918)*. Friskney explains how various organizations disseminated religious texts through the latter half of the nineteenth century.

concerned with didactic evangelicalism: popular topics included natural history, with titles such as *Flowers and Their Teachings* (1800), *Light: Its Properties and Effects* (1840), *The Hive and Its Wonders* (Cross 1853); the British empire: *Australia: Its Scenery, Natural History, and Resources* (1854), *The Indians of North America* (1865), and *Pioneering on the Congo* (Bentley 1900); and the memoirs and biographies of Christian ministers: *Hugh Latimer: A Biography* (Demaus 1869), and *Isaac Watts: his Life and Writings, his Homes and Friends* (Hood 1875). The libraries held popular illustrated periodicals such as *The Boy's Own Paper* (1879-1967), *The Sunday at Home: A Family Magazine for Sunday Reading* (1854-1940), and *The Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1956). While periodicals did not typically comprise the bulk of a library, they were a popular enough form that the CSSU began to publish and distribute its own periodical titled *The Children's Missionary and Sabbath School Record* in 1843. The libraries also included gendered behavior guides. In their 1889 catalogue, the RTS offered titles for girls instructing them on domesticity, including *The Girls Own Cookery Book* (Browne 1882). On the whole, stories for boys and girls were stylistically simple and were based on developing good moral and personal traits. Titles such *Agnes and Eliza; or, Humility* (1851) and *Johnny, the Disobedient Child, a True Story* modeled the development of personal characteristics such as “initiative, honesty, sympathy, sincerity, courage, and self-control” (“Sunday School Library Collection”).⁴⁴

Texts common to Sunday school libraries, whether they were purchased from RTS or the American Sunday School Union, largely reflect mid-century evangelical reformers' belief in the importance of representing certain emotional expectations and expressions to young children in order to better shape their religious sensibilities and attitudes. Most often, the child is represented

⁴⁴ The McGill University Library Rare Books and Special Collections Division holds each of these texts from CSSU affiliated Sunday school libraries situated in Montreal and the Eastern townships. This collection features examples of texts preserved from both the Religious Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union; for more see “Sunday School Library Collection.”

within the texts that comprised the Sunday school library as a vessel of “right” Christian emotional values. Hugh Morrison, for instance, observes that the settler child’s experience and incorporation of Christian values was perceived to be as much a matter of “experience, emotion or embodiment as it was one of intellectual engagement” (“Settler Childhood” 78). Sunday school texts thus used emotional language to emphasize important theological messages; narratives drew commonalities between theological imperatives and a range of emotions that might outwardly signal a Christian lifestyle, including “qualities of love, joy, peace, forbearance, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, gentleness and self-control” (83).

While the CSSU relied on importing and distributing texts from international Sunday school associations through the beginning of the nineteenth century, Canadian authors like Agnes Maule Machar (1837-1927) eventually began to produce Sunday school literature in order to better reflect the experience of settler children in Canada. Machar was the daughter of a Presbyterian minister and lived in Kingston, Ontario through her life. Her Christian upbringing shaped her progressive opinion on the social and political issues that she championed in her contributions to Canadian periodicals, including essays for *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* (1872-78) and *The Week* (1883-96) (Hallman, “Higher Education” 167). In particular, Machar focused on women’s issues and lobbied for improved working conditions and educational opportunities. Machar believed that women should have co-equal access to the same kinds of educational opportunities that were available to men. She wrote, in one opinion piece, that a woman of “cultivated mind” should not be considered “unfit to discharge housewifely duties” (qtd. in Hallman, “Higher Education” 174). Machar found that there is “no necessary connexion between liberal education, literary and scientific tastes, and an untidy ménage—badly cooked and ordered meals, and neglected children...” In this instance, Machar touches on the

primary role of the mother within the domestic household—to keep a “tidy ménage”—and draws on Bushnell’s concept of Christian nurture to argue that improved educational opportunities could only bolster a woman’s work in the home. Machar’s progressive view on women’s education allowed that a woman’s primary role should be domestic, and so she finds that instruction on household management should be a central component of any young girl’s education. Machar’s understanding of Christian nurture, according to Hallman, reveals “an understanding of the domestic world as foundational to the public world rather than isolated from and subordinate to it” (175).

While Machar published writing on social and political matters in some of the leading English-Canadian magazines, she also produced novels, stories, and poems for juvenile readers. In particular, she wrote a number of novels that were published in Canada and featured in Sunday school libraries, including *Katie Johnson’s Cross* (1870), *Lucy Raymond; or, the Children’s Watchword* (1871), and *Marjorie’s Canadian Winter* (1891). Overall, Machar’s writing for juvenile audiences has drawn little scholarly attention. Carol Gerson (*Three Writers*) and Janice Fiamengo (“Abundantly Worthy” 16) have similarly noted that the themes of Christian morality and didacticism that imbue Machar’s literary and opinion writing have consigned her work to literary and historical obscurity.

Machar’s *Lucy Raymond; or, the Children’s Watchword* is an example of a Sunday school text that was published in Canada and that has received little scholarly attention. *Lucy Raymond* represents the interconnected lives of three different female Sunday school students between the ages of twelve to fourteen. The story is representative of Sunday school tales in that it focuses on the feelings and actions of a child and represents a range of positive and negative emotional norms in order to demonstrate how those norms are positively or negatively impressed

on children within the conjugal home. It is further significant in that it places the action of the story in Canada's settler-colonial milieu. Ashleigh, the small town at the center of the story, encompasses the varied economic and social experiences of a small, isolated English-Canadian settlement. The Sunday school students, three girls by the names of Lucy, Bessie, and Nelly, come from three separate familial circumstances. Lucy Raymond is the daughter of the local widowed, minister. She has been "tenderly and luxuriously nurtured, petted, and caressed" from her cradle (36). Bessie Ford is an indulged child from a "well-to-do" farming family; though she is described as an "amiable, kind hearted girl," she is also "careless and thoughtless" and "wants for steadiness and moral principle" (69, 4). Finally, Nelly Connor is a recent Irish emigrant. She lives in poverty with her father and step-mother in an overcrowded home and, contrary to Lucy and Bessie, has, from her earliest years, been "accustomed ... to privation and hardship, to harsh tones and wicked words" (36).

Each girl experiences different degrees of Christian nurture within her home. Lucy Raymond, for instance, is subject to the "warm embrace" of Christian nurture that Bushnell sets out in his treatise. She is "nurtured in a happy Christian home, under the watchful eye of the loving father whose care ... supplied the want of [a] mother" (23). Significantly, Lucy cannot specify a time when she was initiated into Christian feeling. She is bound through the impressions of her childhood and is thus capable of correcting any feelings of pique and distemper that she may experience. Lucy's capacity to modulate her emotions is due, partly, to the influence of her father who impresses upon his children (and the rest of his parishioners) the "embodiment of Christian excellence." Lucy's father is described as "grave, quiet and solemnized" and "unconsciously" exerts a "subduing influence" over the children within his home. In Bushnell's terms the "silent power of domestic godliness" that Reverend Raymond

exerts works to impress a certain family spirit into the home, through which the Christian feeling of his children is formed (119).

Whereas Lucy is brought up in a loving home where she is impressed with exactly the sort of Christian nurture that Bushnell foregrounds, the other two girls represent two separate instances in which the family fails to inculcate Christian feeling within the child. Nelly, a new emigrant to Canada, recalls the “horrors of emigration—the overcrowded steerage ... where the moans of the sick and dying weighted down the hearts of those whom the disease had spared” (Machar 6). During her journey, Nelly loses her sisters, brother, and finally, her mother. In the “New World,” Nelly experiences “an uncomfortable, unsettled year” where she and her father exchange “one miserable lodging for another.” Her father, an alcoholic, finds work on a steamboat for the summer and Nelly is left to run wild “with the neglected children around her” leading her to become “a little street Arab, full of shrewd, quick observation, and utter aversion to restraint of any kind.” In time, Nelly’s father marries a widow with three children of her own, and Nelly is expected to take the place of “nurse and general drudge” in this new household. Her habits of unrestrained freedom and idleness, however, fully disqualify her from this work. Nelly’s world is small and circumscribed. She is beaten regularly by her stepmother who resents Nelly’s very presence in the home and her time is subject to the kinds of work that keep the private household running. Whereas Lucy has time to practice her reading and to complete Sunday school exercises, Nelly must clean, cook, and look after her younger half-siblings. She arrives thus at the Sunday school “very ignorant of the most elementary truths of Christianity” (4).

Finally, Bessie’s mother and father are only professedly pious. While they regularly attend Church services and send their children to Sunday school lessons, the Ford family’s home

is not imbued with the Christian feeling that is so necessary to the impression of feeling within children. This leads Bessie to rely more strictly on the positive influence and teachings of the Sunday school, without which she is naturally perceptible to indulgent behavior. In Bushnell's view, the "perpetual error" of Christian parents such as Bessie's is that they endeavour to make up, "by direct efforts, for the mischiefs of a loose and neglectful life" (120). Though such parents may teach, lecture, and discipline in order to correct their children's disruptive behavior, this active discipline does not account for forming Christian character through the "organic unity" of the family. Bushnell explains that children are "connected by an organic unity, not with [a parent's] instruction, but with [a parent's life]" (118).

Through the story, each girl is met with a number of moral choices that challenge their Christian piety and test the success of Christian nurture. I only expand Bessie's experience, here, because it illustrates the way that the Sunday school came to position itself as ancillary to the family and how Bessie drew on her Sunday school teaching (specifically, her Sunday school books) to influence the organic unity of her family. Bessie lives at Mill Bank Farm with her mother, father, as well as a brood of older and younger siblings. As Bessie returns to the farm from her Sunday school lessons, she is met with a pleasant scene, her pretty walk dotted with "breezy meadows, ... ox-eye daisies, ... and yellow buttercups" (Machar 24). Bessie reflects on her experience at the Sunday school. She notes that she "often felt a vague wish that she was 'good,'" and the desire of pleasing Christ entered "but a little, if at all, into the motives and actions of her daily life" (27). Bessie acknowledges that she *generally* knew what was right, and "occasionally" would try to do good.

Bessie enters into this line of thinking because she observes her two younger siblings playing about while her mother tries to finish milking the cows. She knows that while Jenny and

Jack may be physically unable to undertake the long walk to the Sunday school, she could help instruct them in Sunday school lessons and so resolves to teach her brother and sister some verses and hymns. Bessie notes that her Sunday school teacher would approve of her impulse to teach and guide her little brother and sister, and resolves to teach Jenny and Jack some verses that evening while her parents attend church service. A certain “shyness about seeming ‘good’” makes Bessie wish to “begin her teaching without witnesses” (27). Bessie is motivated to act because she knows that her mother’s “time and thoughts were always so fully engrossed with the round of domestic duties.” Indeed, as Bessie returns home, her mother instructs her to get the tea ready for her father and older brothers so that she might attend to her “dairy avocations” in peace. Bessie’s mood is quickly undone by this request. She is tired, and prefers to read her Sunday school books until tea time.

Bessie, who is inclined to be discontented and impatient, remembers her Sunday school lesson as she puts away her Sunday school texts. She thinks about how she learned to “look unto Jesus” when the “evil principle in her nature” influences her to feel unkind, unfaithful, impatient, and lazy. Though she says her prayers regularly, in this moment, for “perhaps the first time in her life,” Bessie asks Jesus for guidance to be more like Himself. With this small prayer, a “new, strange happiness” inspires her to go about her work cheerfully. As the family comes together for tea, Mrs. Ford announces that she is too tired to accompany her husband and their children to church that evening. This vexes Bessie, who, according to her new resolution to be good, has planned to teach her siblings and then to sit down and read her Sunday school book, which seems to be “unusually inviting” (31). Bessie is partial to reading her Sunday school books because she has not “yet learned to love to read the Bible” which she regards as more of a lesson book. Now, Bessie would be expected to accompany her father and older brothers to the service. While

Bessie chafes at the “unpleasant prospect” of hurrying off to church again, and considers pleading to her parents that she is too tired to attend, she remembers her motto and her prayer, and happily accompanies her father to church service in the end.

At this point, the narrative focus shifts to the omnipresent thoughts of Bessie’s mother. She accomplishes her evening duties and is resting when she catches sight of Bessie’s Sunday school books. Mrs. Ford is prompted to reflect on her own relationship with Christian feeling, within herself and within her home. She finds that the “innumerable cares and duties of her family and farm” had filled her life with “never-ceasing active occupations,” and while this work was necessary and “natural,” it “crowded out the very principle that would have given holy harmony to her life” (32). She acknowledges that the physical and material well-being of her family had become a project far more prominent than the “development of a life ... with Christ in God.” Like other mothers in Ashleigh, Mrs. Ford had “not a scruple to devolve her own responsibilities on the Sunday school.” She recalls, though, that she considered her duty to her children to be complete when they were dressed neatly and sent off to school on Sunday afternoons. Mrs. Ford knows that she has failed to earnestly commend her children to “the simplest truths about their Saviour.” Though she finds her daughter to be “heedless” and in “need of much minding,” Mrs. Ford knows that the higher knowledge and Christian feeling that Bessie exhibits are due to her Sunday school teaching (30). While Bessie’s “Christian feeling” is not properly nurtured within the conjugal home, the Sunday school becomes her most significant model of Christian kindness, faithfulness, patience, and industry.

Upon her family’s return from church that evening, Mrs. Ford asks Bessie to read passages of the Bible to her brothers. Struck by “something unusual in her mother’s tone and manner,” Bessie is inspired to be good and diligently reads aloud to her family. While Bessie, to

this point, struggles with doing the right thing, her mother's renewed Christian feeling acts as a "simple contagion" that impresses upon Bessie the proper "spirit of the house" (Bushnell 94). Mrs. Ford's unusual tone and manner are connected to her consideration of her own piety. This scene foregrounds how even pious homes might neglect the production and impression of Christian feeling and further foregrounds the importance of the Sunday school (and the Sunday school library). After opting not to attend church service, Mrs. Ford is only spurred to reflect on her failure to engender Christian feeling within her household when she looks upon Bessie's library book. Here, Mrs. Ford does not specifically *read* Bessie's Sunday school book, but the book's presence encourages her to consider her own culpability in impressing negative (as well as positive) feelings into her children.

Lucy Raymond represents a range of varied family formations in Canada's settler-colonial context: the widower raising his children in the Church, the prosperous and "professedly pious" nuclear family, and the fractured nuclear unit of a recent emigrant. The Fords are prosperous, but not wealthy; their farm is their primary mode of economic production and Mrs. Ford is not able to relieve herself of farm work in order to wholly devote herself to raising her children. Thus, while the Ford family is economically productive, the burdens of contributing to the economic growth of the household (and of the community) precludes the Ford's (and Mrs. Ford's, most specifically) ability to impress Christian feeling onto their children. *Lucy Raymond* suggests that the Sunday school library might help to reconsolidate the Christian feeling of economically productive families. Though Bessie is influenced by her Sunday school training to do good, her circumstances illustrate how her family is the most influential means of Christian training.

III. Making Christian Feeling Transparent in the CSSU Annual Reports

The Union's preoccupation with tracking and disseminating information about the utility of the Sunday school library reveals how Christian feeling circulated within the families of non-Indigenous, settler children. While Sunday school library texts such as Machar's *Lucy Raymond* illustrate how certain Christian feelings contribute to strengthening the kin ties of the "right" family for Canada, the Union's annual reports reflect the import of identifying and tracking how these affects actually circulated through the communities that the Union served. Through the dissemination and circulation of Sunday school libraries, the CSSU was able to do more than just represent the effects of Sunday school education back to the communities; rather, they were able to identify and track fraught or failing Christian feeling in families. Centrally, the examples of disciplinary transparency that comprise the reports reveal how the Union was able to "see" into the conjugal family home. In this section, I draw more specifically on the work of Henderson, who demonstrates how the production and proliferation of information engenders "disciplinary transparency" as a means through which the state monitors the privatized family.

In the article "The Canada Sunday School Union and Lay Responses to Religious Literature in Canada West, 1843-185" (2013), Kmeic broadly itemizes the contents of the CSSU annual reports and, more specifically, comments on the CSSU's library distribution system as well as the ways in which the Union tracked distribution rates of CSSU libraries across Canada. In her reading of the annual reports, Kmeic acknowledges that the records may be regarded, in the phrasing of Stoler, as "ambitiously taxonomic" (Kmeic, "Canada Sunday School Union" 44; Stoler, *Archival Grain* 32). Kmeic correctly points out that while much scholarship has been done on the history of reading in the early nineteenth century, the inter-provincial and inter-

denominational records of the Canada Sunday School Union have largely been overlooked.⁴⁵

While Kmeic focuses on analyzing the tabular data within the reports, she concludes that the reports “provide much more than the figures of the material ordered from their book depository” (52). She suggests that the inclusion of local information provided by lay settlers offers valuable insight into “the perspective of the laity on a number of issues concerning the history of religion, as well as related questions of literacy, social relations, leisure, education, and childhood” (53).

My reading of the CSSU annual reports through this final section focuses on two interrelated means of making Christian feeling perceptible. One of the first means of monitoring the objectives of the Canada Sunday School Union was through the employment of a travelling agent, usually an ordained clergyman, who would be “constantly in the field” so as to “stir up the schools already formed, and seek out openings for planting new ones; organize District Unions, and attend their meetings; and infuse, by his presence, and advice, activity and energy into the whole” (*Seventh Annual* 17). Ultimately the agents’ travel was a means through which to distribute libraries so that the Union could more effectively “promote the establishment of Sabbath schools ... and strengthen those already in existence” (14). The travelling agent promoted the Sunday school library and fostered the community’s interest in supporting and building schools.

The second means of tracking the library was through the collection and publication of the localized information that comprised the content of the annual reports. At the end of each annual report, the Union set out how it would supply schools with libraries (at a low price or gratuitously). The Union required the receipt of “at least three responsible individuals” who pledged themselves that “proper instruction will be given in the schools for which the books are

⁴⁵ See Heather Murray’s *Come, Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (2002).

required” and further, agreed to preserve the library books in good condition (*Tenth Annual* 39). The final expectation was that, at the end of each year, a “report of the school [would] be transmitted to the Recording Secretary” of the CSSU (40). The report was expected to transmit “the number of teachers and scholars enrolled with their average attendance, state of the Library, and any interesting facts relative to the religious condition of the School.” Otherwise, the CSSU held no ability to supervise these schools and the communication between the Union and the schools was limited strictly to the report that each school was required to submit annually. Wilkes writes that the circulation of annual reports filled with “a proper supply and compression of intelligence, might exhibit the operations of the whole ... [country], and thus form a sort of Sunday School panorama, in which, as one connected and beautiful picture, the whole circle of operations may be contemplated whenever read” (20). The annual reports thus purport to provide a quantitative and transparent view of the population. Indeed, by 1863 the CSSU committee gratefully acknowledges that the “answers to their circular to Schools, calling for information, are more full and numerous than ever before” (*Twenty-Sixth Annual* 11). The reports compile data about the school libraries as well as the teachers, administrators, students, and the communities within which the schools were situated (10). Tables of data are published all through each report and provide information about student attendance, the content and number of libraries, and the Union’s various expenditures. Thus, the CSSU annual reports serve a practical function by providing statistical information to support best practices to establish and run Sunday schools, to recruit students and teachers and further, to initiate a broad discussion about the role of the Sunday school in the Provinces.

In 1848, James Nisbet, a student of divinity at Toronto’s Knox college and a travelling agent of the CSSU, recorded his experience travelling across the Province of Canada, from

Montreal to London, trying to promote the “establishment of Sunday schools and to strengthen those already in existence” (*Eleventh Annual* 14). The next year, the CSSU published his full journal in the 1849 report. Nisbet’s journey was not a comfortable one: he was often delayed due to high expenses, bad weather, and worse roads. His journal, however, illustrates the CSSU’s interest in the production of Christian feeling within Canadian settlements. Nisbet, like the CSSU’s other travelling agents, only stayed a few days in each settlement, visiting parishes, meeting families, and observing the community. Though the agents encouraged each community to start a Sunday school with the support of a library purchased from the CSSU, they could only provide the Union with limited information about the state of Christian feeling within the settlements which they visited. In his journal, Nisbet recounts the varying degrees of interest that communities showed in the Sunday school project. Across his journey, he reports that “it is true that there were few places to which I came where I did not find one or more somewhat acquainted with [the movements of the Sunday school]” (34). Nisbet worked to publicize and clarify the goals of the Sunday school to the communities that he visited. In Kingston, he printed his short address on the importance of sending children to Sabbath school onto 1000 tracts. He hoped that these tracts would help “put it into the hearts of parents to think of, and care for, the spiritual interests of their little ones” (35). On his arrival in Perth, Nisbet further laments the lack of interest in the institution among the parents of the community. He explains that the Sunday school teachers were becoming discouraged, because the parents seemed to take “little or no interest in their work” (27).

While Nisbet and other CSSU agents reported general information about the nature of the communities that they visited in their travels, the annual reports mostly focused on compiling and publishing the specific, anecdotal returns that they received from the lay people that were

supporting the work of the Sunday school within these communities. In *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (2009), Stoler elaborates that the anecdote might best draw our attention to “contrary and subjacent—but not necessarily subaltern” histories that can be found within archival material (20). Literary scholars have long debated the “literary” use of the anecdote. For Lionel Grossman (2003), the anecdote “is used to describe a wide range of narratives, the defining feature of which appears to be less their brevity (though most are quite short) than their lack of complexity” (148). Grossman draws on the OED definition of anecdote as a “narrative of a detached incident, or of a single event, told as being in itself interesting and striking.” The anecdote is thus a short account of a particular event, and a record of subjective perception that may be either true or invented. In this way, anecdotes might confirm established views of the world, but might also undermine and simulate new ones.

Broadly, in my own terms, the anecdote emerges as a genre of documentation that punctuates the record of the CSSU archive. Whereas “statistics assures us that our compassionate feelings are reliable,” the anecdote augments, colours and lends narrative to data that is presented within the reports and works, in this manner, as a technology of transparency to make the family, and the Christian feeling that may or may not circulate within the family, perceptible (Henderson, “Transparency” 317). As a result, the collection of localized anecdotes that are published through the CCSU annual reports speak to the assumed natural comportment of familial relationships—those presumptively instinctive familial bonds of affection or care that are read as “natural” effects of biology in the kin family as Henderson points out. Anecdotes further comprise an attempt to arrest and encode those uneven affective relationships that call into question the stability of this natural, and generative narrative *about* the family. As such, the anecdotes do not reflect historical and stable nuclear kinship structures in early Canada, but anticipate and respond

to the precariousness and vulnerabilities that might affect the Christian feeling that is supposed to be held at the core of this family.

Once settlements were supplied with libraries through the work of the Union's travelling agent, the CSSU undertook the process of making Christian feeling perceptible. Each annual report features an appendix titled "General Intelligence," wherein short anecdotes from different communities are published under varying headers that mark their similar content: Indifference of Parents, &c.; Influence of Sabbath Schools on the Community; General Destitution; and Mode of Teaching are all subjects of interest in the 1845 report, for example (*Eighth Annual*). The subject titles nod to the Union's concern with monitoring social disorder, and further implicate the responsibility of genealogical kin in the construction of Christian feeling: parental indifference, it is often noted, contributes broadly to the spiritual destitution of the child. In one example, an agent of the Union remarks on the generally "careless and indifferent" nature of parents in the community of Dalhousie. Meanwhile, another agent claims that "many ... have no idea of family government" in his community. He finds "no restraint—the children rule, and the parents obey" (*Eighth Annual* 24). These agents identify and articulate a worrying lack of Christian nurture within families throughout Upper and Lower Canada. Whereas parents are expected to naturally exert a tender interest in the moral health of their children, the Union largely finds "indifference, ignorance, credulity, and vice." Three years later, in Bathurst, a man named John Playfair acknowledges that the majority of the village's children do not attend the Sunday school, owing "chiefly to the total indifference of parents" (*Eleventh Annual* 26). In the same 1848 report, Duncan J. Robertson complains that "indifferent parents" contributed, in part, to the discontinuation of the school (26).

Indifference towards the production of Christian feeling within the home, often resulted, according to the agents of the CSSU, in instances of indecent behavior. In 1847, John Fraser, of Martintown, offers an anecdote about the type of desultory parenting that the Sunday school guarded against. He reports an instance of “general desecration of the Lord’s day” when a number of boys from the community “went to the bush, armed with axes, to cut down butternut trees and gather the nuts” (*Tenth Annual* 12). One of the trees fell on a boy, who was so injured that Fraser believes he “will be a cripple for life.” Pointedly, Fraser interrupts his short anecdotal report to draw attention to the centrally important piece of information: the boys were “headed by their parents” in their quest to cut down the butternut trees. Fraser represents the effects of injurious parenting and is only a singular example of the anecdotes of parental indifference that broadly populate the reports, and that are often paired with information about desultory communities.

Such anecdotal examples of parental indifference are further linked to the worrying lack of appropriate reading material, as well as general illiteracy, across the Provinces. One agent recalls visiting 30 homes and finding not a single newspaper (*Eleventh Annual* 18). Another agent finds “in the houses to which our young people belong, there is a lamentable scarcity of good reading.” J.L. Willkie, from Osnabruck, reports that “the people of this place are very ignorant, there are many of the older members of society who cannot read at all.” The anecdotes demonstrate that the Sunday school libraries were believed to be instrumental in reaching families when and where children faced barriers in attending the physical school for instruction. Samuel M. Kerby reports that, in Zone Mills, “the distance that many of the scholars have to come, and the miserable state of the roads at times, render it almost impossible to keep anything like a regular Sabbath school.” A reply from an agent in North East Hope explains that the

community's Sunday school has been in operation for four years, throughout which the school has "felt the want of a suitable library" (*Tenth Annual* 11). The writer concedes that the "pressing needs incident to a new settlement has hitherto prevented, and still incapacitates us, from doing anything for ourselves in this way." In another note, Barford, a town of "three hundred to four hundred" is described by the writer as a "comparatively new place" that has "comparatively few books in town of any description" (12). The writer goes on to note that though a Sunday school had once existed in the village, the school "went down" principally for "want of a library." While these anecdotes may be singularly unremarkable, these excerpts each express the destitute nature of the communities that the Union and its agents identify as being in need of libraries. Further, they demonstrate the prevalent belief that the future prosperity of these communities relies on the issuance of a CSSU circulating library.

In these cases, the circulating library was considered to be one of the only means of effecting the Union's evangelical mission. Samuel Kerby praises the instrumentality of the library and its "very good influence on the minds of many scholars" but still laments that the Zone Mills school is "very much in want of books." A central way to keep the children interested in the library was to renew the texts that comprised a given library's holdings. In many cases, communities struggled with regularly updating their libraries due to their inability to raise enough funds to purchase new volumes. Well used libraries might reveal the popularity of the texts among Sunday school scholars, but agents suggest that without regular renewal of the contents of a library, student interest and engagement may falter. In Smith's Falls, for example, Russell Bartlett finds that the school's library is "getting rather stale ... [and] not so interesting as it once was" (*Eight Annual* 35). The anecdotes that are recorded in these reports allow the Union's lay agents to signal to other communities that they may want a new library. Maxwell

writes that Zone Mills is “at present, very much in want of books, the want of which makes our school rather dull.” This information initiated a secondary distribution system of used libraries throughout the Provinces. Instead of buying directly from the Union, some schools would receive used libraries from nearby communities. The CSSU thus facilitated a robust conversation about which communities needed texts. Lay participants in the Sunday schools might comment on the productive effects of the libraries in their own communities, and then call attention to a nearby village that was too poor or isolated to access texts of their own.

The Union’s focus on populating the townships with circulating libraries further draws upon the idea that children have agency and partnership in missionary work. It also suggests that the “right child” for the British Empire is not made by genealogical kinship but actually participates in naturalizing and cohering the strong emotional ties that hold together the privatized family. The 1848 report features localized anecdotes that emphasize the importance of the child’s role in circulating the books throughout the community; an agent wrote that as “the books pass from hand to hand, and from house to house ... their influence on the public mind is visible; a spirit of enquiry, diligence and emulation is seen in some families, whilst in others, the books are disseminating their silent but useful lessons of religion and morality” (*Eleventh Annual* 32). Primarily, the agents focus on how the books influence the Christian feeling of the community’s children. In Port Hope, Robert Maxwell writes that “there is a decided and perceptible change in the morals and general deportment of the youths since the establishment not only of the Sunday school, but of the library” (36). Maxwell further praises the CSSU, as well as the London Religious Tract Society, for “the aid they have so kindly afforded [the Port Hope community], in granting us help when we could not help ourselves, and of still extending their liberality in furnishing us with libraries and other publications.” Maxwell acknowledges

specifically that the community was able to access the library through reduced prices, and observes the effects of the library in “enlightening the minds of many who would in every probability have remained under the cloud in moral darkness by which they were enveloped in consequence of ignorance and natural depravity.”

Agents consistently note that parents often participate in the benefits of the Sunday school library. Throughout their anecdotal reports, the lay participants of the schools draw attention to the good that the library exerts upon the nuclear family. In 1848, the committee reports that out of 103 schools surveyed, 89 had been supplied with libraries that have been found to have “a beneficial influence ... not only on the children, but in the families to which they are connected” (11). In one reply, the agent notes that the library school books were “being read with interest and parents spoke feelingly of the aid in family training rendered them by the library ... one parent ... remarked ‘no sum of money would now seem an equivalent or induce me to be without the influence of the SS library for the good of my family’” (*Twenty-Sixth Annual* 27). The focus of the anecdote, here, shifts not to the effect of the library on the children, but focuses on how the library produces the perception, at least, of meaningful change within adults. The effect of the circulation of the CSSU library, in encouraging a participatory relationship between the child and the library (and further, between the child, the library, and their family), reflects shifting ideas about the child’s relationship between her own self, and the world. In situations where a child may not be able to rely on adult guidance, the library could still mold the child towards adult ideals. In this instance, however, children are not passive recipients of such ideals. They are the means through which the Union circulates and distributes their texts. In one report, the Sunday school superintendent from Kingston, J.J. Haines, acknowledges that while a child may not be converted to Christianity, the Sunday school library

has the effect of providing them with arguments against sin, which, he explains, “produces a salutary restraint upon their own actions and causes them to dissent ... from the sins of others in which they might themselves have taken the lead” (*Twenty-Sixth Annual* 28-29). The reports consistently reflect the perceived influence of the libraries on the wider communities: from the small town of Elgin, one agent records that the influence of the library is “surely but silently imparting instruction among the adult population of the community, by whom they are read and highly prized” (*Eighteenth Annual* 30). Parents, “as well as children ... are participating in the benefits of this School; many are stated to attend “not only to hear the children read and recite, but to read themselves.” In Granby, a settlement of 20 families, the agent reports that parents began to see that they had been neglecting their children only after the library began to circulate through the community. The agent reports that the community’s parents spoke feelingly of the aid in family training rendered them by the library.

The CSSU annual reports can tell us about the perceived structure of families. Further, it situates its libraries as institutions: all too often modest in the size and currency of their collection, but strikingly powerful in their ability to reconsolidate “natural” kinship across Canada. Through the circulation of the library and, more to the point, the anecdotal information that the distribution of the libraries compels from the small communities that received them, the CSSU makes visible the natural, privatized family and further identifies the inefficiencies, and failures of that family. The Union purports to intervene in this family only reticently; throughout the reports, the Union foregrounds that, above all, the family is the natural space wherein “human optimization should be cultivated” and so works to maintain the illusion that the family is fundamentally, “naturally,” capable of harnessing the “right” affect to accomplish that work (Henderson 309). These reports reveal that the child is not solely subject to the disciplinary

power of the privatized, nuclear family, but that children were regarded as capable of contributing to the consolidation (and naturalization) of genealogical kinship structures.

Chapter II

***Our Forest Children* (1887-1890) and the Production of Christian Feeling at the Shingwauk**

Industrial Home

This chapter considers how the Anglican missionary Edward Wilson used the juvenile magazine genre to develop and showcase the English language literacy skills of the Indigenous students who resided under his care at the Shingwauk Industrial Home in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.⁴⁶ Wilson's effort, titled *Our Forest Children* (1887-1890), emerges out of the broad transnational material history of evangelical juvenile magazines, but focuses on representing the lives and experiences of Indigenous juveniles in Canada.⁴⁷ My interest in *Our Forest Children* is rooted in its capacity to reveal a racial project that turns on nineteenth-century ideas of childhood as a stage of development in the making of a racialized adult identity that could be negotiated into Canada's national identity. I find that this identity was constructed in particular ways around racialized feelings (particularly of innocence), feeling children (or those for whom adults and other children should feel sympathy), and Indigenous young people who were othered from new normative circuits of child and child-adult feeling. Through this chapter, I demonstrate how *Our Forest Children* utilized the practice of reading and writing instruction to contribute to the construction of a discourse of Indigenous childhood. My analysis focuses specifically on the content of the school compositions and excerpts of letters that were written by the Shingwauk pupils and published within the pages of the magazine. On the whole, these excerpts shape and demarcate a Canadian national identity based on the representation of appropriate affective relationships that are both established and revealed through the students' improved writing and

⁴⁶ The Garden River First Nation Reservation was created in 1850 with the signing of the Robinson Huron Treaty. For more on the Robinson Treaties, see Robert Surtees, "The Robinson Treaties, 1850" (1986).

⁴⁷ *Our Forest Children* was printed and published by John Rutherford in Owen Sound, Ontario.

reading skills. Wilson's magazine does the work of constructing and representing Indigenous juveniles *as children* capable of expressing emotional depth and moral consciousness. Thus, representative samples of writing that are published within *Our Forest Children* importantly engender a specific discourse of childhood in Canada: the excerpts affirm the relational and spiritual values that ultimately demonstrate the Indigenous students' affective similarity to English-Canadian childhood, and represent Indigenous children as capable of being incorporated into the national consciousness.

The first section of this chapter traces the historical context in which Reverend Edward F. Wilson established the Shingwauk Industrial Home and situates *Our Forest Children* within the context of nineteenth-century juvenile magazine history. While I describe aspects of the circulation history and readership of the magazine, this section begins an argument I continue through the chapter about how *Our Forest Children* provides an opportunity to generate systems of feeling precisely in its unique capacity as a periodical publication with a certain print run, distribution program, and groups of readers. In the second section of this chapter, I turn to the scholarship of childhood studies and literary scholars such as Karen Sanchez-Eppler (2005) and Robin Bernstein (2011), who consider the ways in which racialized childhoods were delineated through the representation of feelings (or lack thereof) in antebellum American texts. In *Racial Innocence: Performing American Childhood from Slavery to Civil Rights*, Bernstein foregrounds the manner in which children of colour are, in some instances, unified through textual representations as "unfeeling" (33). This work delineates what is possible for a feeling child whose emotional performance looks unlike typical childhood innocence, but who can articulate proximity to "appropriate" ways of feeling.

Through the last sections of my chapter, I will elaborate my thinking through separate close readings of typical *Our Forest Children* excerpts. First, I consider Wilson's relationship with two boys from the Siksika nation whom he brings to study and live at the Shingwauk Home for a single year. I argue that the representation of the two boys in the magazine contributes to the development of the idea that processes of reading and writing are central to the production of "right" Christian feeling. In the second section, I turn more specifically to the excerpts from the pupils' own writing; a prompt titled "On Kindness to Animals" circulates as a topic of composition through different issues of the magazine and demonstrates how the children are able to feel sympathetic identification with othered beings. In this section, I further consider how traditional Anishinaabe knowledge stands in contrast to the new systems of feeling that the Shingwauk students express in their writing.⁴⁸ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson's traditional Anishinaabe story, "Kwezens Makes a Lovely Discovery" (2014), illuminates the ways in which Wilson's project prioritizes Eurocentric systems of feeling. I conclude my argument by demonstrating how the production of feeling between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students was completed through the circulation of *Our Forest Children* as a means through which to

⁴⁸ Simpson explains that Anishinaabe (also spelled as Nishinaabeg, Anishinaabeg, Anishinaabek, and Anishinaabek depending on the dialect) is "translated as 'the people' and refers to the Ojibwe, Odawa (Ottawa), Potawatomi, Michi Saagiig (Mississauga) Sauteaux, Chippewa, and Omamiwinini (Algonquin) people" of the Great Lakes (*Dancing* 25). Through this thesis I use the spelling Anishinaabe (singular) and Anishinaabeg (plural). Through her writing, Simpson's self-reflective model of engagement with Indigenous languages and stories as an Anishinaabek scholar is a good reminder for settler scholars and readers to mark and acknowledge the limits of their own ability to know or fully understand Indigenous cultures. In my work, I rely on the insights of scholars such as Simpson to illuminate Indigenous languages, stories, and practices; however, I also recognize the manner in which I have limited access to such knowledges. Gregory Younging's important style guide, *Elements of Indigenous Style: A Guide for Writing By and About Indigenous Peoples* (2018) is a significant resource for all scholars in this matter. Younging explains that traditional knowledge and oral traditions are Indigenous cultural property. As such, Indigenous stories are not a part of the public domain—they are held and imparted by knowledge keepers. See also the important edited collection, *Centering Anishinaabeg Studies: Understanding the World through Stories*. Eds. Jill Doerfler, Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiiik Stark (2013).

invite the non-Indigenous child's identification with the Indigenous students. I demonstrate how the Shingwauk students who approximate "appropriate" feelings in their writing invite, in turn, the Sunday school children to partake in the construction of the magazine, in their own education into Christian systems of feeling and further, in the affective education of the Shingwauk pupils.

Wilson's evangelical work among Indigenous communities in Canada has been characterized by historians as a largely "benign" project of assimilation (Wall 7). Contextualized within a history of juvenile magazine publishing and production in Canada, as well as research in the fields of colonial and Indigenous studies and racialized childhoods, my analysis of *Our Forest Children* offers new suggestions about how the political work of establishing emotional likeness circulated in depoliticized registers. As such, I argue that a sustained analysis of this juvenile magazine can help us rethink, expand upon, and clarify some previous assertions about seemingly "benign" approaches to residential school education in early Canada.

I. Reverend Edward F. Wilson and the Shingwauk Industrial Home

Wilson first visited Garden River, in the Algoma District of Upper Canada, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society in 1871.⁴⁹ In his memoir, *Missionary Work Among the Ojebway Indians* (1886), Wilson records that he found himself "in the land of the Indian, far away from

⁴⁹ Wilson records his early missionary activities in *Missionary Work Among the Ojebway Indians* (1886). Wilson was struck by the lack of missionary activity in the Algoma District and decided to begin his evangelical work ministering to the Anishinaabe-Ojibwe in 1868. Wilson records how he settled his young family first on the Sarnia Reserve, where he worked to educate and install catechists in surrounding communities at Kettle Point, New Credit, Saugeen, and Cape Croker. After a brief sickness, Wilson travelled further north to Garden River, where he met Augustin and Buhkwujjenene Shingwauk and began his work to build a school within the community. Besides Shingwauk and Wawanosh, Wilson was successful in opening a number of other boarding schools. He opened the Wawanosh Home for girls in 1879, two miles from Shingwauk. The Washakada Home was opened in 1888 in Elkhorn, Manitoba and the Kasota Home for boys opened in 1889. The schools were supported by voluntary contributions and supplemented by government grants (Wall 2003).

civilization; no railways, no telegraphs, no omnibuses or streetcars, no hotels or shops...” (50). While he observes the lack of familiar “civilized” infrastructure, Wilson also records a picturesque scene comprising “high, rocky hills scantily clad with fir and birch trees.” For Wilson, the lacking landscape is indicative of the community’s limited ability to “procure the necessities of life,” an observation that leads him to conclude that the Indigenous people of the Algoma District “are not nearly so far advanced in civilization as those of Sarnia.” For Wilson, finding the Garden River Anishinaabe in what he saw to be their “true” uncivilized state ignites his desire to work directly in the Northern regions of the province: “the object was to train young Indians to a Christian and civilized life, and to offer them all the advantages which their white brethren enjoyed” (61).

On this trip, Wilson learned that Chief Little Pine, Augustine Shingwauk, hoped to build a permanent Christian mission and a boarding school in the Garden River community, a desire that was not necessarily shared by the rest of the community.⁵⁰ In 1871, Shingwauk travelled with Wilson to Toronto to inquire after local Church leaders as to why Garden River was left “so long in ignorance and darkness” (*Missionary Work* 79).⁵¹ In a speech that Shingwauk gave to the Toronto clergy and that Wilson recorded in his journal, Shingwauk related that his community could not “keep back [the] power [of the English nation], any more than we can stop the sun”

⁵⁰ See *The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada: Canada’s Residential Schools, The History, Part I, Origins to 1939* (170, 171).

⁵¹ Chief Shingwauk also kept a record of this journey, titled *Little Pines Journal: The Appeal of a Chippeway Chief on Behalf of his People* (1871). Shingwauk’s journal was edited by Rev. Wilson and published in Toronto by Copp, Clark and Co. Printers. Through the journal, Wilson includes parenthetical references to translate words, to clarify the names and identities of certain people, and to identify events. On the occasion of his speech in Toronto, Shingwauk writes (the parenthetical reference that follows is attributable to the editor, Rev. Wilson): “... the people of the big town assembled together in their great teaching wigwam to hear me speak. There were Black-coats on the platform and Robinson was the leader, (chairman). I told them all that was in my heart and appealed to them, to help us.” Wilson re-prints Chief Shingwauk’s own recollection of their journey to Toronto in *Missionary Work*.

(81). He “longed to see a big teaching wigwam built at Garden River, where the children from the Great Chippeway Lake would be received, and clothed, and fed, and taught how to read and how to write; and how to farm and build houses, and making clothing: so that by and bye [sic] they might go back and teach their own people.” In Toronto, Shingwauk and Wilson collected money towards the establishment of such a school. This purse was filled the next year, when Shingwauk’s brother, Buhkwujjene, travelled with Wilson to England to raise a portion of the money needed to buy land and to build and establish a school in Sault Ste. Marie. The institution’s name, “Shingwauk Home,” gestures simultaneously to the support it received from the influential Chief Shingwauk and further implies that the school be recognized in a manner that transcends institutionalism; in Wilson’s words, the term “home” expressed the idea “that these little Indian children were to be taken in, and cared for and loved, besides being educated” (“Opening” 62).

In 1887, almost a decade after Shingwauk opened, Wilson began to write content and publish *Our Forest Children*. *Our Forest Children* is accessible through Library and Archives Canada. The archive is incomplete, but holds twenty-nine issues spanning from June 1887 to the magazine’s fifteenth issue, published three years later in August 1890. Through its lifespan, the magazine was published monthly but the length and content of the magazine changed considerably over the years. At first, the publication length ran between one to four pages. In 1889, Wilson extended the magazine to sixteen pages by raising the subscription price to “50 cents per annum” (“Please do Help” 7). This meant that he was able to publish longer excerpts and stories, as well as woodcut illustrations and advertisements. Each month, Wilson provided general updates from Christian missionaries across Canada, including a Blackfoot mission in Northern Alberta, as well as information about the other Industrial schools that he opened

through Upper Canada and Alberta. Often, he would publish diary entries from his own travels to different Industrial schools across the United States and provide ethnographic details of the different Indigenous cultures that he encountered. Each issue of the magazine would typically include a number of composition excerpts that were produced by the Industrial school students, including extracts from their examination papers and letters home. In later versions of the magazine, Wilson began to include excerpts from similar American juvenile magazines including *The Indian Helper* (1885-1900).⁵² These excerpts often took the form of letters or compositions from Indigenous students at other Industrial homes (such as the Carlisle Indian Industrial School) across the United States and Western Canada.

The serial publication of this *Our Forest Children* follows the format of popular juvenile publishing that emerged in Britain and throughout America through the nineteenth century. Juvenile story papers and periodicals provided entertaining moral instruction and educational content for children and typically included stories, reviews, hymns, articles about natural science, anthropological observations, as well as news of missionary associations, Sunday schools and, most prominently, foreign missionary efforts in Africa, Asia and the South Pacific.⁵³ In Britain, such periodicals formed the majority of children's magazines through the nineteenth century and contained information about British missionary work abroad. One such popular title was the

⁵² *The Indian Helper* (1885-1900) was published by the Carlisle Indian Industrial School (1879-1918), in Carlisle Pennsylvania. See *Carlisle Indian Industrial School: Indigenous Histories, Memories, and Reclamations* (2016), a collection edited by Jacqueline Fear-Segal and Susan D. Rose. *Our Forest Children* follows closely to the style of *The Indian Helper*, which also printed the students' letters home, as well as their other writing. The Carlisle Indian School Digital Resource center at Dickinson University has digitalized copies of *The Indian Helper* from 1887-1890 and holds a range of other documents, including student records, images, correspondence, as well as various lists and ledgers.

⁵³ According to Michelle Elleray, the proliferation of juvenile periodicals at this time reflects technological developments in print culture that mechanized production, decreased cost of paper, and widened distribution networks (231).

London Missionary Society's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* (1844-1887).⁵⁴ Similar magazines gained favour in North America; as early as the 1820s, the American Sunday School Union began to publish and distribute a range of magazines, including Lydia Marie Child's popular *Juvenile Miscellany* (1826-1836). Carolyn Karcher explains that American magazines were less evangelical in content and tone than British magazines. Child's work, for example, exemplifies a broader project "to promote domestic harmony, provide behavioral models for parents and children, foster a desire for education, and bridge the gap between the privileged classes and their subordinates" (90).⁵⁵

Hugh Morrison explains that missionary periodicals were widely used to "maximize and enhance juvenile missionary interest" ("Impressions" 388). Morrison finds that the content of the magazines emphasized child agency by encouraging a participatory relationship between the reader and the subject of the magazine, thus engendering the child readers as full agents "in a dialogic relationship with their world" (389).⁵⁶ One central manner in which the periodical magazine accomplished this function was to publish letters from their subscribers. In these cases, the practice of reading and writing was believed to contribute to the development of a child's inter-subjectivity—children wrote to and for each other, affirming the emotionality, moral consciousness, and spiritual values that were widely endorsed by the educators and religious reformers who published and circulated the magazines. Michelle Elleray, for example, notes how

⁵⁴ See Francis Prochaska, "Little Vessels: Children in the Nineteenth-Century English Missionary Movement" (1978). Prochaska explains that almost every denomination of missionary society published vast numbers of children's magazines.

⁵⁵ For more on the emergence of periodical literature for children in nineteenth-century America, see Carolyn L. Karcher's essay, "Lydia Marie Child and the *Juvenile Miscellany*: The Creation of an American Children's Literature" (1995).

⁵⁶ See Sanchez-Eppler "Raising Empires Like Children: Race, Nation, and Religious Education" (1996), she writes: "Sunday school stories about mission work—with their emphasis on national, religious, and racial difference—provide an acutely legible account of anxieties over national identity and the hope that the properly reared child might resolve all such troubles" (399).

the London Missionary Society's *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* encouraged a participatory relationship between child reader and colonized subject by invoking the child reader's "agency both economically and spiritually" (232).⁵⁷ For Elleray, the nineteenth-century child was often characterized as a passive receptor of culture and so the juvenile missionary magazine's attribution of agency to the child reader "forms a radical break from juvenile texts premised on adult guidance of the developing child, whether that child is understood as the site of original sin or as a Rousseauian blank slate."

By the end of the nineteenth century, a whole array of denominational periodicals were published and circulated to the reading public in Canada, including *The Canadian Church Juvenile* ("Publications"). In most of the missionary magazines found in Canadian Sunday school libraries, young Canadians could similarly read stories about missionary efforts abroad and were so encouraged to participate economically and spiritually in Britain's colonial mission. Wilson's project, though, pointedly redirects the efforts of colonial initiatives to educate young Canadians about Indigenous communities in Canada. The magazine's slogan expressly implicates the child reader into the nation's project of assimilation—the full title of the magazine reads: *Our Forest Children, and What We Want To Do With Them*. An etching that features prominently as the header in later editions of the magazine includes an image of the Shingwauk Home as young schoolchildren carry out typical "civilizing" domestic chores, like chopping wood, in the foreground (see fig. 1). This scene is contained in a circle in the middle of the title

⁵⁷ In her article, Elleray provides an example of *Juvenile Missionary Magazine*'s child readers financing the construction of the *John Williams*, a missionary vessel bound for the Pacific Islands (232). Issues of the *Juvenile Missionary Magazine* apprised the child reader of the efforts of the "missionary family" aboard the "John Williams" (232). In July 1852 the Rev. Buzacott acknowledges that the magazines' "young friends" are "no doubt ... anxious to hear something about *your Ship*." The "exotic" tales recounted in the pages of the *Juvenile Miscellany Magazine* by the crew and missionaries aboard the 'John Williams' further encouraged donations from the magazines' readers and positioned the child as a "direct intervener" in missionary efforts.

illustration; flanking both sides of the vignette, representations of figures in traditional dress convene around a fire. This illustration focuses the assimilationist aim of the Shingwauk Industrial Home *and* of the magazine: to identify, according to Wilson, the “Indians” who are currently “in that transition stage in which they particularly require a helping hand to lift them up to a respectable position in life, and to afford them the means of gaining their livelihood as a civilized Christian people” (*Missionary Work* 12).

The circulation of *Our Forest Children* had the effect of supplementing Shingwauk’s own school library. Every month, Wilson sent ten copies of the magazine gratis to every Sunday school that supported a Shingwauk student.⁵⁸ In turn, Wilson wrote that he hoped the Sunday school children would individually subscribe to the magazine, thereby improving profits and increasing circulation. As part of his circulation scheme, Wilson exchanged copies of *Our Forest Children* with other similar monthly magazines across North America and Britain, including the American *Indian Helper*, and the Christian Missionary Society’s *Missionary Gleaner*. In one instance, he observes that the Shingwauk received copies of the popular *Boys’ Own Paper* in return for copies of *Our Forest Children* (“Jottings” 1889 47). In his study of the incursion of Eurocolonial print culture into Indigenous communities in Canada, Brendan Edwards identifies “the earliest concrete evidence of libraries emerging in the [Industrial schools]” to 1884, when Superintendent T.P Wadsworth, Inspector of Indian Agencies in the North West Territories,

⁵⁸ In issue 3.2 (1889) Wilson writes of changes that they were making to the magazine to improve its circulation and explains that “we cannot afford to deal out free copies in its enlarged form so lavishly as we did in the past; but we will send *two copies gratis* to every Sunday school or individual supporting a child in our Home and we would suggest that one of the copies should belong to the Superintendent of the Sunday school and the other copy be placed in the Sunday School library to be bound at the end of the year. We hope that many of the Sunday school children will be so interested in the paper that they will induce their parents to let them subscribe for it. A Sunday school scholar or teacher who will get us ten subscriptions will be entitled to a free copy for one year. Occasionally we shall publish a letter especially addressed to Sunday Schools, giving details of the work being done among the Indian children. We shall also publish Indian boys’ and girls’ letters, and extracts from their examination papers” (5,6).

“recommended for the Battleford Industrial school ‘that [a] children’s library be established, containing interesting tales for boys; for the larger boys, the ‘Boys Own Annual’; for the smaller, ‘Chatterbox,’ and similar books, in which they would, during the long winter evening, be able to find both amusement and instruction’” (78). While Wadsworth’s recommendation prioritizes the development of the children’s literacy skills, the Dominion government did not select or purchase the volumes that would make up the library. In most cases, the content of the library was procured through the efforts of the missions that directed the schools.⁵⁹

Typically, though, copies of *Our Forest Children* resided in Sunday school libraries, and it was expected that the issues would be shared between the school children. In one instance, Wilson wrote that he hoped the free copies he sent to Sunday schools would not “be wasted” (“Jottings” 1888, 2). Wilson acknowledges the singularity of *Our Forest Children* in the marketplace and indicates that the sheer number of juvenile missionary magazines on the market meant that his small magazine faced incredible competition. He writes “there are so many, many, many Magazines published now; and it is the lot of all but the very best to go to the wall; it is with fear and trembling therefore that we are launching our frail craft—our Indian bark canoe!” (“Please do Help” 7).⁶⁰ Wilson promises to make each volume of *Our Forest Children* “bright, interesting, sparkling, and reliable as to its information in every page and with every issue.”

During his visit to Toronto in 1871, Chief Shingwauk visited a print shop and, as Wilson records the moment in his memoir, comments on the central importance of print to the spread of ideas and the production of knowledge. Shingwauk attributes the rapid advance and great success

⁵⁹ Edwards elaborates that numerous Industrial schools began to report the emergence of libraries through the 1890s.

⁶⁰ Wilson regards *Our Forest Children* as a singular project in the Canadian marketplace. While he observes the great number of missionary magazines published in the interest of Indigenous children, he finds “not one paper is there, so far as we are aware ... published on behalf of the Indians” (1890 3.3 7).

of the English nation before him to the printing press and newspaper; he recounts, “when I entered the place where the speaking paper is made, and saw the great machines by which it is done, and by which the papers are folded, I thought, “Ah, that is how it is with the English nation, every day they get more wise, every day they find out something new” (*Missionary Work* 82). Little Pine’s observation, here, forecasts the incremental pedagogy of *Our Forest Children*. Each monthly issue would impart more knowledge about the life and condition of Indigenous peoples in Canada to the magazines’ readers. Most importantly, it would also showcase the progressive and incremental knowledge of Shingwauk students.

II. English Language Literacy and Expressions of Christian Feeling

Indigenous scholars, students, and leaders have made substantial arguments about the ways in which Indigenous knowledges have been “violently under attack” under settler-colonialism. In *When the Other Is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850-1990* (2010), Emma LaRocque points out that the acquisition of English language literacy is widely regarded in the West as an “enormous improvement in human evolution” and so silencing Indigenous languages through forced English language literacy had the effect of strengthening settler-colonial claims of superiority (20). Language traditionally comprises the epistemological basis of individual Indigenous cultures, which widely rely on oral traditions comprising spoken languages and methods of recollection in order to pass down political traditions, as well as ceremonies, philosophies, and cultural values. Drawing on Albert Memmi, LaRocque points out that English language literacy is a “linguistic, political, and psychological challenge for colonized peoples of oral traditions” (19).

Through the residential school system in Canada, children were discouraged (and at times violently prohibited) from speaking their own languages. Historians, however, sometimes identify Wilson as singular in his approach to this mission. Wall, for instance, acknowledges that Wilson is considered a “benign” colonial figure as he advocated a “less invasive cultural synthesis of Native and Euro-Canadian traditions” in favour of “soft” methods of assimilation (9). Historian David Nock (1988) finds that throughout his work, Wilson developed an understanding of Indigenous societies as “valuable and competent in and of themselves” and “worthy of self-government” (158). Prior to 1885, Nock explains, Wilson largely approved of official “programs of cultural replacement ... without much reflection.” In time however, Wilson began to foreground the import of “cultural continuity and synthesis as well as self-government by Aboriginal peoples” (159). As Wall concludes, Wilson did not fully reject Canada’s federal policy of cultural replacement and assimilation; rather, he rejected the use of dominating tactics to enact assimilation and favoured hegemonic tactics that balanced coercion and consent (9).

One “benign” example of discipline that Wall identifies, is the button system that Wilson devised at Shingwauk. Wilson encouraged the children to report any lapse in speaking English by another child. Each would carry a button, and if they were caught speaking in their language, they would be compelled to give their button to Wilson. Wall characterizes this practice as an example of Wilson’s use of “positive incentives rather than the harsh hand of discipline” (11). To that end, she explains, he took a “permissive approach in the banning of Native languages” in order to encourage the children to “self-regulate” their language habits.⁶¹ Wall’s interpretation of

⁶¹ In their article “Indigenous Languages and the Racial Hierarchisation of Language Policy in Canada” (2014) Eve Haque and Donna Patrick further consider language policy in Canada as forms “of discourse produced and reproduced within systems of power and racial hierarchies” (27). Their article offers a historical analysis of language policy-making and the production of racialized language policy discourse in Canada.

this practice elides the racially defined relationships and networks of power that converge through this seemingly innocuous act of “self-regulation.”

In *Racial Innocence*, Robin Bernstein registers how childhood emerged in the nineteenth century as “the primary material in the historical construction of whiteness” (4). She explains how racialized childhood was invoked through antebellum texts, like the short-lived abolitionist children’s magazine *The Slave’s Friend* (1836-1838) or Harriet Beecher Stowe’s serialized novel *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* (1852), to justify “granting or withholding the rights of living adults and children” (4). Though her representative examples emerge from widely different contexts than the historical Indigenous experience in Canada, Bernstein offers some productive examples of the representation of racialized child readers. As Bernstein notes, children of colour were largely defined outside of childhood itself based on the belief that they were invulnerable, were not victims, and did not suffer (43). The expression of sympathetic concern for othered and objectified individuals was a fundamental expression of the white, sentimental child who *could* feel vulnerability and suffering. Popular representations of feeling children of colour, however, called into question this belief. Bernstein finds that representations of black children through the antebellum period, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe’s representation of Topsy in *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*, often suggested that children of colour were not insensate, but could feel in approximately appropriate ways if only they were properly instructed how.

First, Bernstein explains the historically located connection between childhood and innocence, wherein the nineteenth century saw an emergence of a doctrine that postulated that children were inherently innocent. Of course, the “innocent child” was a complicated category that assumed a variety of forms articulated most significantly by the Lockean view of the child as a blank slate, and by Rousseau, who posited that the child “was at essence, an uncorrupted

element of nature” (Bernstein 4). Bernstein finds that, by the mid-nineteenth century “sentimental culture had woven childhood and innocence together wholly” (4). The doctrine of original innocence, though, was raced white—white children and children of colour, then, inhabited different planes of innocence and to be legibly childlike was to “perform childhood innocence” (6). The dehumanization of children of colour largely circled around that child’s presumed inability to feel emotional pain—white children were imbued with innocence and thus capable of feeling pain, whereas representations of black children and other children of colour were perceived to be unified through their inability to feel and to express pain. White children, she summarizes, were capable of victimhood and suffering, and of feeling physical as well as psychic pain, whereas children of colour were not.⁶² In turn, the white child was represented in antebellum literature “as tender angels,” while black children “were libeled as unfeeling, noninnocent nonchildren” (33).⁶³ Thus, antebellum juvenile magazines and stories excluded racialized young people from “the exalted status of child”—that is, a child who could feel in certain, sanctioned, ways.

In Canada, debates circulated about whether Indigenous juveniles were legibly childlike, or whether the race *itself* was in a state of childhood. During the Indian Act debates of 1876, Sir Hector Langevin observed “Indians were not in the same position as white men ... they were like children to a very great extent. They, therefore, required a great deal more protection” (*Debates of the House of Commons* 752). Soon after, Sir John A. MacDonald commissioned Nicholas

⁶² Bernstein’s research focuses on representations of the pickaninny—an “imagined, subhuman black juvenile” that was typically depicted “outdoors, merrily accepting (or even inviting) violence” (35). Bernstein allows for various depictions of this figure, but argues that the pickaninny was always excluded from the status of “child” and thus regarded in American culture as “ephemeral, transitory, consumable, and discardable” (35).

⁶³ Bernstein allows that no monolithic representation of raced children exists and identifies instances of uneven racialization of both white (middle-class vs. working-class) and African American children might further complicate these categories (33).

Flood Davin to prepare a report about the internal workings of the Industrial boarding schools in the United States and Canada West. In *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-breeds* (1879), Davin undergirds the import for the Federal government to maintain and fund the Christian Industrial boarding school system as a vehicle to force assimilation. Davin insists, “if anything is to be done with the Indian, we must catch him very young” (12). Davin codes Indigenous juveniles as specifically malleable and explains that the effectiveness of the Industrial school system hinges on keeping the child “constantly within the circle of civilized conditions.” According to Davin, day schools are an ineffective means to inculcate the child, who only “learns a little and what little he learns is soon forgotten, while his tastes are fashioned at home, and his inherited aversion to toil is in no way combated” (2). Davin at once diminishes the symbolic currency of conceiving Indigenous people in a state of childhood, but still relies on its symbolic potential in order to institutionalize childhood as a distinct life stage, wherein the child’s “dependent state” is associated with innocence and dependency, *as well* as a specific developmental or biological period (Sanchez-Eppler xxi). Davin’s position did not entirely diminish federal policies that infantilized Indigenous people. It did, however, help to focus educational policy on Indigenous juveniles as the locus and future of the nation. This meant, in turn, that Indigenous young people had to be constructed and understood *as children* who could approximate appropriate Christian feeling.⁶⁴

At the opening of the Shingwauk Industrial Home school, Wilson explained that he would undertake to train the incoming students to a civilized life: “The first thing, I felt, was to draw the children around me, and let me and let them feel that I cared for them and really sought

⁶⁴ Davin wrote, “the Indian character about which some persons fling such a mystery, is not difficult to understand. The Indian is sometimes spoken of as a child, but he is very far from being a child. The race is in its childhood. As far as the childhood analogy is applicable, what it suggests is a policy that shall look patiently for fruit ... the analogy is misleading” (10).

their good. I regarded them all as my children” (*Missionary* 162). Wilson’s tender words center the Indigenous children *as* children capable of receiving and giving feeling; in this construction, however, the Indigenous child is supposedly alienated from feeling and so must be drawn around Wilson where he will “let them feel.” Wilson does not totally discount the Indigenous child’s ability to feel, but he does expect them to learn how to feel certain ways so that they, in turn, can be legibly childlike. Wilson engenders a certain act in the Indigenous child that, to this point, has supposedly been repressed: to feel emotion. To express feeling meant adopting a tradition of lexical metaphors in order to approximate white, Christian feeling, and so to showcase self-control and demonstrate intelligible affective responses. The central importance of Wilson’s buttons, then, emphasize English language literacy not only as a “civilizing” practice, but one that situates the pupil’s expression of English as intractably tied with the right expression of Christian feeling.

III. Reading Appikokia’s and Etukitsin’s Letters Home

In the previous section, I explained the historical context within which *Our Forest Children* was produced; this section traces the education of two Blackfoot children who attended the Shingwauk Industrial Home in 1887. Wilson represents the boys to the child reader throughout different editions of the magazine in order to demonstrate the kind of sentimental growth that he expects the assimilatory project of the Shingwauk Home to produce. While Wilson most often writes about the boys’ lives at the school, he eventually begins to publish letters that one of the boys mails after he leaves Shingwauk. This turn—from Wilson representing the young boys, to the boy’s own self-representation through his letters—emphasizes the viability of the improved affective register that Shingwauk’s students are able to

articulate, and culminates in the representation of a productive and positive example of Wilson's civilizing mission.

In one of the first issues of *Our Forest Children* Wilson recounts a trip that he took to visit Rev. J. W. Tims, a C.M.S missionary to the Siksika Nation ("Rocky Mountains" 1, 2).⁶⁵ Wilson explains that Tims warns him not to mention "anything about having an institution for Indian children" to the Blackfoot people (1). The Siksika, Wilson learns, "are so entirely set against civilization and education, and seem to be in constant dread that the white people will take away their children from them." Before long, Wilson decides that he cannot refrain from mentioning Shingwauk, and entreats the community to allow two of their boys to return with him to the school for a year to be educated. Wilson promises to return the boys at the end of the year, and so two boys travel back to Shingwauk with Wilson. Wilson's account of the trip represents the Siksika boys coming to Shingwauk against the wishes of their community. He explains that they are forced to leave in secret, so as to not initiate the "wrath" of the Chief (2). Wilson characterizes both boys as "heathen" but not inassimilable. The oldest, Appikokia, wears a coat and a pair of trousers for the journey.⁶⁶ The other boy, Etukitsin, wears "regular Indian dress, blanket, leggings, moccasins, necklace round his neck, brass rings on his fingers, and ... no hat or cap" (2). Still, the boys' dress does not diminish their "wild" nature, and the trio arrive at Shingwauk to the "great astonishment" of the other schoolchildren. Wilson writes that he will allow the boys to keep their hair long, so as to not frighten or offend them. In this case, he explains, "they must be let down gradually and not be frightened by any too sudden changes."

⁶⁵ Traditionally, the Siksika occupied territory around the North Saskatchewan and Red Deer Rivers ("Traditional Blackfoot Territory")

⁶⁶ Wilson renames Appikokia James Edward when he first arrives at the Shingwauk Home ("Letter From the Blackfoot Boy" 17). Appikokia signs his letters as James, James Appikokia or Appikokia. Through this section I use the name Appikokia for consistency.

In the next issue of the magazine, Wilson updates his readers on the case of Appikokia and Etukitsin; he reports that the boys are adapting to life at Shingwauk “splendidly” and are becoming “gradually civilized in their habits” (“The Blackfeet Boys” 3). He notes, though, that neither of them “can as yet read or write intelligibly” and so, when they dictate their letters home, Wilson “records as nearly as possible according to the sound, without understanding beyond an occasional word or two of what it is they are saying” (3). When the letter arrives at the Siksika Nation, Tims “has to decipher it and read it to the parents.” The method by which the boys’ letters are transcribed is important: the process whereby the letters are doubly translated, first by Wilson and then by Tims, demonstrates the central assumption that Appikokia and Etukitsin are unable to articulate their own appropriate feeling to their parents and community. Rather, it is assumed that both Reverend Wilson and Tims need to mediate the expression of emotion that is written into, and drawn from, the letters.

While Etukitsin dies at Shingwauk, Appikokia returns to the Siksika nation within the year.⁶⁷ In the following editions of the magazine, Wilson publishes his personal diary from his trip to the Alberta plains. In one excerpt, he witnesses the Blackfoot prepare for the Sun Dance—an annual ceremony where participants overcome self-inflicted pain in order to prove their bravery and to honour the sun.⁶⁸ While Wilson travels with the Blackfoot to the location of the ceremony, he expresses his concern over whether or not Appikokia will partake in the ceremony,

⁶⁷ On the death of Etukitsin at Shingwauk, Wilson writes, “[i]t is a cause for great thankfulness that the Blackfeet Indians received the tidings of the death of their number at the Shingwauk home in such a kindly spirit. Much was due, no doubt, to the good common sense of their head chief, Crowfoot” (Wilson, “Home Again” 17); Wilson explains that Crowfoot queried whether the boy attended the school on his own free will (or with the permission of his parents) and if he had been sick before he arrived to the school. While Wilson does not share his answers to Crowfoot’s questions, he does record the response of Crowfoot’s “verdict” which totally absolves Wilson of any responsibility for the student’s death. He writes: “the Chief gave his verdict that the white people who had taken the boy away to school were not in any way to blame.”

⁶⁸ The Sun Dance was forbidden under the Indian Act in 1885.

and further, if the boy will be able to influence his friends to avoid the “usual torture” that Wilson identifies as part of the traditional practice (“Encouraging” 18). Wilson worries over Appikokia’s friend Mianami, a “heathen” he writes, and wonders if Appikokia would be persuaded to go to the “heathen dance,” or if he would otherwise persuade Mianami to keep away from the celebration. Wilson reports that in the end, the boys did not attend the dance, and moreover, “stayed with Mr. Tims at the mission house with two other young fellows.”

The representation of Appikokia’s successes in the pages of the magazine importantly bolsters the wider assimilative aims of the residential school project. It was believed that educating Indigenous juveniles on or near reserves was an ineffective way to encourage the young people to give up their culture and traditional way of life. Government officials believed that when the students were educated so close to their communities, they did not “carry back with them to their homes any desire to spread among their people the instruction which they have received. They are content as before to live in the same slovenly manners” (*Report of the Special Commissioners* 1858). Through his representation of Appikokia, Wilson records the effect of his Christianizing education: the productive construction of a young man who can successfully return to his community and influence others in the right way of feeling. It further demonstrates how affective relationships become productive and have the potential to circulate and multiply outside the institutional bounds of the residential and industrial schools.

Through the next issues of *Our Forest Children*, Wilson publishes letters that he receives from Appikokia. In each instance where I close read a Shingwauk pupil’s writing, I reproduce the text as it is written and has been published in the pages of *Our Forest Children*. While it is impossible to know if Wilson had a hand in editing any one excerpt, I argue that the errors in grammar are demonstrative of the student’s education and do specific ideological work to

demonstrate how the appropriate expressions of feeling strengthen and become incrementally legible to the child reader. I refrain from pointing out each error by marking [sic] in order to avoid inscribing the Eurocentric epistemologies of language that contributed to silencing the pupils' Indigenous languages in the first place. If Wilson's project worked to engender the idea that Indigenous children could feel proximities of familiar emotions, they only needed to express it in familiar ways. By limiting corrections and editing, Wilson demonstrates that the reader could still successfully recognize proper systems of feeling despite any misspellings or grammar errors.

In the first letter that Wilson prints from Appikokia, he mentions that the boy has “evidently written [the letter] quite by himself,” though Wilson does integrate himself into the text by writing parenthetical notes meant to further clarify Appikokia's meaning. Appikokia writes:

Mr. Wilson—this little and my mother said can go Shignwauk Home. and too my brother said can go more I took old good can go. and me still I'm Tims house and sleep and can work me. I will taken God askes because me loves Jesus Mr. Wilson and very good you home. I know God and Jesus died for us. Some time I make house very pretty this summer. Next summer I thank you come, and very much you seeme and Mr. Wilson friend I thank nuts (much?) me some time because can make house my brother I make him good house. Mr. Wilson home said my borther yes can go Natusiasamiu (Mr. Wilson's name) home. give me my brother horse vrey good — James. (Appikokia, “Letter” 18)

My reading of this excerpt relies on a knowledge of Eurocentric systems of Christian feeling in order to mark Appikokia's ability to feel in the “appropriate” way. Though his writing is at times

illegible, a reader can identify familiar markers of how Appikokia is meant to articulate his feeling. Appikokia expresses friendship and a loving regard towards Wilson; he forecasts their relationship into the future, and expresses his wish to see Wilson again the next summer. A reader might also note Appikokia's domestic confidence, as he writes positively in terms of the Shingwauk home, but also expresses his own ability to make a "good house" for his own brother. Wilson makes only two editing notes in this letter, one that clarifies a misspelled word, and another that marks his own given Blackfoot name.

In the very next issue of the magazine, Appikokia writes to the Reverend again, and Wilson prints the boy's letter under the title "Another Letter from the Blackfeet Boy":

Mr. Wilson,—And said my brother can no go you more Mr. Wilson home, and said my mother very much. Still I'm Tims house, and Mr. Wilson said my mother ask him can you go more. Now Mr. Wilson this my brother said no can go you Appikokia, and give me something because you love me. I like to see you, think next summer you come see me, very much good come back ... Mr. Wilson me love you. Mr. Wilson think can see me if you come now to see me. My dear Wilson, my things (carpenter tools) very good, and two my horse. Love you Wilson, My friend who loves you.—James Appikokia. ("Another Letter" 22)

Here, Wilson includes a single parenthetical reference to provide an explanation note in the boy's letter. Unlike when Wilson translates Appikokia's first letter from home, he expects that his own readers will understand the appropriate feeling that Appikokia expresses at this time. There is a tension in the boy's letter, as Appikokia's family seemingly discourages him from returning to Shingwauk, and his mother further refuses to send her younger son to the school. Appikokia writes that he still resides at Mr. Tims house, signaling that he has maintained the

right Christian feeling. This evidence is further bolstered by the feeling that he expresses towards Wilson. He wishes to see his “dear” Wilson, and repeats his love for Wilson three times. Appikokia’s expressions of feeling through his letters underscores the idea that the Indigenous adolescents are essentially childlike and their own childhood innocence is recoverable through the right kind of Christian education.

Wilson prints a final letter from Appikokia in *Our Forest Children* in September 1889. This letter is appended to one that Wilson receives from Rev. Tims, the missionary at the Blackfoot reserve. Tims apprises Wilson of Appikokia’s work as a teacher “amongst a distant camp of Indians” (“First Fruits” 58). He writes that the young man, now nineteen or twenty years old, is “quiet and gentlemanly in behaviour” and observes that “there is every appearance of [Christianity] having taken a deep root in his heart.” Appikokia’s own letter serves to provide proof for Tims’ report. He writes a brief note to Wilson about his new wife, and the home that they share together. Appikokia is represented as a positive outcome of the industrial school project. While he first arrives at the school as a “heathen” in Wilson’s estimation, Appikokia’s letters demonstrate his capacity to affect Christian feeling, and more importantly, to express such feeling in an intelligible manner.

IV. On Kindness to Animals

Throughout the available editions of *Our Forest Children*, Wilson published numerous examples of the pupils’ schoolwork. In some cases, the children write about topics like geography or religion; in others, the students compose reflections on a favorite day, or experience at Shingwauk. Often, though, the children write about animals, a topic through which they are able to illustrate their depth of sympathetic concern and appropriate feeling. In one

issue, Wilson published a selection of students' responses to a subject prompt that he received from an anonymous "English Lady" belonging to the Society of Friends ("Kindness" 39). The writer asks if the students might take "Kindness to Animals" as a subject for an English composition during the Christmas exams. The writer explains that she has heard that "Indians were inclined to be cruel to dumb animals." This request relies on common assumptions about the relationship between an individual and an object of sympathy: do the pupils of Shingwauk feel empathy and a capability to express the desire to intervene when they observe a peer acting cruelly towards an animal? The English woman writes that she feels sympathy for any animals who may be unjustly punished or hurt because of the pupils' savage character. In this characterization, the imagined animal in question is essentially helpless and is defined through its ability to feel pain and thus through its dependence on a figure who will show the animal kind and patient sympathy.

The excerpts that respond to this prompt reveal the students' capacity to express their feeling towards other beings in an appropriately Christian way. At Shingwauk, they must rearticulate a respect and compassion for animals through a Eurocentric epistemology that tacitly critiques stereotypical ideas of a traditional Indigenous relationship to the animal and non-human world. Thus, the "On Kindness to Animals" compositions reveal the pupils' education in Euro-Canadian sympathetic feeling. In his "Composition on Rats," Willie Adams, a thirteen-year-old Ojibwe pupil, writes that the rats "are teaching the boys to take things that do not belong to them" ("Willie Adams" 4). He explains that the rats at Shingwauk "live by stealing and that is the only work they do. I believe there are more rats in Shingwauk than are boys. I think the Shingwauk constables ought to put all the rats in the gaol because they steal everyday." Willie's composition reveals his ability to express the right way of feeling—he writes that he feels anger

towards the rats, believing that they take food that does not belong to them; the rats “eat just anything they can get a hold of; even they try to get at Mrs. Seal’s bread that she gives to the boys.” Willie thus frames the lesson that the rats offer in negative terms; his view expresses a lack of compassion for the rat’s own hunger, as well as their need for shelter and food. He further draws negative knowledge from the actions of the rats, explaining that the rodents’ action of taking food is stealing, rather than an act of sharing resources. Willie ends by drawing a link between the moral worth of the rats and the moral worth of the students, as the rats teach them to steal and so encourage the undoing of any moral progress.

The manner in which the students articulate negative emotions in their response to animals is further demonstrated by a student named Riley in another issue of *Our Forest Children*. Riley replies to the same prompt about kindness and his answer reflects settler-colonial assumptions about how stereotypical representations of “savage Indians” treat animals: “we like to kill animals, especially the Indian. Whenever a bad boy see the bird on a tree, he would pick up a stone and try to hit it” (“Kindness to Animals” 39). Riley ties the actions of “bad boy[s]” to the “Indian” children who act violently towards defenseless animals. In another composition, Joseph Soney repeats this core assumption, writing: “Indian boys are known as always being unkind to animals and to birds. This they do because it’s their habit. The old Indians have left all these to the Indians that are living now and still they are following the customs and habits” (“On Kindness to Animals” 30). Kindness and the lack thereof are drawn culturally—the “Indian” child is known to be unkind owing to the cultural habits that Soney attributes to older generations. Soney effectively puts forth the idea that kindness, then, is not inherently unattainable for him; rather, the unkindness of killing an animal is a cultural effect that he not only acknowledges, but can legibly articulate:

[Indians] will hurt a thing for nothing. They do this because they are fond of doing it. They like to see the things being hurt. The Indian boys are known as always being unkind to animals and to birds. This they do because its their habit ... the boys like to hurt things, although they know it is unkind ... Not many white boys are cruel, but very few. The boys that are cruel are the boys that have not been trained in their ways. White people teach their children well before they are big; but some white parents do not teach their children what is right, so they are unkind and they do bad things.”

Soney more explicitly ties the habits of the “Indian” to past generations, and further demonstrates the idea that kindness, an appropriate Christian feeling, is not biologically situated. Soney learns kindness is an effect of training in childhood, before “they are big.” Lacking that training, even a white boy might be unkind and do bad things.

While the students internalize and articulate the “savage” and unkind habits that they are taught to avoid, they learn to express the proper sympathetic regard for animal lives. Other excerpts on the topic of “kindness to animals” demonstrate the students’ ability to feel sympathy towards animals and articulate the Christian idea that God is both the creator and center of the universe. A boy named Baker, for example, writes that “we should never hurt animals,” noting that “animals very good to see them to be happy all the time, not to hurt them, but to be kind to them. The small animals we must not hurt them, because God made for people to be happy” (“Kindness to Animals” 30). Other students elaborate on the Christian creation story, wherein God creates the animals: Arthur writes, “we should be kind to all the animals God has made because he has made them as well as ourselves, and also he made us in his own likeness, and he also give us animals to use while we are in this world.” This is perhaps best articulated by a

student named Albert, who writes: “we know well enough not to kill the birds and not to hurt the animals, because God makes those animals and the bird is very nice looking, and the animals is not ours, is Gods” (“Kindness to Animals” 39).

As a conclusion to this section I will set the above examples alongside “Kwezens Makes a Lovely Discovery,” a traditional Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg story that Leanne Betasamosake Simpson recounts in her article, “Land as Pedagogy: Nishnaabeg Intelligence and Rebellious Transformation” (2014).⁶⁹ “Kwezens Makes a Lovely Discovery” expresses a version of the “kindness to animals” theme that circulates through *Our Forest Children* but with quite different results. In her article, Simpson argues that a contemporary resurgence of Indigenous political cultures, governances, and nation-building requires generations of Indigenous peoples to “grow up intimately and strongly connected to ... homelands, immersed in ... languages and spiritualities, and embodying our traditions of agency, leadership, decision-making and diplomacy” (1). Simpson explains that this process requires a “radical break” from Eurocentric epistemological systems that impose settler-colonial knowledge. The story of the interaction between the girl, Kwezens, and Ajidamoo, a red squirrel, represents an Indigenous epistemological system that foregrounds core Anishinaabe values of “love, compassion, and understanding” (6). While the English woman prompts the Shingwauk students to write about “kindness,” the traditional story that Simpson relates demonstrates how the Shingwauk students’ responses repress Indigenous epistemologies of interdependence. The Shingwauk students’ expression of their feelings towards animals does not reflect traditional Indigenous knowledge

⁶⁹ Simpson explains that Kwezens means “little woman” in Anishinaabemowin and is used in this story to mean girl (2). Doodoom (another individual in this story) means “my breaster.” Typically children use this term to refer to their mothers.

that posits one's place within a "compassionate web of interdependent relationships" (Simpson 11).

In Simpson's version of the story, a young girl named Kwezens is out collecting wood for her mother and feels the "first warmth of spring on her cheeks" (2). The girl reflects that the spring light makes her feel happy, a sentiment that she remarks twice, saying "I am feeling happy today." Kwezens takes a break from her chore and meets Ajidamoo, a red squirrel, and tells the animal, "I hope you had a good winter, and I hope you had enough food cached." While she considers the squirrel, Kwezens realizes that Ajidamoo is not collecting nuts, nor is she building her nest, but is nibbling on the tree's bark, "doing some sucking" (3). Kwezens decides to follow the squirrel's example and nibbles on the bark as well, and finds that the squirrel is tasting very sweet water. Kwezens collects the sweet water and shows her doodoom, who "believes every word / because she is her Kwezens / and they love each other very much" (4). The next day, Kwezens accompanies her doodoom, Nokomis (grandmother), and all the Nishnaabekwewag (Ojibwe women) to the tree to collect more sweet water:

Ever since, every Ziigwan, / those Michi Saagiig Nishnaabekwewag / collect that
sweet water / and boil it up /and boil it down / into that sweet, sweet sugar /all
thanks to Kwezens and her lovely discovery, / and to Ajidamoo and her precious
teaching / and to Ninaatigoog and their boundless sharing. (Simpson 5)⁷⁰

Simpson's maple sugar story develops a basic, core Anishinaabe value, wherein Kwezens' day is centered around "freedom and joy" and she is able to learn from and with the animals and the land around her. First, Simpson explains the importance of observing and learning from animal

⁷⁰ Different versions of the maple origin sugar stories can be found in *The Gift is in the Making: Anishinaabeg Stories* (Simpson 2013); Connie Brummel Cook offers a version in her illustrated children's book, *Maple Moon* (1998); see also "The socio cultural history of ninaatigwaboo maple water" by Alan Corbier (2011).

teachers in Anishinaabe epistemology; this is the idea that an individual can learn from the land and in conjunction *with* the land (7). When Kwezens meets the squirrel, she expresses compassion and concern for the animal, wondering if Ajidamoo had enough food stored over the winter. Kwezens' compassionate interest in the squirrel leads her to a discovery that improves her life and the life of her community. Her mother's response to her discovery demonstrates a co-equal plane of learning. Kwezens' doodoom learns from the child and Kwezens' actions in sharing her new knowledge with her family are imbued with positive feeling and familial love.

I do not wish to suggest that the Shingwauk students should have known this particular story, or assume that they would have known a version of this story. Rather, I want to draw on "Kwezens Makes a Lovely Discovery" in order to gesture towards a perspective of Indigenous epistemology that is at odds with the Eurocentric language of the Shingwauk students' own feeling. The "On Kindness" excerpts from *Our Forest Children* demonstrate how the students were taught to re-articulate an affective relationship to an othered being through dominantly Christian epistemologies and systems of feeling. Whereas Indigenous intelligence *learns* from the animals and celebrates an interdependent relationship with the world, the Shingwauk pupils articulate new lessons that are focused on a Eurocentric view of the child's (and animal's) place in the world. In imagining themselves as dominant over the rats, the students participate in settler-colonial commodification and ownership of the land by articulating implicit assumptions about how they relate to the world around them.

V. Barbara Birchbark and the Sunday School Child Reader

Perhaps the most prominent way that the Shingwauk pupils demonstrated their affective similarity with the appropriate systems of feeling was through the positive feedback from

Sunday school students that the industrial students received in response to the personal letters and schoolwork excerpts that were published in the pages of *Our Forest Children*. By representing the pupils' feelings, Wilson provokes the magazine's child audience to feel and act sympathetically in turn. In this section, I turn back to the issue of the magazine's circulation, and focus on how the magazine facilitated a conversation between the Indigenous pupils and settler children. The production and representation of this conversation in the pages of *Our Forest Children* asserts the affective likeness of both groups.

One of Wilson's major concerns was that Canada's wider population did not fully support the assimilationist outcomes of his project. He finds that plenty of people were willing to help support the pupils at the Industrial homes, "so long as they are at arm's length" ("Our Present Position" 1). While Wilson often laments a need for funds to support the school, he writes that what he and his students really need is "kind sympathy and patient sympathy." Wilson, though, wants to encourage his readers to "lend a hand" in order to help the Indigenous pupils up to a "higher and better position in every way than what they presently occupy." Here, Wilson signals the productive effects of intelligible systems of feeling, wherein bonds between othered members of society are created through the expression of proximity of a common (and shared) emotion.

Wilson encouraged the participation of the Sunday school children by inviting them to write and ask questions of his feminized nom-de-plume "Barbara Birchbark." Starting in March 1890, Barbara Birchbark began to write long letters under the title "Letter to the Sunday Schools" for the magazine, wherein "she" would update the readers on life at Wilson's Industrial homes in Manitoba, including the Elkhorn, the Washakada Home for girls, and the Kasota Home for boys. The letters are signed by Barbara Birchbark, but are marked "care of Rev. E. F.

Wilson.” In one of her first letters, Birchbark gives a general account of how the children arrive at the institutions:

Of course, they are generally very home-sick and unhappy when they first arrive; they don't see any sense in their being taken away from their teepees and their own free prairie life. Probably they think the white people very unkind and unjust, and very meddlesome into the bargain ... then the superintendent has to run after them, and he has generally managed to bring them back, and after a time they become quite contented and happy, and so fond of the white people in charge of the Homes. (158)

In this excerpt, Birchbark means to assuage any of the Sunday school students' anxieties that the pupils may be unhappy or discontented at the Shingwauk Home. She suggests that the Indigenous students commonly misinterpret “white people” as very “unkind and unjust.” The students' sickness and unhappiness is thus an effect of assuming that the teachers feel negatively.

Birchbark offers examples of the “affectionate nature [of] these poor, wild little boys and girls” (158). In one example, Birchbark writes about an instance when the “Superintendent at the girls' Home was putting away some clothes in the clothing closet; it was very cold and her hands were quite blue and numb; some of the girls ... noticed how cold Miss Vidal was, [and] went down on their knees and commenced rubbing her cold hands with their own little brown, warm ones.” The action of physically warming the superintendent's cold hands with their “own little brown, warm ones” demonstrates a sympathetic nature and empathetic regard. Another student “trotted off to another room, warmed a scarf on the stovepipe, and ... laughingly wrapped it round Miss Vidal's hands.” These actions are presented as self-initiated. The students effectively “notice” Vidal's discomfort and, through that observation, undertake the necessary steps to

improve her physical discomfort. This further reveals the pupils' own susceptibility to suffering. They can only notice Vidal's discomfort because they experience that discomfort themselves.

While Birchbark recounts events at the homes, she invites letters from the Sunday school children, and at the end of each column answers their questions. Birchbark tells Bessie H, for example, that even the boys are "fond of flowers" ("Letter to the Sunday Schools" 178). George W. wants to "know if the boys ever play games like white boys do, and what game they like best" (194); Mary F "asks if the girls are like white girls in the way of copying their teacher." The Sunday school students' questions ask Birchbark what it is about the Industrial school pupils that makes them similar to themselves. The difference between the children is articulated along racial lines—do the boys play as white boys do? Are the girls like white girls? Birchbark's responses provide further evidence that the Industrial home pupils are essentially feeling children. They play on the baseball field as white boys do, and mimic their teachers in the classroom as white girls do.

Birchbark's letters are only one of the ways that Wilson initiated a path of communication between the Sunday school children and the pupils at Wilson's various Industrial homes. The overall efficacy of his project is demonstrated in one letter that Wilson received from a Sunday school class that was printed under the title "Not willing to give him up." Wilson writes that some of the Sunday schools have become "very much attached to their red-skinned protégés. A lady writing from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia, to one of our boys, says":

All the boys and girls in our Sunday School, said: 'No! No!' when Mr. Wilson wrote to ask if we would give you up and take another boy. They said: 'We want Albert Sahguj, and nobody else;' so you see they all think a great deal of you and

are glad to hear that you are doing so well and getting on so nicely with your studies. We all enjoyed your last letter very much indeed (“Not Willing” 2).

The author of the letter, a young Sunday school student from Yarmouth, Nova Scotia specifically addresses Albert Sahguj on behalf of her Sunday school class. The content of the child’s entreaty indicates a familiarity and affective link with Albert—the Sunday school children vocally indicate their unwillingness to “give him up,” a comment that reflects the financial donations that the children collected and made towards Albert’s sundries and clothes as he resided at the Shingwauk Industrial Home, but also to the investment that they take in his emotional interior. The Sunday school children “think a great deal” of Albert and refuse to “take another boy.” Albert’s self-reported scholarly success is central to their recommended view of him. The Shingwauk student is identified as a protégé, suggesting that the students support and advise Albert through their own communication. That the class writes directly to Albert, addressing him without mediation through Wilson, demonstrates that the boy can effectively interpret his benefactors’ affect, and further, that he has effectively reproduced the kinds of feelings that the Sunday school students must also learn for themselves. The Sunday school students’ ability to recognize Albert’s proper expression of feeling implies, in turn, that they too experience and express proper Christian feeling.

Our Forest Children is a significant archive because it offers invaluable information on the everyday experience of the children who attended the Shingwauk Industrial Home. The student writing that is published within *Our Forest Children* importantly engenders a specific discourse of childhood in Canada: the excerpts affirm the relational and spiritual values that ultimately demonstrate the Indigenous students’ affective similarity to English-Canadian childhood, and represent Indigenous children as capable of being incorporated into the national

consciousness. While Appikokia reveals how the students' assimilation into "right" systems of Christian feeling were represented through *Our Forest Children*, other portions of the magazine—such as the "On Kindness to Animals" excerpts—further illuminate the ways in which Wilson's project prioritizes the production and circulation of Eurocentric circuits of feeling. The construction of such systems of feeling between Indigenous and non-Indigenous students was completed through the circulation of *Our Forest Children* as a means through which to invite the Sunday school student's emotional identification with the Indigenous students.

Chapter III

The “Universal Language” of Kinship in Catharine Parr Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains* (1852)

According to Carol Gerson, Catharine Parr Traill’s boy’s story, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains* (1852) is “consciously historicize[d]” (“Nobler Savages” 15). The historical narrative, set in 1770, takes place in Rice Lake in Upper Canada, and coheres around a specific historical event that was parlayed to Traill by Chief Mosang Paudash. As many of the critics who have offered analyses of the novel note, *Canadian Crusoes* allegorizes the emerging political marriage between the French and the British through the interaction of two generations of French and British settlers, as well as a young Mohawk woman named Indiana. Traill’s text is thus heavily invested in dominant narratives of settler-colonial kinship and forecasts a peaceful familial future wherein the British nation engages an expansive form of kinship that is marked by cross-cultural affection and interracial bonding. In this chapter, I contextualize twinned allegorical tableaux of conjugal matrimony against a concurrent discourse of Indigenous custom adoption that circulates through the narrative. To date, the significance of Traill’s representation of Indigenous kinship has not been considered in any critical analysis of *Canadian Crusoes*. Scholars have widely discussed the productive effects of representing the incorporation of an Indigenous person into the allegorical national family in colonial Canada, but I find that such analyses overlook the model of custom adoption that is represented as part of Indiana’s traumatic history. Traill’s depiction of Indiana’s family history reflects a settler-colonial view of “savage” Indigenous kinship practices. I argue that such readings elide Traill’s settler-focussed, and ultimately assimilationist, attention to traditional Indigenous kinship. Traill highlights

Indigenous kinship practices—specifically, custom adoption—as a viable means through which to incorporate the Indigenous “other” into the settler-colonial family.

In the first part of this chapter, I consider how the “anomalous” form of *Canadian Crusoes* contributes to the ways in which literary criticism has misrecognized Indigenous kinship systems and how these misunderstandings are re-articulated as a model for establishing new Euro-Canadian kinship structures in British North America (Freedgood “Fictional Settlements” 401). Scholars such as Elaine Freedgood (2010), John Morgenstern (2015), and Andrew O’Malley (2009) note how the juvenile adventure novel genre foregrounds the construction of a domestic apparatus against a discourse of adventure and expansion. Moving through and beyond this example, I demonstrate how the two marriages within the narrative largely represent a companionate model of white, conjugal domesticity that productively incorporates racial others, and ultimately stages, according to Kate Higginson, “a unifying national romance” (46). The narrative’s allegorical tableaux of conjugal matrimony are significant to my reading of the novel as a whole because they are actually drawn against a concurrent discourse of Indigenous kinship which represents the possibilities of “expansive connections among adults that include but reach beyond the attachments of blood-relation” (Rifkin 31). By foregrounding how the marriage metaphor operates in criticism of *Canadian Crusoes*, I argue that contemporary readers of the narrative may misrecognize how Indigenous kinship circulates as a productive model for cross-cultural incorporation.

My argument necessarily attends to the limits of how Traill represents the political and social effects of the Indigenous practice of custom-adoption. While Indiana’s eventual marriage to Hector signals her successful incorporation into the body politic, I argue that this marriage needs to first be contextualized against Indigenous kinship practices that are simultaneously

present in *Canadian Crusoes*. The second part of this chapter thus reads the ways in which Traill observed and recorded instances of Indigenous kinship in her epistolary emigrant guide *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836). I find that Traill mischaracterizes Anishinaabe kinship traditions by applying the language of the nuclear family to lives of the local Ojibwe that she records in this guide. I go on to explain how Anishinaabe kinship traditions incorporate the practice of custom adoption to extend kinship networks across nations.

In the third part of this chapter, I demonstrate how Traill takes up the language of sentimental racialism in order to demonstrate the limits and possibilities of expanding blood relations in Canada's settler-colonial context. In *The Making of Racial Sentiment: Slavery and the Birth of the Frontier Romance* (2006), Ezra Tawil theorizes the early history of racial thinking, both in the context of slavery and through the figure of Indigenous peoples in North America, and considers how an increasing emphasis on the interiority of racial others tied the individual's capacity for sympathetic exchange to whiteness. While the marriage metaphor provides a vehicle to allegorize the marriage of the French and Scottish settlers, it is only useful insofar as it represents their shared capacity for sympathetic exchange. In order to fully incorporate Indiana into the Crusoes' social milieu, Traill represents the young Mohawk girl's capacity to be a sympathetic witness through various instances of captivity. For Mark Rifkin, the circulation of the captivity trope throughout the nineteenth century illustrates how settler-colonial captivity narratives represent Indigenous traditions of kinship in ways that productively contribute to the reformulation of "non-native publics" (31).

Largely, scholars identify two instances of captivity in *Canadian Crusoes*. In the first, Indiana is taken captive by the Rice Lake Anishinaabe-Ojibwe. In this instance, Indiana is captured and constrained, but is ultimately adopted into the Ojibwe clan. Indiana rejects this

adoption. Thus, she is abandoned by the Ojibwe but is later rescued by one of the Crusoes, a young man named Hector; in the second moment of captivity, the narrative's white heroine, Catharine, is taken and held captive by the same clan. While Indiana later endeavours to free Catharine, the girls' eventual escape is initiated through Catharine's accrued knowledge of Indiana's Mohawk culture. Through a consideration of how the language of sentimental racialism circulates differently through both of these scenes, I identify a third captivity that develops the possibilities of Indiana's sympathetic interior. I read closely the scene where Hector ostensibly saves Indiana from death, and argue that this moment should be marked as a *third* captivity rather than read through a sympathetic lens as an instance of intercultural love and adoption. In this section, I further draw on Elaine Freedgood's criticism of Traill's use of metalepsis in order to verify the "facts of the narrative" (134). The awkward introduction of the narrator into the chapter in order to authoritatively recount Indiana's story to the reader has the effect of eliding the sovereignty of Indigenous kinship practices while, at the same time, enables Traill to recuperate custom adoption as a model for the production of cross-racial kinship in Canada.

These scenes variously represent captivity, contact-captivity, and custom adoption, as well as the *rejection* of adoption. This chapter attends to how these practices circulate in various registers through *Canadian Crusoes*. Indiana is ostensibly held captive (and then later adopted) by two different communities. The extent to which she rejects her adoption into the Ojibwe clan, but welcomes her adoption among the Canadian Crusoes, however, is still informed by Anishinaabe kinship traditions that are ultimately subsumed through the circulation of sentiment among the Crusoes and their captive, Indiana.

I. *Canadian Crusoes*: an “Anomalous” Juvenile Adventure Novel

Catharine Parr Traill emigrated from Britain to Upper Canada in 1832. Newly married to Lieutenant Thomas Traill, a British army officer, Traill writes from the perspective of an emigrant and pioneer in the “undeveloped” wilds of Upper Canada. Throughout her career, she published a number of texts that vary across generic categories. *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) documents her emigration to and experience of settling near Peterborough. This memoir was so successful that she later published *The Female Emigrant’s Guide* (1854), a guide to domestic life in the colonies for middle class, white settlers. Her nature writing, *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868) and *Studies of Plant Life in Canada* (1885), detail her interest in Canada’s natural landscape. Lastly, Traill wrote a number of short stories and books for children, including *Lady Mary and Her Nurse* (1856), *Pearls and Pebbles* (1894), and *Cot and Cradle Stories* (1895). *Canadian Crusoes* was originally published in New York and London but, as Elaine Freedgood suggests in her article “Fictional Settlements: Footnotes, Metalepsis, the Colonial Effect” (2010), the novel is a type of Anglophone-Canadian fiction that was not “usually read by Canadians, but rather by Britons in Britain, who might or might not be prospective Canadians” (393). Like Traill’s emigrant guides and plant studies, *Canadian Crusoes* helps potential emigrants to “imagine and colonize actual space” (394).

According to Freedgood, scholars widely consider *Canadian Crusoes* to be an example of an *anomalous* juvenile adventure novel, its generic fixity strained by Traill’s propensity to borrow formal features from a wide variety of different popular genres that circulated through the nineteenth century (393). In her dissertation, Kate Higginson observes that some of the convoluted generic cues that are present in *Canadian Crusoes* include the juvenile adventure tale, the botanical field guide, the sentimental romance, as well as the captivity narrative (46). In

“Fictional Settlements” Freedgood focuses on Traill’s adherence to Victorian ideals of verisimilitude. Freedgood explains that, as Traill writes of the unknown wilderness of Canada, she must “fill in what would be implicit or understood by simple description in other writings.” Traill establishes such references to the realities of Upper Canada through paratextual footnotes that contextualize actual landmarks, people, and historical events, and that further explain the flora and fauna of Rice Lake (402).⁷¹ According to Freedgood, the effect creates a “metaleptic erosion of realism” that threatens the boundary between fictionality and factuality, but that is particularly central to the reader’s ability to imagine the Canadian wilderness, as well as the specific tools and techniques that Traill’s *Crusoes* (and thereby her readers) utilize in order to provide themselves with food, warmth, and shelter.⁷² In her preface to *Canadian Crusoes*, Traill’s sister, Agnes Strickland warns that “persons who wander without knowing the features and landmarks of a country, instinctively turn their faces to the sun, and for that reason always travel in a circle ...” (322). Strickland’s comment implies that Traill’s reader would be well served to learn the features and landmarks of “the noble colony of Canada” in order to productively effect civilized society in the manner of her three *Crusoes*.

Indeed, Freedgood observes that *Canadian Crusoes*’s most obvious generic referent, Daniel Defoe’s *Robinson Crusoe*, is similarly an allegory *and* a field guide to emigration. The

⁷¹ Freedgood notes that Sir Walter Scott’s use of footnotes “mark an epoch in the history of fictional footnotes because they are *not* entirely satirical or self-referential” (400). In his historical romances, the Waverly novels (1828-1832), Scott includes extensive footnotes and glossaries to provide his reader with referential information that explain historical places, events, and customs. In turn, the novel is shown to be based on fact. For Freedgood, Scott’s historical romances “advance the inescapable, if paradoxical, claim that the novel can be, and is, both fiction and history” (Robert Mayer qtd. in Freedgood 401). For more on the key precedent of Traill’s use of footnotes, see Jane Millgate’s *Walter Scott: The Making of the Novelist* (1984).

⁷² Metalepsis is defined by Gerard Genette as an intrusion of a narrator or character into a frame in which they do not belong. For more see *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation* (1997). Traill’s narrator breaks out of the diegetic space of the text when she speaks self-referentially as the author *and* as the narrator in the narrative’s footnotes. The footnotes in *Canadian Crusoes* become *extradiegetic* spaces that, according to Freedgood, are particularly important to “the imagining of imperial space” (399).

most significant scholarly criticism of *Canadian Crusoes* similarly identifies the central importance of the concomitant ideologies of domesticity and colonial expansionism that are in effect through the narrative. In “The Mother of Boys’ Adventure Fiction?: Reassessing Catharine Parr Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes* and R.M. Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island*,” for example, John Morgenstern explains that *Canadian Crusoes* is typically omitted from scholarship that accounts for the development of the robinsonade into the boy’s adventure story across the British Empire through the nineteenth century. Morgenstern works to recover the novel’s place in this history; he points out that *Canadian Crusoes* was published in the years between Frederick Marryat’s *Masterman Ready* (1841) and R.M. Ballantyne’s *The Coral Island* (1857) and finds that the major narrative techniques that Traill uses to construct *Canadian Crusoes* generally adhere to the conventional and formulaic choices that contributed to the development and codification of the juvenile adventure novel genre.⁷³ Typically, the robinsonade features a boy protagonist who exemplifies particular racialized ideals of white manliness and civility. The presumed child reader is asked to identify with the adolescent protagonist who leaves the domestic home and takes up his “duty as future manager of the Empire” in unfamiliar spaces (259).⁷⁴

Morgenstern notes that *Canadian Crusoes* predates the division of the nineteenth-century children’s novel into two separate categories of boy’s adventure and girl’s domestic narratives. His observation follows Andrew O’Malley, who similarly argues that while the robinsonade “has conventionally been understood as the masculine-coded ideology of colonial adventure and

⁷³ Morgenstern identifies three major narrative techniques common to the boy’s adventure story in *Canadian Crusoes*. These include the three-person collective protagonist, the capture and rescue of the main protagonist (Catharine), and the supplementation of the original collective with an Indigenous individual (298). Morgenstern allows that one significant different technique that Traill adopts is the use of a third-person narrator (as opposed to other first person).

⁷⁴ See Martin Green, *Dreams of Adventure, Deeds of Empire; Popular Children’s Literature in Britain* (1979).

conquest,” the genre “also include[s] a strong focus on the usually feminine-coded practices and ideology of domesticity” (67). If, at the heart of the typical adventure story is a masculine hero, then *Canadian Crusoes* “is not clearly a *boy’s* adventure story” (Morgenstern 296). Morgenstern and O’Malley both identify the prominence of gendered, domestic ideology in *Canadian Crusoes*: Catharine, the narrative’s main protagonist, prefers to undertake typically domestic chores in the home, and thus enacts the kind of “inventive domesticity” that Morgenstern identifies at work within *Robinson Crusoe* (295). O’Malley effectively explains that the focus on domesticity is a feature that is retained from the original novel. Like Robinson Crusoe, the lost Canadian Crusoes construct a series of homes: they start with “a rough lean-to, and eventually [erect] a comfortable log cabin with a hearth with cultivated fields around it” (68). The advanced state of the children’s domesticity, O’Malley explains, “underscores the implied claims to the land” on which they build their homestead. Traill thus develops concomitant “ideologies of colonial expansion and exploration” along with “domestic ideologies of the home” (Morgenstern 297). Freedgood elaborates on this observation and finds that *Canadian Crusoes* engages a kind of “ontological imperialism” that ultimately complements the colonizing work of the British empire (395). She suggests that the colonial effect of the novel’s parallel focus on the function of domesticity and adventure engages the *idea* of Canada as a place “over which a fantasied domination can always preside” (394). This fantasy is effected through the circulation of familiar domestic motifs in order to cohere the idea that the emigrant can dominate *and* domesticate the “empty” space of Canada.

The unfamiliar terrain of *Canadian Crusoes* is domesticated in any number of ways, as O’Malley and Morgenstern demonstrate, but the marriage plots that bookend the novel are indicative of the close, nuclear, familial bonds that the settlers are able to form in this new world

space. The marriages are the domesticating apparatus that first makes this strange new world familiar. The *Canadian Crusoes* opens with a truncated marriage plot that foregrounds the sentimental origins of the settler-colonial bourgeois family. After being wounded at the Battle of Québec, Duncan Maxwell, a Highland soldier, convalesces in the home of a Québécois widow where he falls in love with the widow's daughter, Catharine, and befriends her brother, Pierre Perron. Though the trio is separated when Duncan is called to a tour of duty in England, he returns to Québec in order to marry Catharine. Along with Pierre's new wife, the four decide to settle in the un-surveyed forests of Canada West. They accomplish this task easily enough, Traill's narrator explains, as the settlers find "no obstacle to taking possession of any tract of land" (4). The two men dream that they will form a village and become the heads of this new colony. In time, the settlers increase the yield of their land and beget "the population of a new colony" (5). This success happens, Traill's narrator makes clear, despite the unlikely pairing of Duncan and Pierre, "two creatures" who could not be "more unlike" the other. The Highlander is characterized as "stern ... persevering, [and] cautious," whereas the Canadian is "hopeful, lively, fertile in expedients, and gay as a lark" (5). These stereotypical emotional dimensions that the Highlander and the Canadian "naturally" exhibit do not impede the advancement of the new settlement; rather, the contrast makes them well suited to be friends, neighbours and, most significantly, family. In this context, the cross-cultural pairing of Duncan and Catharine personifies the kind of conjugal kinship structure that contributed to the dispersal of hierarchical bloodlines in the Canada's settler-colonial social milieu. Scholars of early Canadian literature, such as Daniel Coleman, identify this historical phase as a "dynamic" project that "organize[d] a diverse population around the standardizing ideals of whiteness, masculinity, and Britishness" (*White Civility* 10). The characterization of Duncan and Pierre as patriarchs of a new family

further maintains and reproduces a vision of a genealogical nationalism wherein racialized characteristics of whiteness are bequeathed to future generations.

The settlers fulfill the duty of transmitting a new national inheritance by birthing a brood of children who are “welcome contributions of [the] new colony” (5). The children are introduced as explicit metaphors for the new nation: they grow together as “one family” and enjoy a “charming harmony” that is marked by “affection and early friendship” (6).⁷⁵ Like their fathers, Hector Maxwell, Duncan’s eldest son, and his cousin, Louis Perron, are juxtaposed through their different “tempers and dispositions.” The “natural” difference in temperament between the three adolescents is elaborated through the narrative: Hector’s seriousness contrasts Louis’s gaiety, whereas Catharine, Hector’s sister, is calm and gentle. Traill engages a developing common sense understanding of gender *and* race—the children are racialized through specific emotional expressions that mark their whiteness and that are, in turn, tied to a nationalized vision of the domestic household.

The marriage metaphor that binds together Duncan, Catharine, and Pierre is a familiar trope in early Canadian literature, wherein a cross-cultural marital union figures the political union of Francophone and Anglophone settlers in colonial Canada. In his influential essay, “The Marriage Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century English Canadian Fiction” (1988), Carl Murphy observes how marriage emerged as an allegory for political and social relations between the French and the English. Literary representations of cross-cultural marriages, Murphy finds,

⁷⁵ Scholars agree that the children represent a “microcosm of the society” (Ballstadt 174); Robert Fleming (1995), for example, suggests the children are “the physical embodiment of a harmonious relationship between Scottish Highlander and French Canadian.” For David Copeland (2008), the children are representative of a “harmonious inter-ethnic model for Canadian society for the next century” (34); Carol Gerson suggests the “happy foursome represents a blending of Canada’s British, French, and Native heritages” (“Nobler Savages” 15). These readings all position Indiana and Hector’s marriage as an instance of her passive assimilation into settler-colonial society.

circulated “from the very beginnings of English Canadian fiction” (n.p). The union of French and English lovers in early Canadian literature signaled the end of New France and bade the futurity of the new nation. He identifies the trope at work in a number of pre-confederation novels, including Rosanna Leprohon’s *Antoinette de Mirecourt, or, a Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing: A Canadian Tale* (1864), John Richardson’s *Wacousta or the Prophecy: A Tale of Canadas* (1832), and Francis Brooke’s *The History of Emily Montague* (1769). Murphy counts *Canadian Crusoes* as one of these influential texts that coheres around the marriage metaphor in order to demonstrate the possibilities of settler integration with both the “physical environment and the people native to that environment.”

The marriages of the French and English settlers at the beginning of *Canadian Crusoes* forecasts the successful incorporation of Indiana into the Rice Lake coterie through her marriage to Hector. According to Coleman, this culminating marriage represents the natural outcome of the narrative’s ideological objectives as it stages an “allegorical tableau of Canada’s multi-ethnic, interracial future when the French boy Louis marries the Scottish Catharine and the Scottish Hector marries the Kanien’kehá:ka Indiana” (“Grappling” 78). While Hector’s marriage to an Indigenous woman further expands the possibilities of companionate, conjugal marriage across racial lines, the language of sentimental racialism and representations of Indigenous kinship that Traill renders throughout *Canadian Crusoes* are too nuanced to accept Hector and Indiana’s marriage as a smooth diversity-affirming incorporation of the Indigenous female body into the colonial project of bourgeois homemaking. Such readings focus on the novel’s sentimental tropes to interpret the couple’s initial meeting, where Hector finds Indiana tied to a tree and abandoned by her Ojibwe captors. The sentimental language that marks this central

scene broadly characterizes Hector as Indiana's saviour and represents Indiana's incorporation into the Crusoes' society as an act of loving generosity and cross-racial adoption.

II. Indigenous Kinship: Reading Custom Adoption

While the marriage plots that bookend the *Canadian Crusoes* allegorically signal the incorporation of Indigenous peoples into the new nation, this narrative also represents an Indigenous kinship tradition commonly called custom adoption. While it is ultimately unclear the extent to which Traill knew about the specific Indigenous kinship practices of the Anishinaabeg and Haudenosaunee that lived on the territory around Rice Lake and Peterborough, it is important to consider the extent to which she engaged with the First Nations while she homesteaded in their territory.⁷⁶ In this section, I consider how Traill observed and represented Indigenous kinship in *The Backwoods of Canada* (1832). I will show that Traill observes the Ojibwe through typically heteropatriarchal language in order to render the relationships between and among the Indigenous people intelligible, not only to herself, but to her readers. Though Traill observes, names, and records the relationships that circulated among the Ojibwe, the extent to which Traill understood Ojibwe kin networks, and their meaning and implications for Anishinaabeg community and sovereignty, is unclear.⁷⁷ Following, I draw on Coleman's article,

⁷⁶ Present-day Peterborough is located in the territory covered by the Williams Treaty. Before it became known as Peterborough, the area was called Nogojiwanong, an Anishinaabemowin word that means "place at the end of the rapids" or "place at the foot of the rapids" (Simpson 2008). It is the traditional territory of the Anishinaabe Mississauga and is adjacent to Haudenosaunee territory.

⁷⁷ I focus my analysis on Anishinaabe kin practices through this chapter, but Traill also represents the kinship practices of the Haudenosaunee in *Canadian Crusoes*. I have chosen to focus my analysis on Anishinaabe kinship traditions because Indiana is incorporated into Bald Eagle's Ojibwe clan through a typical practice of custom adoption. For more on the Haudenosaunee, see Cindy Baskin's article, "Women in Iroquois Society" (1983). Baskin explains how the Haudenosaunee practice matrilineal social organization. She also elaborates on the import of adoption as a social practice that characterized Haudenosaunee kinship practices. She writes, "on a practical level, adoption of persons into the family and the natural increase in population meant that the labour force would never become depleted. Thus

“Grappling with Respect: Copway and Traill in a Conversation that Never Took Place” (2013) to consider the expectations that contemporary readers might have of Traill in relation to the interactions that she had with First Nations people and her representation of them in her texts.

The Backwoods of Canada is a reflection of Traill’s own experience emigrating from Britain and homesteading along the Otonabee River. According to Traill, the observations that she records in her epistles dispel any “romantic notions of a settler’s life” (203). Indeed, her observations and conclusions about settling in Canada focus on the challenges of establishing a homestead in the Canadian wilderness. She touches on a broad variety of topics that encompass the everyday lives of settlers, from the challenge of the changing seasons, to the indispensable necessity of a root-house, to how one might successfully cultivate a melon in their summer garden. She writes, too, about her Anishinaabe neighbors, taking stock of the breadth of their knowledge about the land and observing their customs.

Significantly, Traill’s letters in *Backwoods* offer vignettes of the lives of her Anishinaabe neighbors, and focus specifically on how they behave towards one another and towards their children. In so doing, Traill translates her observations about the intimate behaviour of the Anishinaabeg into the language of heteropatriarchal, nuclear family. Her observations ultimately draw attention to “some of the definitional and conceptual problems in doing family history across cultural divides” (Peers and Brown 530). In 1834, for instance, Traill travels to the winter encampment of a nearby Ojibwe clan.⁷⁸ Upon her arrival at the camp, Traill is pleased to observe

each independent family would be economically secure. Furthermore, adoption meant that the Iroquois were able not only to survive but to become a dominant military force” (45). See also John Brown Childs, “Beyond Unity: Transcommunal Roots of Coordination in the Haudenosaunee (Iroquois) Model of Cooperation and Diversity” (2001) and Audra Simpson’s *Mohawk Interruptus: Political Life Across the Borders of Settler States* (2014).

⁷⁸ Traill uses the anglicized exonym of the Ojibwe, “Chippewa,” through *Backwoods*. Through this chapter, I have chosen to use the terms Ojibwe and/or Anishinaabe(-g). In *Canadian Crusoes*, Traill uses the anglicization spelling, Ojebwa.

that “Indians seem most tender parents.” She takes note of the affectionate nature that the “squaws” exhibit towards their children, as they “fondly and gently cares[s] them with eyes overflowing and looks of love” (157). Traill’s observations articulate the expectations of Christian feeling—the mother is centrally focused on her young charge and attends to her children with warmth and love. In these instances, Traill does not demonstrate awareness of how Anishinaabe social relations are embedded in kinship idioms and extend across Anishinaabe communities.

Laura Peers and Jennifer S.H. Brown focus on the epistemological challenges of utilizing “Western and modern vernacular constructs of “family” [that] do not correspond well to [Anishinaabe] historical realities or concepts” (530-531). Indeed, whereas “household” may commonly refer to a space where the nuclear family, comprised of parents and children, live together, this term does not fully reflect the practices of co-residency of the Ojibwe. When Traill visits a summer encampment in June, she observes how the clan utilize their wigwams, and recounts that three “families” inhabited a single structure (155). Peter, an Ojibwe hunter that appears in a number of Traill’s vignettes, and his family occupy one entire side of the oblong shaped building. Two other families, belonging to Joseph Muskrat and Joseph Bolans, share the opposite side and distinguish their spaces from one another “by their blankets, fishing spears, tomahawks, and other property.” Traill interprets this scene through familiar constructs of the nuclear family. Whereas a family typically signifies the nuclear unit of a parent and children who reside in a single household, these concepts are too restrictive to be translatable to Ojibwe. Peers and Brown explain that the closest term is “*oode* as in lodge or household” (531). “Family” in this sense encompasses “not only marital and parental ties among the members of multiple households, but also a wider set of kin relations that arose from Ojibwe life circumstances”

which may have included sickness, war, and other instances of loss. Traill's observation of the families that share the wigwam mischaracterizes the Ojibwe kin universe, where immediate extended family often lived together to motivate economic production, to deepen relationships "among wider groups of relatives" and to broaden "support networks upon which people could call in times of injury, sickness, or poor hunting" (532).⁷⁹

Mark Rifkin explains how centrally important Indigenous "structures of feeling"—or complex ways of *making* kinship—are to the very spirit of Indigenous nations and to the construction of self (103). Traditionally, the kinds of "relations and idioms" that are conventionally characterized as kinship in Eurocolonial society actually structure and negotiate "collective [Indigenous] identity, both intra-and inter-tribally" (123). Rifkin points out that such extensive networks of intermarriage traditionally help to minimize conflict and are crucial "in shaping native governance as a vehicle of alliance among peoples." Indigenous kinship networks, Rifkin explains, center on modes of geopolitical boundary making and diplomacy that disperse the hierarchical preservation of bloodlines into a "horizontal web of familial association." Thus, the reciprocal nature of Indigenous kinship systems contributes to the coherence of Indigenous cultural identities and so threatens to diminish the dominating effect of the colonial enterprise. While the colonial state sought to eradicate this complex kinship system—through treaties, the residential school system, and disenfranchisement—expansive

⁷⁹ In "Anishinaabe Toodaims: Contexts for Politics, Kinship, and Identity in the Eastern Great Lakes," Heidi Bohaker explains that, in Anishinaabe tradition, kinship, political affiliation, and personal identity comprise the singular category of *toodaims* identity (94). Nindoodemag, or the Anishinaabe totemic system, identifies and shapes "families, marriages, alliances, migration, and access to land and resources." Clans are differentiated through their *toodaims* (usually written *nindoodem*)—or clan identities. Nindoodem is a gift that is bestowed by the Great Spirit and refers to flora and fauna that are common in the region. The clan is a subset of the larger, national Anishinaabeg polity and the nindoodem shapes and defines leadership roles within the band, the local council, and larger regional councils (94).

Indigenous kinship still functioned as effective models for settlers to envision new “kinds of family formation and community-making among non-natives” (101).

Adoption is one of the ways in which these values are put into practice across First Nations, Inuit, and Métis communities. My overview of the symbolic function of custom adoption here seeks to emphasize particular characteristics of Indigenous custom adoption rather than delineate how custom adoption practices vary across different First Nations. Adoption, in Euro-western practices, often incorporates the child into new bonds of filiation that reflect the norms of the nuclear family. Commonly, such statutory adoptions correspond with practices of child protection. Indigenous practices of custom adoption (or customary adoption), reflect historical principles of Indigenous citizenship and have “always been an integral part of the culture and heritage of every aboriginal group in Canada since time immemorial” (Gilbert 69).

In his dissertation, “‘Because our law is our law’: Considering Anishinaabe Citizenship Orders through Adoption Narratives at Fort William First Nation” (2017), Damien Lee explains that Anishinaabe citizenship governance “is based on the authority of Anishinaabe families to discern who belongs” (8). The practice of deciding who belongs extends across racial categories and is practiced through custom adoptions. In Anishinaabe practice, custom adoption relies at on the Anishinaabe citizen(s) to choose when to “extend a nurturing relationship” towards an individual with the view of adopting them into the Anishinaabe community. The practice also expects that the adoptee adopt, in turn, the responsibility of living as Anishinaabe through their lives (Simpson, *Dancing* 90). Historically, the practice of custom adoption was diplomatic, as nations would restore clans through adoption, “allowing bordering nations to cultivate productive obligations toward one another through socio-familial structures that transcend political and territorial lines” (Bauerkemper and Stark 3). The practice of custom adoption significantly

extends settler-colonial expectations of what kinds of ties comprise a family, and how individuals are incorporated into communities.

In *Dancing on Our Turtle's Back* (2011) Leanne Simpson explains the specificities of pre-colonial Anishinaabe kinship traditions and demonstrates how the kinds of biological boundaries that circumscribe Eurocolonial relationships are not present in the Anishinaabe tradition. Simpson explains that traditional expression of identity of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg was “modulated within the web of mino-bimaadiziwin” (90).⁸⁰ *Bimaadiwizin* is an Anishinaabe philosophy that broadly encompasses the attitudes, skills, and knowledges that an individual practices in order to live “a life in a good way, as Anishinaabe.”⁸¹ For Simpson, this means living in a manner that illuminates positive relational kinship practices. Simpson explains that the customary kinship tradition of her ancestors encompasses practices of self-determination, wherein individual families and communities decide who their family members are. Thus, individuals are adopted into the community and raised as an Anishinaabe citizen when “individual families [choose] to extend nurturing relationships to them” and when they choose to carry the responsibility of Anishinaabe citizenship throughout the rest of their lives (90).

In “Grappling with Respect,” Daniel Coleman draws on an “archetypal” passage in *Backwoods*, where Traill empties the territory around her homestead of First Nations presence. She writes, “there are no historical associations, no legendary tales of those that come before us”

⁸⁰ The traditional territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg spans from Gananoque, across the north shore of Lake Ontario to Long Point on the north shore of Lake Erie. The territory includes the tributaries and rivers that flow into these lakes from the north (Curve Lake First Nation). For more on the history of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg, see *Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg: The History of Curve Lake First Nation* (2018) by Elder Gidigaa Migizi Doug Williams. Catharine Parr Traill sets *Canadian Crusoes* within the traditional territory of the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg.

⁸¹ Simpson explains that the concept of mino-bimaadiziwin is often used across Anishinaabe teachings but is often overused in scholarship (especially among non-speakers and cultural beginners, she notes). I present the term here to attempt to clarify an understanding of a specific Indigenous kinship tradition, but do not develop the term as an analytical framework, as other scholars have done in their work.

(128). Coleman points out that Traill's assessment of her surroundings in 1832 is hardly accurate; he reflects on the presence of George Copway (Nahgegaghbowh) who attended the Rice Lake School and went on to publish several English language books that detailed "the history, tales, and spiritual traditions whose absence Traill laments" (65).⁸² Coleman seeks to understand how contemporary readers of Traill's work can understand her relationship to the First Nations communities and individuals that were very much present in her life. He argues that Copway's presence in the Peterborough district demonstrates "not only that there *is* history, but that the people who know that history are literate, not just in their own Nishnaabemowin language, but also in English" (68). In turn, Coleman points out that Traill's repeated denial of Indigenous history contributes to the settler-colonial project of clearing the land of Indigenous peoples and traditions.

Coleman "imagines" a conversation between Traill and in order to posit that, even if Traill did significantly engage with Copway and local Anishinaabe knowledge, the "mismatched epistemological traditions" of the two figures would have "disallowed true engagement with [Anishinaabe] history, knowledge, and culture" (66). For Coleman, the schism that exists between Traill's Eurocentric view and Copway's Indigenous worldview demonstrates just how difficult it is to engage in cross-cultural conversation. His work attempts to put the two back in conversation with one another in order to initiate an "ethical space" to "engag[e] diversity and disperse totalizing claims to the human order" (Ermine qtd. in Coleman "Grappling" 202). Coleman takes up *Canadian Crusoes* in order to establish that Traill was "clearly curious to learn about her [Anishinaabe] neighbors" (68). He focuses his example on the divergent views of Hector and Indiana in relation to "the indigenous logic of the gift and the way in which it

⁸² See Copway's *The Life, History and Travels of Kah-ge-gah-bowh (George Copway) a Young Indian Chief of the Ojebwa Nation* (1847).

positions the concept of respect” (79). Indiana, in one instance, elaborates how her clan offers the Great Spirit the first kill in a hunt, in order to acknowledge “the bounty in having allowed them to gather food thus plentifully for their families” (Traill, *Crusoes* 178). For Indiana, the gift that she offers “is based upon a cosmology that ... embeds all individuals in recognition of and responsibility to a common ecological community” (Coleman, “Grappling” 81). Coleman points out that Hector interprets this action, however, “within a Christian theology shaped by exchange economy thinking” (137). In Hector’s worldview, once a gift is given, the individual is liberated from any “debt” that they may owe another individual.

Coleman delineates the reasons why the epistemological differences between Traill’s and the Anishinaabe worldview “made real conversation impossible” (84).⁸³ While I recognize the “mismatched” epistemological traditions of Eurocolonial and Indigenous forms of family making, I suggest that Traill’s limited representation of Indigenous kinship traditions has the capacity to mischaracterize (or evoke mis-readings of) the practice of historical transnational kinship networks that actually facilitated “the ongoing production and maintenance of Native nations and their relationships with one another and with other polities” (Bauerkemper and Stark 8).⁸⁴

III. Sentimental Racialism and the Contact Captivity Narrative

While the marriage metaphors that bookend the *Canadian Crusoes* work to foreground the possibilities of companionate, conjugal marriage across race, I contend that Traill’s

⁸³ Later in this chapter, I’ll elaborate on the importance of the narrative’s footnotes to this project, which open, according to Elaine Freedgood, “a circuit between fact and fiction” (401).

⁸⁴ Transnational, in this view, “describes alliances among tribes and the social structures that transcend boundaries” (Huhndorf qtd. in Bauerkemper and Stark 6).

representation of custom adoption is elided through the language of racial sentimentalism that structures events so that they are read as instances of captivity rather than as potential examples of intercultural adoption. This section elaborates how the language of racial sentimentalism is deployed through the captivity trope. I juxtapose how sentimental racialism is represented in three separate moments of captivity: first, Hector “rescues” Indiana in a scene that fully reveals the interior capacity of the Euro-Canadian settlers to bear sympathetic witness to the young Indigenous girl. I interpret this scene against Catharine’s more typical moment of captivity, where she further solicits a sentimental response. Together, though, these twinned captivities elide representations of custom adoption that circulate in the narrative at the same time.

The main action of *Canadian Crusoes* centers on the story of the children of Duncan, Catharine and Pierre: the siblings Hector and Catharine, and their cousin Louis. On a “lovely sunny day in the flowery month of June” Louis invites Catharine to accompany Hector and himself after some errant cattle with the promise that the trio will have plenty of time on their adventure to admire blooming flowers and pluck ripe berries (9). Though the children spend a pleasant day in the “delightful occupation of gathering the tempting fruit,” their Eden is darkened by an unsettling gloom as they come to the realization that they are lost (12). This unlucky scene sets up the main action of Traill’s narrative, and initiates what a number of scholars identify as the classic tropes of the adventure story, wherein the plucky protagonist, lost or marooned, “recapitulates the development of civilization” (Freedgood 395). Indeed, after the downcast adventurers resign themselves to their situation, the first hundred pages of the novel describe in great detail how they tame the land and construct a settlement. The narrator observes that, while “many children would have wandered about weeping and disconsolate, lamenting their sad fate, or have embittered the time by useless repining” the *Canadian Crusoes* cheerfully and

industriously initiate building the first iteration of their home and “commence housekeeping in good earnest” (27, 88).

In time, the young trio construct a shelter and become “more reconciled to their lonely life” (94). They even begin to “entertain decided home feelings for their little log cabin.” While the children become more familiar with their surroundings, they remain constantly on alert to the threat of “Indians” in the vicinity of their settlement and they recognize themselves as constantly under the specter of such a threat: Catharine, with a shudder, hopes that “the Indians will not come here and find us out” (85). She tells her brother and cousin that she is more frightened by the Indian than the “fearsome wolf,” owing to “the fearful tales of their cruelty.” Hector, developing the metaphor, reminds Catharine “the wolf and the lamb do not lie down in the fold together.” Hector’s response addresses the racial logic that suggests members of different races *feel* different things and are fundamentally unlike one another. Hector explains that the settlers are incompatible with “the Indian” on the basis of racial sentiment: “the wild man and the civilized man do not live well together, their habits and dispositions are so contrary the one to the other.” The “Indian,” according to Hector, is treacherous, cunning and revengeful, whereas the Crusoes are open and forgiving.

The domestic serenity that the Crusoes enjoy is marred by the appearance of an Ojibwe band near the trio’s settlement. One morning Louis returns to the settlement to report that “several canoe-loads” of Ojibwe have arrived nearby (96). The children spend a few days fearfully avoiding their “enemies,” though Hector quickly tires of the “restraint that the dread of the Indians imposed upon his movements” and wishes that he could “roam abroad free and uncontrolled” (102). Here, the narrator interrupts the diegetic space of the text in order to include an aside about the motivation of the Crusoes’ fear and the effect that it has on their freedom to

move about the heretofore empty wilderness space. The adolescents' fear, the narrator explains, can be attributed not to the "fearsome" Ojibwe, but is actually interiorized within the children themselves. Importantly, this runs counter to the assumed racial logic of the novel; the narrator explains to the reader that the children's feeling of "fear is not subject to the control of reason" and, in the present instance, only serves to invest "the dreaded Indians with superhuman powers of sight and motion" (99). In other words, the interior feelings and motivations of the Ojibwe are invested through the Crusoes' inability to control their own emotions.

The outcome of an encounter with the Ojibwe that the Crusoes fear most is not strictly their own death; rather, the specter of captivity sharpens their unease. Hector, "tired of remaining shut up in this dull place," announces his attention to scout the Ojibwe camp. Catharine plaintively wonders what they will do if Hector is spotted and taken prisoner (104). Her concern focuses the reader's attention on the possibility of captivity, but misdirects the gendered event onto Hector's body. Most commonly sympathy is attributed to, and articulated through, discourses of gender. Coleman notes that it is Catharine's "empathy and Christian charity" that make her "the moral and spiritual center" of the trio ("Grappling with Respect" 79). This observation follows an ideological linkage of gender and sentiment in the nineteenth century, wherein white women were popularly represented as "repositor[ies] of a racially specific, highly valued sentimental interior" (Tawil 11). Such capacities of feeling rendered white women as singularly capable of "securing the reproduction of the middle-class household and family feeling" (11). Though only fourteen, Catharine exerts a profound affect that is associated with an ideology of racialized sentiment that imagines white women as "naturally suited to the promotion of ... civilized/civilizing affect" (Rifkin 109). Despite Catharine's fears, Hector resolves to scout the Ojibwe camp. Accordingly, Louis chooses to stay behind in order to protect

Catharine from “evil,” rather than join Hector, who explains to his sister and his cousin that instead of “running away” from the Ojibwe he will “boldly walk up to them, and by signs make them understand that I am ... but a friend in need of nothing but kindness and friendship” (104).

Hector thus leaves his two companions in order “to endeavour to ascertain what the Indians were about, how many there were of them, and what real danger was to be apprehended from facing them.” When he returns to the settlement, however, he appears with the “shrinking figure of an Indian girl.” Her face is ashy but concealed by “long masses of raven black hair, which fall like a dark veil over her features: her step is weak and unsteady, and she seems ready to sink to the earth with sickness or fatigue” (107). This figure, in time, is christened Indiana by the Crusoes. As they arrive, the girl sinks into a profound sleep, and Hector begins to tell his sister and cousin the story of how he came upon this “miserable, wounded captive” (108). He recounts finding her abandoned,

bound by the long locks of her hair to the stem of a small tree, her hands, tied by thongs of hide to branches which they had bent down to fasten them to her feet, bound fast to the same tree as that against which her head was fastened; her position was one that must have been most painful: she had evidently been thus left to perish by a miserable death, of hunger and thirst; for these savages, with fiendish cruelty, had placed within sight of their victim an earthen jar of water, some dried deers’ flesh and a cob of Indian corn.

The sympathetic and affective language that marks this structurally significant episode is amplified through the action and experience of Hector discovering Indiana. Hector describes Indiana as piteous, “miserable,” and “wounded.” If not for Hector’s heroic action, Indiana faces only a “miserable death” as living prey to the eagle that circles above her. Hector observes that

Indiana had been left in such a “painful” situation by the “fiendish cruelty” of “savages.” As his story progresses, the boy’s memory of the incident focuses more sharply onto the young girl’s body and affect. He recounts:

... she sunk her head on her breast, and large tears fell over my hands, as I bathed her face and neck with water from the jar; she then seated herself on the ground, and remained silent and still for the space of an hour, nor could I prevail upon her to speak, or quit the seat she had taken. Fearing that the Indians might return, I watched in all directions, and at last I began to think it would be best to carry her in my arms; but this I found no easy task, for she seemed greatly distressed at any attempt I made to lift her, and by her gestures I fancied she thought I was going to kill her. At last my patience began to be exhausted but I did not like to annoy her. I spoke to her as gently and soothingly as I could. By degrees she seemed to listen with more composure to me, though she evidently knew not a word of what I said to her. She rose at last, and taking my hands placed them above her head, stooping low as she did so, and this seemed to mean she was willing at last to submit to my wishes. (109, 110)

In this instance, Hector casts himself as a sympathetic saviour: he dislodges the arrow from the girl’s shoulder, gives her water and unbinds her feet. In a most tender moment, he bathes the girl as her tears fall onto his hands. Hector speaks gently and soothingly to the girl, and though he allows that she could not have understood his words, he explains that she eventually begins to understand the meaning of his feeling.

The language of sympathetic racialism that marks this passage significantly reveals how this scene is widely interpreted not as captivity but as the beginning of a fruitful transracial

adoption. Tawil attends to what he identifies as the emergence of “sympathetic racialism” in early American frontier fiction, a genre that, he points out, relies on concomitant ideologies of the domestic home *and* of expansion and exploration to redefine race for an emerging national culture (2). Tawil explains that the genre imagines race as an interior property that might be hidden or revealed through a person’s actions (15). Such narratives demonstrate how racial difference was popularly believed to be most strongly fixed “in the depths of the mind and the heart” (100). Tawil draws his reader’s attention to the function of sentimental language in the genre and argues that such expressions of sentiment “are vital to ... literary exploration of blood and nature of racial identity.” For Tawil, expressions of sentiment reveal different capacities of feeling and attribute certain qualities of character and emotion to race. Michelle Burnham (1997) similarly links sentiment and captivity tropes in her work, recognizing that tales of captivity often inspire a sentimental response. Hector’s account of saving Indiana from death produces feelings of sympathy in Catharine and Louis; Catharine, for her part, listens to Hector’s story with “tears of genuine sympathy” and believes that her brother was inspired by God to “rescue the poor forlorn one from so dreadful a death.” Louis’s sympathy is likewise “warmly aroused for the young savage” and he duly commends Hector for “his bravery and humanity” (110). The sentiment that the children express is rooted not solely in Christian feeling, but rather, in the kinds of assumptions that attributed “certain qualities of character and emotion to race” (Tawil 11).

Patrick Mingos (2012), however, suggests that narratives of captivity often “bend and shape [the] conditions of capture” in order to accommodate the ideological imperatives of the settler-colonial communities through which they circulate (134). Mingos reminds us of the ways in which power circulates through discourse, and that the line between “adoptions, captivity, and

slavery” should always be framed within “a discussion of the function of power” and its ability to define events (139). From a settler-colonial perspective, captivity is often perceived to be a case of force, wherein a hostile enemy violently takes an innocent individual from their safe and comfortable home. Typically, the historical North American captivity narrative features a white, English heroine who is taken captive through some violent circumstance. Scholars argue that such captivity narratives have held a prominent and sustained place in the North American imaginary because the effect of captivity carries ideological implications that signify beyond literary genres. Audra Simpson, for instance, argues that the captivity narrative is typically an “instrument that enunciates the gendered and raced preference for social and legal incorporation by settler regimes, as well as the anxiety that obtained to these preferences as they became lived” (“Captivating Eunice” 108).

In her dissertation, Higginson upsets “the conventional definition of what constitutes captivity” in North America by considering the ways in which both settler-colonial and Indigenous authors represent Indigenous experiences of capture (57). For Higginson, this approach recognizes the “overarching historical fact that the vast majority of colonial violence and capture was ... visited upon Indigenous peoples.” Higginson proposes “a new set of classifications” to further specify the variable captivities that emerged in North American literature. She divides what she calls the *contact captivity narrative* into two sub-genres: the first is a typical narrative of the white captive, or, the colonialist captivity narrative; the Indigenous captivity narrative, however, narrativizes the phenomenon of invader-settlers capturing Indigenous peoples. Higginson’s critique addresses the small number of Canadian colonialist captivity narratives (in relation to the number of American narratives written and published

during the same time period), but also opens up the field of captivity studies in Canada to attend to “the ways in which colonization *caught up* or captured Indigenous peoples” in Canada (10).

In this light, the moment that Hector ostensibly saves Indiana bears further reflection. The language of sentimental racialism that is expressed through this passage accords with the kinds of captivity narratives that permitted settler-colonial audiences to imagine themselves as unaccountable for colonial violence. Hector’s actions, however, are not free of violence, or of coercion. He represents his best intentions in the story that he tells his cousin and his sister, but his language betrays how Indiana’s reactions are muted by her vulnerability and loss of agency. Hector recounts that he cannot “prevail” upon Indiana to speak or to “quit the seat” that she occupies for upwards of an hour (109). When he attempts to physically move the girl’s body by lifting her, Indiana seems to be “greatly distressed.” Hector explains, “by her gestures I fancied she thought I was going to kill her.” His observation implies the coercive nature of his actions. Hector is only successful at moving the girl when Indiana “at last submits” to his wishes.

If the Crusoes’ racial subjectivities hinge on the expression of sentiment, then Indiana’s emotional interior initially accords with dominant expectations of Indigenous affective lives which were distinguished in various degrees by emotional repression, or, as the Crusoes’ themselves demonstrate, as vengeful and threatening (Tawil 11). At the Crusoes’ camp, Indiana remains unresponsive as her eyes fix “mournfully on the ground” (113). The girl sits “quiet and passive” while Catharine busies herself braiding her long hair. Indiana is not totally present in the scene, as she “would remain with her eyes fixed vacantly on some object which seemed unseen or to awaken no idea in her mind” (172). For O’Malley, Indiana’s absence of expression recalls a “blankness and innocence” that suggest “a tabula rasa on which the colonizing culture can write itself” (79). Such a Lockean reading further positions Indiana as a child to be cared for,

and, by extension, typically casts Indigenous people as childlike. Indiana's lack of expression, though, can be read as an effect of her traumatic experience, and not simply a result of her essential racial nature. The manner in which Indiana weeps when she is discovered by Hector undermines any attempt to inscribe "blankness and innocence" on the young girl. Indiana's tears call into question dominant assumptions about racially fixed and distinct forms of subjectivity.

Later in the novel, Catharine is taken captive by the same Ojibwe that bound, and then abandoned, Indiana. It is useful to read the moment of Catharine's capture against the moment that Hector discovers and "frees" Indiana. Catharine's own captivity best mirrors conventional captivity narratives, wherein a white woman is taken captive by a stereotypically "savage Indian." Catharine, scholars note, is "an emblem of Victorian domesticity" (Gerson, "Nobler Savages" 16). She is captured in part because she prefers to stay home and prepare a meal, while Louis, Hector, and Indiana venture into the wilderness to hunt and to explore (Traill, *Crusoes* 177). In a moment of repose, Catharine experiences a "vague, undefinable feeling of dread" (178).⁸⁵ As she surveys the space around the small hut, she is met with the "deadly glare of a pair of dark eyes fixed upon her ... gleaming with sullen ferocity." The intruder's "menacing eyes" inaugurate Catharine's own experience of captivity which is rendered in much more violent terms than when Hector comes upon Indiana. The intruder utters a "singular, expressive guttural," and takes "the girl's ice-cold hands in his, tightly [binds] them with a thong of deer's

⁸⁵ In *Backwoods*, Traill recounts the second-hand story of a widowed settler who "was alarmed by the sudden appearance of an Indian within the walls of the log-hut." The widow fears for her life and the lives of her children; she imagines the "frightful, mangled corpses" of her children. The fear that Catharine feels mirrors this scene. In *Backwoods*, however, the frightened widow soon realizes that the intruder only wanted to rest, and to dry his hunting tools. The widow and her eldest children prepare food and a bed for their "no longer unwelcomed guest." When the man would return to the "hunting grounds in the neighbourhood of the window" he was welcomed as a guest. The settlers were "no longer terrified of his swarthy countenance and warlike weapons." Rather, the children would "gather around his knees" and admire his weapons and clothing.

hide, and [leads] her unresistingly away” (179). The two scenes share similar parallels: the hands of both girls are bound, and while Indiana is eventually unbound by Hector, like Catharine, she submits to her capture. Both girls weep emotively. Indiana’s “large tears” fall over Hector’s own hands, while Catharine is placed into a canoe where she “[weeps] in silent agony.”

Catharine’s arrival at the Ojibwe camp is further marked by emotive affect as she weeps with “woe-stricken countenance” (181). Catharine’s expression of emotion is contrasted against that of her captor: “no answering glance of sympathy met hers, no eye gave back its silent look of pity—not a nerve or muscle moved the cold apathetic features of the Indians.” Traill’s narrator explains that Catharine did not yet know that it is part of “the Indians’ education to hide the inward feelings of the heart, to check all those soft and tender emotions which distinguish the civilized man from the savage” and so they are unmoved by Catharine’s own grief. Catharine, though, recognizes that she is alone with “no one to love or cherish or console her.” Her realization is most unlike Indiana’s own experience, where Catharine and Louis extended sympathetic care and concern for the girl when she arrived at the Crusoes’ settlement. Rather, Catharine sees only “strange and unseemly forms of men and women, who cared not for her, and to whom she was an object of indifference or aversion” (185).

Catharine’s captivity accords with dominant expectations of the colonialist captivity narrative, and the dominant analysis of identifying Indiana as “rescued” (and thereby Hector as rescuer) recurs through criticism of *Canadian Crusoes*. Freedgood, for instance, notes, “Hector rescues a Mohawk girl he happens upon who has been taken captive by an Ojibwe tribe” (396). Gerson similarly suggests that Indiana is “grateful to her rescuers” and so “devotes herself to their comfort and safety, learn[s] English, convert[s] to Christianity and ... marr[ies] Hector” (15). Robert Fleming (1995) draws a link between the gratitude that Indiana exhibits towards her

rescuer and the event of her betrothal to the young Scotsman. This common reading diminishes—or else obliquely omits—a key aspect of Indiana’s history: the genocidal event that marks the theft of her natal territory and the death of her kin. The Crusoes do not yet fully know the conditions of how Indiana found herself to be in such a dire position. Only later does the narrator reveal the event of the brutal murder of her Mohawk clan. Still, it is not entirely possible to read Hector’s action as entirely consensual. First, the reader only has access to Hector’s point of view, so it is important to draw attention to the resistance that Indiana exhibits, however slight Hector perceives this resistance to be, as she is approached and then “rescued” by the young man.

IV. Indiana’s History: a “Fearful Story of the Massacre of Her Kindred”

Many critical analyses of the *Canadian Crusoes* do not read Indiana’s personal history to any great extent. In this section, I demonstrate how Traill represents the central importance of sovereignty and governance to Indigenous modes of kinship and then empties this representation of its political significance. In turn, I argue that Traill appropriates the Indigenous kinship practice of custom adoption as well as inter-tribal modes of incorporation in order to imagine a new companionate model of family making in Canada.

The reader first learns about Indiana’s history as she travels with the Crusoes to different islands in order to explore farther afield than their small settlement. They travel around Rice Lake in a canoe and visit different islands, delighting in new discoveries like wild vines of ripe grapes and porcupine quills. After a pleasant day, the group search for a place to rest and Indiana suggests that they travel to a place called Long Island where, she explains, a French-Canadian trapper abandoned an old log house. As the Crusoes make their way into the interior of the

island, the group are surprised to find a stand of marked sugar maples. Initially, they assume that the trees were tapped by the old trapper, but as Indiana more closely examines the incisions on the trees, she discovers that the marks are the work of the Mohawk people. She gazes on the maples,

long and sadly ... upon the simple memorials of a race of whom she was the last living remnant. The young girl stood there in a melancholy mood, a solitary, isolated being, with no kindred tie upon the earth to make life dear to her; a stranger in the land of her fathers, associating with those whose ways were not her ways, nor their thoughts her thoughts; whose language was scarcely known to her, whose God was not the God of her fathers. (150)

Indiana's response to the sugar maples expresses an emotional interiority that anchors her to affectionate feelings of family. The expression of a "kindred tie" further references the consanguineous unit and recognizes the affective value of blood relations. At the same time, though, her response to the marks on the tree calls attention to the vulnerability of consanguinity. As the settlers have learned, such a family can easily be broken apart, and the consistency of care and comfort that may be offered by blood relations are subject to uncertainty and to change.

Catharine, recognizing Indiana's distress, lays a "gentle hand" on the girl's arm and whispers "I will be to you as a sister, and will love you and cherish you, because you are an orphan girl, and alone in the world" (150). This sympathetic response is entirely intelligible to Traill's intended audience; the narrator explains that the girl's words of "kindness and love need no interpretation; no book-learning is necessary to make them understood" (150). Catharine's sentiment is a "universal language" available to "the young, the old, the deaf, the dumb, the blind." Characterizing Catharine's sentimental action as universal is necessarily important in this

instance because it further invites the possibility that Indiana can interpret Catharine's actions and further interiorize the same sentimental response. The narrator explains that the "gentle pressure of [Catharine's] hand, the half-echoed sigh, the look of sympathy will penetrate to the very heart, and unlock its hidden stores of human tenderness and love"(150). This suggests that the sentiment within Indiana's heart is only hidden away. Importantly, in an instance of cross-racial communication, Indiana "we[eps] soft sweet human tears full of grateful love." Indiana addresses Catharine as "my white sister, I kiss you in my heart; I will love the God of my white brothers, and be his child." When they return to their settlement, the Crusoes go about readying their home for the night. They light a "charming" fire and fashion a serviceable broom to sweep the floor of the trapper's abandoned hut; this domestic tableau ends with the group eating grapes and nuts and falling asleep at the fire.

Indiana's assimilation into her "new" family remains in question at this point in the novel. The extent to which it is sustainable relies, in part, on the strength of her sentimental interior. In one instance, Hector asks Indiana if "she would go away and leave them, in the event of meeting with any of her own tribe" (132). While Hector tests Indiana's sentimental attachment for her blood kin, his query further considers what relationship Indiana has to the Ojibwe. Not only does Indiana refuse to return to her natal territory, she does so in terms that explicitly refuse the existence of biophysical ties to the Mohawk people and so signals her own lack of sentimental attachment to that natal family. She replies to Hector's question: "Indiana has no father, no tribe, no people; no blood of her father's warms the heart of any man, woman or child, saving herself alone." According to Indiana, the massacre of her people was so thorough that the Ojibwe "left not one drop of living blood to flow in any veins" but her own (132). The total annihilation of Indiana's blood relatives is central to the racial logic of the narrative—the

massacre of not only her immediate family, but also her tribe, serves the function of extricating Indiana from her biophysical genealogy thus freeing her to be adopted by the Crusoes and later, to marry Hector. Indiana can only learn to intelligibly reproduce and express the type of sentimental affect that denotes whiteness when she is symbolically (but also brutally) freed from her blood genealogy.

At this point, the narrator addresses the reader directly and explains that the “allusion Indiana had made to her own history” is conveyed in “broken and hardly intelligible language” (133). The narrator self-referentially allows that *she* “may as well” relate the “fearful story of the massacre of [Indiana’s] kindred” in order to make the clearest accounting of the massacre’s circumstances for her reader. Importantly, the narrator renders Indiana’s language unintelligible; she explains, “the broken half-formed sentences in which its facts were conveyed ... would be unintelligible to my young friends.” This comment accomplishes two things: first, it signals that Indiana’s inherent “Indianness” is only unintelligible insofar as she does not have the English language skills to audibly express her feelings. In turn, the narrator suggests that Indiana’s “hardly intelligible language” does not represent an unintelligible affective interior—in fact, the story accounts for the affect that Indiana exhibits among the Crusoes. Most importantly, though, Indiana’s unintelligibility necessitates a clear description of her story and invites the narrator to “render [Indiana’s story] in [her] own language.”

The footnote that accompanies the narrator’s comment in this instance is peculiar in that it draws the reader’s attention to the narrative’s relationship between fictionality and factuality. In her essay, Freedgood picks up on Traill’s failure to “integrate [the narrative’s] footnote material seamlessly into the fictional space of the novel” (409). For Freedgood, this footnote is only one of many that ruptures the imaginative space of the text in order to help the reader

imagine and colonize actual space; the effect, she suggests, is that the “imaginative” social reality of Traill’s fiction can be known literally to audiences in the metropole. Freedgood explains that this rupture “open[s] a circuit between fact and fiction that contributes to the imagining and undertaking of the work of empire, again and again” (408). While Freedgood’s own reading focuses specifically on a footnote about Louis’s interaction with a partridge, the self-referential rupture that the narrator claims in order to relate Indiana’s tale similarly suggests that the effect engenders the reader’s ability not only to imagine, but to authoritatively know, the “real” contexts of Indigenous kinship.

The narrator explains that the massacre of Indiana’s kindred is a “tale of blood” that is rooted in a failed marriage match between Indiana’s Mohawk tribe and the Ojibwe (140). The two principal bands in question contend for mastery over the Rice Lake hunting grounds and, in order to bring peace, Bald Eagle, the Ojibwe Chief, invites Black Snake, the Mohawk Chief to his hunting grounds to ratify a truce between their two tribes. Part of the truce is the promise of marriage between Bald Eagle’s beautiful daughter, Beam of the Morning, and Black Snake’s son, Young Pine. This matrimonial alliance is part of a political brokering between the two tribes that would effectively extend intertribal kinship networks, trading practices, and hunting territories. The marriage, however, is ill fated: Bald Eagle’s son had lately offended Black Snake by “declining a matrimonial alliance with one of the daughters of a chief of inferior rank, who was closely connected to [Black Snake] by marriage” (135). Black Snake tells Bald Eagle that his son must be sacrificed in order to appease the anger of the Bad Spirit and that no truce could be ratified until the perceived affront is put right by the young man’s death. Black Snake’s request is brutal; not only must Bald Eagle’s son be killed, but he must be killed by his father’s hand and his body served at a feast at his father’s table. According to Black Snake, only this

“bloody deed” could ratify peace between the two tribes, else “war to the knife was to be ever between the Mohawk and Ojibwe” (136). For Higginson, this series of incidents accords with Eurocentric narratives that characterize Indigenous life to be “bloody and inhumane,” conveniently “displacing responsibility for the decline of the region’s Native population onto intertribal [discord] rather than invader-settler influences” (46).

In this instance, however, the derogatory and “savage” representation of the nature of the Ojibwe elides the political dimensions of Indigenous kinship that circulate around the practice of adoption. In “The Trans/National Terrain of Anishinaabe Law and Diplomacy” Joseph Bauerkemper and Heidi Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark explain how Anishinaabe nations practice a “kinship-based and diplomacy-oriented mode of restorative justice” (3). The Anishinaabe, whose traditional homelands span the Great Lakes and the Plains, have long “entered into intra-national alliances among Anishinaabe bands as well as international treaties with other indigenous nations and colonial states” (8). In the Anishinaabe-Ojibwe tradition, individuals are adopted into bands in order to fulfill “diplomatic and socio-spiritual customs that require the appeasement of the diseased.” Such adoptions invoke broad kinship obligations, and “moral, social, and political obligations and responsibilities to one another.” Importantly, this practice of kinship diplomacy does not “collapse one nation into another, but ... cultivates productive relationships that ... transcend political and territorial lines and allow for the exchange of political thought and practice” (11). In the tale of the Mohawk massacre, Traill only gestures to such diplomatic interactions that characterized Indigenous nation-building processes but, as Bauerkemper and Kiiwetinepinesiik Stark explain, such “diplomatic discourses are ironically fundamental to settler-state formation.” Traill recognizes the important role that kinship plays in establishing

diplomatic relationships among cross-racial communities, but foregrounds the practice of adoption toward settler colonial purposes.

The Chiefs agree that after the feast, Beam of the Morning will marry Black Snake's son, Young Pine, in order to further cement the peace bond between the two tribes. Beam of the Morning's betrothal to Young Pine is announced, and invitations are sent to the "principal families of the Mohawk tribe" (136). This marriage, however, is actually a plotted revenge for the death of Bald Eagle's son, as the Ojibwe summon the Mohawk and their allies to take part in a "deadly revenge" (147). On the day of the ceremony, the Ojibwe prepare to "spring upon their defenseless and unsuspecting guests." Once they are all gathered in the large wigwam, Black Snake is presented with the head of his son, the bridegroom Young Pine. The Ojibwe thus attack their guests and are so thorough in felling their enemies, that "not one living foe escaped to tell the tale of that fearful marriage feast" (138).

Bald Eagle, however, is still unsatisfied by this revenge and directs his allies to hurry down the lake to massacre the women and children who were not in attendance at the wedding ceremony. Without security, the remaining Mohawk "offered no resistance, but fell like sheep appointed for slaughter" (139). The Ojibwe, again, are thorough in their "exterminating" work, which continued "till not a victim was found." At nightfall, "weary with the fatigue of the slaughter of that fearful day" and "tired of blood-shedding," they find a young girl sitting beside the body of the one brave woman who had defended her children through the slaughter. The Ojibwe return with the young girl to their camp where they attempt to comfort, clothe and feed her, though she refuses to be consoled by their actions (139). This figure is Indiana, and this moment counts in most critical readings of the narrative as the original instance of her captivity.

This brings my analysis to the final part of the novel, where Indiana arrives back at the Ojibwe camp to free Catharine from captivity. Indiana arrives at the camp and submits herself to the will of her Ojibwe “father”—she asks if the “Daughter of Bald Eagle’s enemy [may] speak to her great father”—in effect, Indiana acknowledges the custom adoption that binds her to the Ojibwe tribe (213). She recalls the story of her adoption, and reminds Bald Eagle that she was brought to his lodge, where he buried “the hatchet and the scalping knife, [and] ... bade his squaws comfort her.” Indiana’s explanation of her capture, recognizes the obligations of kinship that the Ojibwe extend to her; she also articulates, however, how she chose to reject her adoption into the clan, explaining, “her heart was lonely, she pined for the homes of her fathers” (214).

Whereas Indiana acknowledges how she rejected the comfort of the Ojibwe, she carefully explains the care and concern that the Crusoes showed to her: “the white man came; his heart was soft; he unbound her, he gave water to cool her hot lips, he led her to his lodge.” She also speaks specifically of Catharine, and explains that the girl saw to her wounds, gave her a bed, fed her, and “tended her with love.” Indiana implores Bald Eagle to “give back the white squaw to her home on Rice Lake and take her instead of the rebellious daughter of the Ojibwa’s enemy, to die or be his servant.” In turn, Bald Eagle agrees to let Catharine go, but only if Indiana agrees to remain with the Ojibwe.

In the end, Indiana *and* Catharine are freed by the Ojibwe and are allowed to return to Rice Lake. The narrative comes to a quick close, as a local trapper discovers the children and brings them back to their natal homes. This final return stages Indiana’s final adoption into the expanding Euro-Canadian family. As the Crusoes return to their home, their parents meet them with a “joyful embrace” (230). Indiana is left outside this happy tableau, “unnoticed and unsharing in the joyful recognition” that the Crusoes express to their lost family. For Indiana,

there is no “paternal embrace ... [or] tender mother’s kiss”; rather, she is “alone and desolate” in the midst of “that scene of gladness.” Catharine, however, inaugurates the adoption of her new “sister”—she gladly tells her family that Indiana is her “Indian sister” and so she “must also be your child.” Catharine acknowledges Indiana’s capacities of feeling; not only her ability to be a child within this new family, but to affect the interior emotionality that renders her both a sister and daughter (and ultimately, a wife to Hector).

In this chapter, I argue that it is necessarily important to understand how Traill draws on examples of Indigenous kinship practices in order to represent Indiana’s adoption into the Euro-Canadian family. The final domestic apparatus of the narrative features the marriage of Hector and Indiana, whose union punctuates the productive allegory of the unifying national romance by staging, according to Higginson, “the adoption and, ultimately, marriage of the jovial ... boy and the orphaned and now Christianized Mohawk Girl into the Scots-Canadian family” (46). My reading of *Canadian Crusoes*, however, insists that Traill’s representation of this final adoption and marriage cannot be isolated from the ways in which the language of sentimental racialism overwrites the traditional practice of Indigenous custom adoption. The extent to which Traill knew about, or even understood, the central importance of adoption practices to Anishinaabe kinship epistemologies is unclear. What this chapter does elucidate, however, are the ways in which the novel’s “anomalous” aspects, such as the language of sentimental racialism, the competing captivity tropes, and the reliance on “fact,” contribute to the mischaracterization (and frequent misreading in Canadian literary criticism) of Indiana’s initial custom adoption into the Ojibwe clan. Through this chapter, I show that it is necessary to take traditional Anishinaabe kinship practices into account when reading this text, even if Traill herself may have had limited knowledge or understanding of such traditions.

Chapter Four

“Do You Quite Grasp What I am Telling You—That My Mother is a *Halfbreed*?”: Reading

Métissage in Emily Pauline Johnson’s “The Shagganappi” (1913)

In the final chapter of my thesis, I draw on the concepts that have influenced my thinking through this dissertation, including questions of how discourses of kinship and race circulate variously through representations of domesticating institutions (such as the school and the familial home) in fictional narratives for and about children. I expand the breadth of my consideration from the late nineteenth century to the turn of the twentieth century, where the racial contours and possibilities of the “right” kind of family for the future of Canada were increasingly codified through legal and juridical practices that delineated who counted as “white” and who counted as “Indian.” Emily Pauline Johnson’s short boy’s story, “The Shagganappi” (1913), brings together concerns of racial intermixture, intermarriage, and miscegenation that were prevalent during this time. While scholars correctly observe that the narrative ultimately offers an optimistic representation of Canada’s mixed-race future, I argue that the protagonist’s positioning as a cultural representative of the Métis people needs to be foregrounded in any critical analysis of the text in order to prioritize an account the ethnogenesis of Métis identity in Canada.⁸⁶ Without accounting for the narrative’s emphasis of Shag’s Métis identity, criticism of

⁸⁶ I use Métis, “halfbreed,” and “half-breed” synonymously throughout this chapter (when appropriate) because the term “half-breed” was codified in legislation by the federal government through the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries to refer to mixed-race communities of the Red River. As my argument elaborates, though, Métis, “half-breed,” and mixed-blood identities should not be considered interchangeable. More particularly, as Chris Andersen points out in *Métis: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Peoplehood* (2014), “half-breed” is a “historical outsider” racial classification that has “calcif[ied] racialized understandings of “Métis” (50, 58). Andersen further provides a thoughtful literature review on the difference between [m]étis and [M]étis (the former small-m term foregrounds racial-mixedness and signifies communities that emerged through the marriages of European fur traders and Indigenous communities. The latter signifies “a broader and more political expression of self-consciousness” (49). Through this chapter, I use the capitalized and accented version of Métis to recognize the social and political dynamics of the Red River and to recognize, following Andersen, a peoplehood based approach wherein the Métis nation embodies shared “memories of the territory,

“The Shagganappi” risks reinscribing the idea that Canadian identity, as a whole, is premised on what Métis scholar Adam Gaudry calls a “mythical métissage” (“The Métis-ization of Canada” 85).

The plot of “The Shagganappi” centers upon the question of the racial readability of its mixed-race characters, one of whom passes for “white.” In this way, the story offers the racialized “double perspective” that Johnson is noted for: Fire Flint Larocque, a young Métis boy from Red River who goes by the nickname Shagganappi (or Shag) is sent by the Governor General, Lord Mortimer, to a boy’s school in Upper Canada in order to become a land surveyor.⁸⁷ Upon his arrival at the school, Shag encounters social opposition from the other boys because of his mixed-race genealogy. One boy, Hal Bennington, the son of an influential railroad developer and the most popular boy in the school, befriends Shag and invites him to visit his home in Montreal where Shag meets Hal’s parents and is welcomed into the Bennington home with familial, sympathetic feeling. Later, Shag accompanies Hal, along with a number of other schoolboys, to Hal’s cottage over the summer holiday. At the cottage, Shag saves Hal and a

leaders, events, and culture that sustain the Métis people today” (13). In some cases, I use “halfbreed” (without the hyphen) when it is required by a direct quotation.

⁸⁷ Shagganappi is a Cree word that approximates “rawhide thong or lacing.” Strips of shagganappi (or shaganappi) were used to lash an axle to the large, two wheeled carts that were typical to the Red River area. The “Red River cart,” as they were popularly known, was constructed entirely with wood and animal hide (usually bison) by the Métis. They were used to transport goods and supplies and were the primary mode of transportation from the Red River settlement before the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway. For more, see Rhoda Gilman, Carolyn Gilman and Deborah Stultz, *The Red River Trails: Oxcart Routes between St. Paul and the Red River Colony, 1820-1870* (1979). This usage of the term “shagganappi” is interesting in relation to Shag taking on this nickname, insofar as he attends the boy’s school in Upper Canada in order to learn how to become a land surveyor. The process of building the Canadian Pacific Railway affected the widespread use of the Red River carts, which were so central to the movement of goods and people in this area. Shag’s very nickname portends the decline of this mode of transportation and foreshadows the construction of the CPR. The Governor General alludes to this use of shagganappi when Shag explains to him that the nickname “Shagganappi” was given to him because his skin is the colour of “buckskin” (Johnson, “The Shagganappi” 13). The Governor General replies: “Well, it is a good name; buckskin is a thing essential to white people and to Indians alike, from the Red River to the Rockies ... so try to be worthy of the nickname, my boy; live to be essential to your people—like buckskin.”

younger boy from drowning. This episode constitutes a central scene in the story: by saving Hal, Shag exhibits the heroic characteristics of whiteness that belie his mixed-race genealogy. His bravery and selflessness are rendered in stark contrast to the other schoolboys who are unable, or unwilling, to put themselves in danger in order to ensure Hal's safety. When the boys return to school in the fall, Hal nominates Shag to give a speech on behalf of the school to the Governor General; this nomination generates much protest from the pupils, for whom Shag's mixed-race genealogy still disqualifies his participation in the school's civic life ("The Shagganappi" 20). Shag, in the end, is able to give his speech after Hal reveals a tightly held secret that is central to the narrative's representation of the limits of racial codification: Hal Bennington, like Shag, is of mixed-race descent—he announces to his peers that his mother, Lady Bennington, is "a *halfbreed*" from the Red River (37).

The story's two central characters, Shagganappi Larocque and Hal Bennington, variously represent the social effects of cross-racial familial formations and demonstrate how such racialized bodies are variously welcomed into, and alienated from, certain Euro-Canadian domesticating institutions, like the boy's boarding school and the conjugal home, depending on how they are racialized. Through the friendship that is developed between these two boys, Johnson represents the uneven codification of race and suggests that an individual can revise, however inadvertently, racializing narratives that were central to the construction of settler-colonial kinship in North America. More specifically, I aim to demonstrate how Johnson does the work of *showing* her reader how race is made and how individuals become interpellated into different expectations, opportunities, and subjectivities based on those assumptions. In part, the capacity of the story's protagonists to overcome racial biases contributes to dominant analyses that read "The Shagganappi" as an optimistic (and political) tale about the positive effects of

racial intermixture. My argument draws out the implications of the “unreserved political message” that Carol Gerson and Veronica Strong-Boag point to in their own reading of “The Shagganappi” that appears in their influential biographical study of Johnson’s life and career, *Paddling Her Own Canoe: The Times and Texts of E. Pauline Johnson Tekahionwake* (2000 169). Gerson and Strong-Boag find that “The Shagganappi” is “unusual in its explicit optimism towards the future of racial amalgamation” in Canada: Fire-Flint “Shagganappi” Larocque, the inspiring “Manitoba Métis hero” at the center of the tale, captures the positive effects of “the ethical and physical results of intermarriage” (24). While “The Shagganappi” has not been considered in any extensive capacity by scholars, Strong-Boag and Gerson’s reading is a typical analysis of the narrative. In her more recent criticism of the short story, Janet Neigh (2014), for instance, agrees that Johnson ultimately “upholds the mixed-race subject as the ideal Canadian identity” (53). While I do find that Shag and Hal both, in different capacities, undermine and overcome racial alienation and challenge dominant views of miscegenation, my own argument suggests that such readings ultimately collapse mixed-race and Métis identity together in a manner that further reinforces racialized understandings of Métis nationhood.

In the first part of the discussion that follows, I contextualize the publication of “The Shagganappi” alongside Johnson’s other writing for children and adolescents. While her juvenile short stories command much less critical attention than her poetry, prose, and stage productions, I demonstrate how “The Shagganappi” is part of a range of short stories that Johnson produced at the end of her career. The majority of Johnson’s short stories for children were first published in the American story magazine *Boys’ World*. Johnson’s correspondence with Elizabeth Ansley, the associate editor of this magazine, is located in the E. Pauline Johnson Fonds at McMaster University in Hamilton, Ontario (see fig. 2). Though the Fonds only contain Ansley’s letters to

Johnson, and not Johnson's replies, this correspondence reveals some of the thematic (and ideological) direction that the editors of the *Boys' World* gave to Johnson. It is significant, though, that "The Shagganappi" was never published in a story paper. Strong-Boag and Gerson note that "The Shagganappi" may have been rejected from publication in American story papers for "its unreserved political message" and call the inclusion of the eponymous story in 1913 *The Shagganappi* collection "a fortunate editorial decision" (169). I argue that Johnson's writing for children deserves closer critical consideration, especially in relation to how her juvenile stories reveal the historical processes that mark the racial governing of childhood in Canada and contribute, more particularly, to scholarly discussions about Johnson's own mixed-race identity.

The rest of this chapter elaborates on the "unreserved political message" that Gerson and Strong-Boag locate in "The Shagganappi" and which I argue needs to be further contextualized within the actual political and social realities of the Métis nation, whose ethnogenesis still serves as a "foundational mythology describing the founding of Canada as a multicultural métissage" (Gaudry, "Métis-ization" 66). Métis scholars such as Chris Andersen (2014) and Adam Gaudry (2013, 2018) argue that the common assumptions that tie Métis identity to mixed-race identity has resulted in the "unprecedented growth of Métis self-identification" in Canada (Gaudry, "Communing" 163). I contextualize how the ethnogenesis of the Métis nation has historically been conflated with the racially coded term "half-breed" and situate Johnson's own writing within this discussion. Scholars of Johnson's career have widely considered how Johnson's own mixed-race identity inflects her writing and her performances (Reid 2001, Rose 1997, Monture 2002, 2014). I find, however, that such discussions do not fully account for the distinction between mixed-race identities and the historically rooted Métis nation.

More specifically, I consider how Johnson's poem "A Cry From an Indian Wife" (1885) only tacitly invokes the historical role of the Métis people at the Red River Resistance. The poem, first published in 1885, is often read as "obviously inspired" by the events at Red River, though it does not, as Gerson and Strong-Boag observe, explicitly reference the Indigenous nation at the very center of that event, the Métis (147). On the whole, however, scholarly readings of "A Cry From an Indian Wife" invoke the Métis Nation and suggest that the poem itself champions the future of Canada as a mixed-race society (Braz 2003, Monture 2002, Neigh 2017). This is significant to my reading of "The Shagganappi" because the short story is often juxtaposed alongside and against "A Cry From an Indian Wife." Ultimately, these two texts are so analytically productive together because they are both situated and contextualized against the historical experience of the Métis at the Red River and focus, according to scholars, on the productive effects of "racial mixedness" to unify not only the Métis nation, but also the hybrid racial identities that vex the Canadian nation at the turn of the twentieth century.

The third section extends this argument through my close reading of "The Shagganappi." I argue that "The Shagganappi" expressly invokes Shag, and later, Hal, as representatives of the Métis nation in order to model the productive possibilities of intermarriage, and thus evokes a "mythological, post-colonial, Métis-ized Canada" (Gaudry, "Métis-ization" 68). I consider the various ways that Shag is racialized as "halfbreed" by his new schoolmates, as well as the ways in which Shag's actions challenge and undermine the negative assumptions that circumscribe this racialized identity. I close read the final section of "The Shagganappi" wherein Hal, the schoolboy who both befriends Shag and whom Shag eventually saves from drowning, is revealed to be the child of an influential English government official and a "halfbreed" woman, Lady Constance Bennington. I argue that the revelation of Hal's secret points to the capacity of "The

Shagganappi” to be a positive tale about the productive future of racial intermixture in Canada. I conclude, though, that this significant revelation ultimately works to reaffirm the text’s overall and persistent concerns with everyday practices of biological racialization that delineate the capacities and expectations of certain racialized bodies. While Johnson’s political message certainly challenges dominant anti-miscegenation feelings of the period, scholars such as Janet Neigh and Margery Fee (2015), who read the text as a wholly optimistic rebuke of historical anti-miscegenation views inadvertently reaffirm the myth of a contemporary Canadian identity that is premised on métissage. Following Adam Gaudry and Darryl Leroux’s (2017) thinking about white settler revisionism, I consider how such readings contribute to the idea of contemporary Canada as a métissage nation and further reinscribe the history of colonialism in Canada as a series of Canadian-Indigenous interactions that “prefigure[ed], or even avoid[ed], an exploitative colonial relationship” (Gaudry “Métis-ization”⁶⁷).

I. Johnson’s Writing for *Boys’ World*

Johnson’s poetry and prose, along with her stage performances, have commanded much critical attention across time, partly in response to her singular position in Canadian social and literary history. The youngest child born to George Johnson, a hereditary Mohawk Wolf Clan Chief, and Emily Howells, an Englishwoman, Emily Pauline Johnson famously drew on her Iroquois heritage in her work. Over seventeen years, Johnson travelled across Western Canada, the northern United States, and England to perform “poetic and dramatic recitals” that focused on a range of topics, including Indigenous displacement, “The Cattle Thief” (1895); and canoeing, “The Portage” (1893) and “The Song My Paddle Sings” (1913) (Reid 5). Through her career, Johnson performed in costumes that illustrated her “competing identities”; while she

began her performances dressed as the “Indian princess” Tekahionwake, Johnson modelled the “exotic spectacle of the ‘vanishing race’” and finished her performances in a Victorian evening gown (Monture, “Beneath the British Flag”).⁸⁸ Julie Rak (2001) observes that these performances, which extended over the course of seventeen years, were “one of the best known and most complex sites of identity production at the time.” It is now commonplace in scholarship to note that Johnson is often understood through her racialized “double perspective”: her writing and performances have variously been understood as critiques of settler colonialism as well as “attempt[s] to embrace an enlarged view of the British Empire and the Canadian nation” (Monture, *We Share our Matters* 67; Gerson and Strong-Boag 179).⁸⁹ Beth Brant (1994), for instance, argues that Johnson is a “spiritual grandmother to ... women writers of First Nations” and finds that her work models how to record “stories of history, of revolution, of sorrow, of love” for other Indigenous women (7, 5). In his most recent appraisal of Johnson’s prose and poetry, Rick Monture (2014) acknowledges that Johnson has often been criticized for writing within a “colonialist framework that ignored the real social and political concerns” faced by the Iroquois (101). While Monture critiques Johnson’s limited representation of Haudenosaunee ceremonies and traditions, he does not read her work as a reflection of “hollow, ineffectual activism.” Rather, he reads both the limits and successes of Johnson’s “double perspective” and

⁸⁸ According to Jennifer I.M Reid, Tekahionwake, Johnson’s Mohawk name, can be translated as either “double wampum” or “double life” (9).

⁸⁹ For more biographic detail on Johnson see Betty Keller, *Pauline, a Biography of Pauline Johnson* (1981); Sheila M. F. Johnston, *Buckskin and Broadcloth: A Celebration of E. Pauline Johnson Takahionwake 1861-1913* (1997). See Carole Gerson’s “Rereading Pauline Johnson” (2012) for a discussion on contemporary reception of Johnson as a figure of resistance; Manina Jones and Neil Ferris (2017) on situating Johnson’s performance within the cultural and historical context of the Haudenosaunee and Mohawk community; Sabine Milz, “‘Publica(c)tion’: E. Pauline Johnson’s Publishing Venues and their Contemporary Significance” for more on the “practical-material necessities” of her writing life (2004 127); and Jennifer I.M Reid (2001) and Marilyn J. Rose (1997) on Johnson’s ‘competing racial identities.’

argues that readers must understand the Haudenosaunee traditions and philosophies that Johnson evokes in her prose, poetry, and performances.⁹⁰ For Monture, Johnson “constantly faced the arduous task of negotiating her hybrid identity within her Six Nations community, in the literary world, and on the international stage” (104). This, in turn, affected her capacity to consistently represent Haudenosaunee sovereignty. In their essay, “Flint, Feather, and Other Material Selves: Negotiating the Performance Poetics of E. Pauline Johnson” (2017), Manina Jones and Neal Ferris elaborate on Monture’s example of framing Johnson’s work within Haudenosaunee culture. Though they agree that Johnson’s work inconsistently addresses Haudenosaunee autonomy and nationhood, they argue that there is “merit in considering her work within long-lived Haudenosaunee traditions of bridging political and cultural boundaries in active enactments of identity, engagement, and affiliation with other Iroquoian-speaking, Indigenous, and colonial people” (126).

In 1906, Johnson began to contribute a number of juvenile stories to the American periodical magazine *Boys’ World*, a story-paper published out of Elgin, Illinois by the David C. Cook Publishing Company (see fig. 3). Johnson ultimately published 30 stories in *Boys’ World*, a number of which would be collected and published under the title *The Shagganappi* after her death in 1913.⁹¹ Gerson and Strong-Boag identify Johnson’s juvenile stories (as well as a number of domestic-centric stories that were published in another of David C. Cook’s story paper titles,

⁹⁰ In one particular example, Monture argues that one of Johnson’s best known poems, “The Song My Paddle Sings,” can be read as one of her most politically subversive poems if it is contextualized alongside the important symbolism and philosophy of the Two Row Wampum, a treaty agreement “that the Haudenosaunee made with the European nations in the seventeenth century, which established and affirmed a separate-but-equal status between them, meaning that these nations were not to interfere with each other’s affairs but to recognize the sovereignty of each” (102).

⁹¹ Six of Johnson’s boy’s stories were serialized in two or more installments for a total of 44 publications in *Boys’ World* (Gerson and Strong-Boag, *Paddling* 166). McMaster University Library holds correspondence to Johnson from Elizabeth Ansley, the associate editor of *Boys’ World* through this time, as well as a number of *Boys’ World* issues.

Mother's Magazine) as “the final phase of [Johnson's] writing life” and most scholars agree that Johnson probably wrote these stories for financial reasons at the end of her life (Gerson and Strong-Boag, *Paddling* 165; Monture 104). While Gerson and Strong-Boag note that details of “the book's selection process, publication, and profits remain sparse,” *The Shagganappi* was published just after the best-selling *Legends of Vancouver* (1911), and the collection and publication of the latter can tell us a bit about the publishing contexts of the former. *Legends of Vancouver* is a collection of Squamish legends that was compiled in book form and published privately by the Pauline Johnson Trust, a group that included Vancouver journalist Isabel MacLean and members of The Women's Press Club. The widespread success of this collection led to the publication of three other major monographs including *Flint and Feather* (1912), *The Moccasin Maker* (1913) and finally, *The Shagganappi* (1913). Through her research at the United Church Archives, Linda Quirk has found that the first edition of *The Shagganappi* was comprised of several thousand copies, which were to be “printed as needed” (204). The collection proved popular enough, however, as Ryerson Press issued new editions of *The Shagganappi* (as well as *The Moccasin Maker*) in 1927. Still, Johnson's writing for children remains a peripheral concern to contemporary scholars, though it does unarguably comprise a considerable amount of her late prose and an especially peculiar place in North America's early trans-national literary marketplace.

In her survey of children's literature in English Canada, Sheila Egoff claims “no development was shown in the boy's adventure story in nineteenth-century Canada” (8). She finds that boy's stories remained “wooden in characterization and predictable in plot” and further, were “flat and uninspired” (8). Typically, the boy's story was published and disseminated through popular mass-market forms such as the dime novel or the story paper. In

the United States, the story paper, according to Michael Denning, was typically an eight-page weekly, which cost up to six cents and contained anywhere from five to eight serialized stories, as well as correspondence with the paper's child readers, short articles on new technology and innovations, brief sermons, advertisements, humor, and advice (10). Often, the fictional content of the story paper cohered to "pre-established generic formulas." Western and outlaw tales, stories of frontier adventures, tales of urban life, as well as detective and school stories are all widely considered stock genres of the story paper. Richard Brodhead observes that the rote predictability of these narratives allowed "the proprietors of weekly story papers [to purchase] huge quantities of ... fiction from hundreds of writers whose names have been lost to memory" (82). That system of standardized mass production allowed little room for "individuated self-expression or artistic aspiration" such that the stories are generally marked by their formulaic coherence. Egoff laments the predictability of boy's stories in Canada through the turn of the century, though this view too easily re-inscribes the genre's most familiar conventions and assumptions, and fails to take into account the breadth of boy's stories that Johnson published in the 1900s.

Gerson and Strong-Boag identify evidence that Johnson acknowledged the pedagogical potential of the boy's story genre. In 1910, for example, she sought a publisher "for a book of short stories for boys" to "put into every school Library possible in Canada" (169). Johnson was ultimately not successful in this undertaking, but Strong-Boag and Gerson presume that Johnson acknowledged an audience of pre-adolescent boys "in need of literary entertainment that inculcates education about wholesome masculinity, Canada, and Indians" (167). Notably, Gerson and Strong-Boag find that Johnson creates a direct identification between her protagonists and her readers, "both of whom embody the possibility of a more tolerant and inclusive future."

Indeed, the boy's story turns on this valuable identification. Young, white readers might easily recognize themselves in the British protagonists who enter the Canadian Northwest in search of adventure, like in "A Night with North Eagle" or "The Scarlet Eye" (1913). Commonly, these young protagonists (and thereby Johnson's readers) come to trust and admire the Indigenous heroes who guide them through difficult, or even frightening, situations.

Gerson and Strong-Boag's appraisal of Johnson's boy's stories further reflects Elizabeth Ansley's request for stories with "patriotic themes." Ansley, the assistant editor of *Boys' World* first wrote to Johnson in the fall of 1905, and indicated that the editorial board of *Boys' World* would like to be "able to use one or two [of her] short stories ... weaving in some of the beautiful Indian legends, so interesting and inspiring to boy readers" (Letter, 15 Oct 1905). In another correspondence, Ansley further points to the transnational reach of *Boys' World* and specifically, to the popularity of the magazine in Canada. Ansley writes:

What we are in need of are good Canadian stories. We have experienced considerable difficulty procuring Canadian stories with the real patriotic ring—stories where loyalty does not seem forced. We have many Canadian subscribers, and we wish to give them our best, and what will appeal to the best in them, and the love of country is part of every boy whether of Canada or the United States.

(Letter, 8 Nov 1905, see fig. 2)

Ansley's correspondence with Johnson indicates the specific ideological parameters that characterized the kind of fiction that story papers like *Boys' World* published. While Ansley sought "unforced" patriotism, she was also interested in Johnson's "beautiful Indian legends" (Letter, 15 Oct 1905).⁹² While it may seem an incongruous pairing, Ansley's request is not

⁹² Ansley's appeal for Johnson's "beautiful Indian legends" further reflects the settler-impulse to "become Indian"—a process, Audra Simpson reminds us, "that mirrors claiming and owning of land" and that

totally at odds with popular assumptions that the story-paper formula is “intensely nationalistic and patriotic in character” (Denning 13). “The Lieutenant Governor’s Prize: A Story of Dominion Day” appeared on the first page of *Boys’ World* in 1908.⁹³ This tale reflects most clearly the “patriotic themes” that imbue a number of Johnson’s boy’s stories. In “The Lieutenant Governor’s Prize,” a young boy named Canada “Can” Jackson wants to win a special prize of ten dollars so that he can buy a “Peterboro canoe” (1). The prize money is to be awarded to the boy who designs “the best patriotic emblem to decorate the reception hall” of a new high school by Dominion Day, on the first of July. Can knows that most of the other boys will rely on familiar national emblems, including the maple leaf, a beaver, and the Union Jack, so he decides to build an emblem that represents Canadian sport. Can builds a small birch bark canoe, and fills it with purple Canada thistles, as well as “lacrosse, paddle, and hockey sticks.”⁹⁴ Can’s design does win the prize, but he is beset with guilt and grief over an incident that happened while he was building the canoe. The day before, as he was applying the birch bark to the frame, Can accidentally kills the small dog of a fellow classmate. When Can overhears that this classmate would be awarded second prize, he decides to remove his entry from the contest. “The Lieutenant Governor’s Prize” clearly models the themes of moralistic juvenile fiction, whose

enables young readers to imagine “incorporation of difference, and the disappearance *or maintenance* of difference through the legal and juridical frame” (“From White into Red” 253).

⁹³ “The Lieutenant Governor’s Prize” was not reprinted in *The Shagwanapi*.

⁹⁴ Johnson includes an explainer on lacrosse in the back pages *Boys’ World* (“Canada’s Lacrosse” 1908). In “Beneath the British Flag” Rick Monture explains that Johnson’s interest in lacrosse is part of her desire to integrate Indigenous and Canadian cultures. Lacrosse was an Iroquois invention (though Monture points out Johnson’s engages in “selective history” as the sport was likely created in “the pre-contact era in what is now the United States” (n.p.) Both Monture and Gerson and Strong-Boag (“Paddling” 195) quote the following from Johnson’s writing on the sport in “The Game of Lacrosse” (1892): “Canada has done wisely in appropriating this as her national sport. Her sons are hardy, muscular, active, three essentials in this wildest of all wild games, her climate favors it, her people are enthusiastic over it, it was born within her borders, and to-day boasts at least half a dozen teams that can defeat anything in the world that assays to meet them fair and square in the grand old game of lacrosse.”

basic plot line “shows a young male successfully overcoming challenges by drawing on his courage, intelligence, and integrity” (Gerson and Strong-Boag 167).

In other stories, Johnson represents young Indigenous protagonists participating in Indigenous traditions, such as in “We-hro’s Sacrifice,” which was initially published in *Boys’ World* in 1907 and then later reprinted in *The Shagganappi*.⁹⁵ “We-Hro’s Sacrifice” is a tale about a young Onondaga boy who is compelled to give up his cherished pet dog as a sacrifice in order to honour the visit of an Indian Agent and Anglican bishop during the mid-winter ceremonies that are held at Grand River. For Gerson and Strong-Boag the story is “an uncritical representation of the killing of a pet dog to satisfy a pagan ritual” (169). They find that Johnson presents “the white dog feast ... as not only normal within the social and religious practices of the Indian nations, but also meriting the respect of non-Native readers peering in from the outside.” Monture offers an expanded perspective; he finds that Johnson re-inscribes the stereotypical assumption that “Native society continues to be based upon a value system that emphasizes violence and warfare” (*We Share our Matters* 198). For Monture, “We-hro’s Sacrifice” engenders the idea that such a society must be brought “into line and controlled through the civilizing influence of government and religion.” Though Monture acknowledges that the story strives to highlight the benefits of religious tolerance and respect for others’ beliefs, he argues that the language that Johnson uses appears to favour the “social norms of dominant society” such that the representation of the Onondaga feast confirms the sacred Indigenous tradition as “unsettling and primitive” to dominant Euro-Canadian audiences (197).

“We-hro’s Sacrifice” and “The Lieutenant Governor’s Prize” bring into focus the “enigmatic” nature of Johnson’s writing, especially as it pertains to her writing for juvenile

⁹⁵ “We-hro’s Sacrifice” was first published in *Boys’ World* under the title “We-eho’s Sacrifice” (Gerson and Strong-Boag 228).

audiences; Gerson, Strong-Boag and Monture's observations hinge on the very thing that made Johnson such an intriguing (and enduring) figure at the turn of the century and into the present day—the perception of her “opposing” racial identities. For Elisabeth Ansley, the associate editor of *Boys' World*, Johnson's Iroquois identity makes her well suited to write the “authentic Indian tales” that might beguile and inspire the magazine's young audience. Jennifer Reid (2001) observes, however, that readings which re-position Johnson as “willfully developing” her “competing identities” risk re-inscribing a “Cartesian model of self-construction,” wherein an individual can choose to construct themselves in one way, or another (9, 10). This idea appeals to the existence of “uniformly stable cultural forms” through which Johnson could choose to define herself through her costuming, her performances, or her writing (8). For Reid, Johnson represents an ambiguous, “kaleidoscopic notion of identity” that is directly attributable to the social complexities of the early nineteenth century (12). While scholars have widely struggled to make sense of how Johnson's mixed-race identity influenced her work (and, in turn, how her work should be read in relation to her racial identity), her boy's stories are largely left unconsidered in this conversation because they most obviously reflect the didactic themes of patriotism that characterize the genre.

II. Johnson's “Double Perspective” and the Construction of “Half-Breed” Identity

In 1892, Johnson performed her poem “A Cry from an Indian Wife” (1885) at Toronto's Academy of Music (Gerson and Strong-Boag 149). This recitation is widely considered to mark the beginning of Johnson's popularity as a poet and as a performer in Canada. The poem encompasses the dramatic monologue of a Cree woman who conveys her thoughts on the Métis Resistances and was first published contemporaneously with the events of the Red River

Resistance in the popular periodical *The Week* in 1885.⁹⁶ The resistance was a response to settler-colonial incursions on the northern Plains of what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta. The Métis, along with First Nations allies, fought Canadian militia in order to preserve their right to their territory. The resistance ended on July 2nd, when Louis Riel surrendered himself to the Canadian government. Riel was tried on charges of high treason, found guilty, and executed (Monture 113-116).

Though “A Cry From an Indian Wife” evokes Indigenous land rights and the unjust treatment of Plains communities by the British Crown, the speaker does not explicitly recognize the role, or existence, of the Métis in the Red River Resistance. Indeed, for Gerson and Strong-Boag the “absence” of the Métis in the poem “can be seen as typical of Johnson’s general indifference to the French-speaking portion of Canada” (150). They argue that Métis are *implicitly* acknowledged when the audience reads the poem in its original context: the content of the poem, according to Gerson and Strong-Boag “states the fundamental issues that fueled [Métis] anger: ownership of their land and the integrity of their ‘nation.’” The speaker, for example, laments the loss of the “roaming bison” which widely affected the Métis economy through the corresponding loss of traditional hunting and subsistence practices (Johnson, “A Cry” 6).

Gerson and Strong-Boag read the Métis nation at the Red River as an “implicit” component of “A Cry from an Indian Wife.” In turn, they racialize Métis identity and conflate Métis personhood with the construction of a racially-mixed nation state; in doing so, they erase Métis claim to the very territory that was central to the circumstances of the Red River

⁹⁶ “A Cry from an Indian Wife” was revised after its first publication in *The Week* in 1885. The revised version was later published in *The White Wampum* in 1895. See Margery Fee (2015) for comments the poem’s revisions (135, 136).

Resistance. Gerson and Strong-Boag observe that hybrid identity is metonymically extended to the Canadian nation: Canada is “represented as a site of conflict between two founding peoples” (150). The speaker expresses her shifting positionality through a dramatic monologue—she sympathizes with the dispossessed Plains Indians, who, she proclaims, “by right, by birth ... own these lands” and encourages her husband to protect the land and the people against the British, telling him, “Go; rise and strike, no matter what cost” (Johnson, “A Cry” 58; 10). In what Margery Fee identifies as the poem’s “ricocheting twists of logic,” the speaker subsequently begs her husband to stay with her, urging him to “revolt not at the Union Jack” (Fee 134; Johnson, “A Cry” 11). The wife’s dual perspective encompasses what is widely read as Johnson’s even tone towards the British incursion on the Plains: the wife expresses to her husband that the “new rule and council [of the British] is well meant” (20). For Gerson and Strong-Boag, the poem reflects a rhetorical “tactic” that blends Métis concerns with “that of the Indians” and so has the effect of deepening “the poem’s dramatic conflict as it oscillates across an unresolvable either/or, White/Native dichotomy” (150). This “unresolvable” dichotomy of identity is a prominent feature of most scholarly readings of “A Cry from an Indian Wife,” and more widely, of Johnson’s professional career.

Such readings depend, however, on what Gaudry and Leroux call the “evocation of métissage” (116). Broadly, the evocation of métissage is a contemporary rhetorical tactic that draws on historical instances of racial mixing to prioritize mixed-race ancestry and consequently disregards the historical ethnogenesis of Métis peoplehood. In relation to “A Cry from an Indian Wife,” more specifically, the tacit evocation of métissage has the effect of flattening Métis identity within an all-encompassing “Plains Indian” identity. The dominant assumption is that it is not incumbent upon Johnson to explicitly mention the Métis, because the *concerns* of the

Métis people are represented through the tone and content of the poem. For Gaudry and Leroux, the danger of understanding post-contact Indigenous peoples, specifically the Métis Nation of the northern prairies, as a society that is unified through intermarriage, rather than as an Indigenous people who “emerged through self-conscious historical development *as people*,” is that such an assumption replaces forms of Indigeneity based on relational kinship practices with one developed through an “imagined past of racial mixedness leading to supposed societal unification” (116). This is significant to my reading of “The Shagganappi” because the few critical readings of the narrative focus on the productive outcomes of intermarriage and elide the difference between mixed-race and Métis identity, which is a central component of Shag’s identity. Fee, for example, finds that “The Shagganappi’s” representation of intermarriage reveals how Johnson was “quite able to see through the fiction that Indigenous peoples were innately inferior to whites and that ‘mixed-race’ people like herself were anomalous at best and at worst evidence of a failure of civilized control” (127). Janet Neigh agrees—she argues that the story ultimately “upholds the mixed-race subject as the ideal Canadian identity, challenging the prevailing anti-miscegenation views of the period” (53). While both of these readings elaborate Johnson’s progressive perspective on the issue, neither view accounts for Johnson’s specific representation of Métis personhood within the story.

In her extensive work on Indigenous identity and blood quantum politics, Bonita Lawrence traces the first legislative attempt by the Dominion to define “Indians” in juridical terms to the mid-nineteenth century. The Gradual Enfranchisement Act of 1869 created, for the first time, the concepts of “status” and “non-status Indian.” Lawrence explains that prior to this statute, Canada’s definition of who was recognized as “Indian” was, for the most part, “general and non-restrictive” (“Gender, Race, and Regulation” 7). The Gradual Enfranchisement Act first

delineated a provision through which to define (and racialize) “Indianness”: it read, any “Indian woman” who married “any other than an Indian” was no longer recognized as “an Indian” through the Act (*Gradual Enfranchisement* par.6).⁹⁷ The legislative and juridical restrictions to Aboriginal status were further entrenched when the Indian Act was created in 1876. The Indian Act contained a provision that excluded anybody who was not considered to be “pure” Indian from the racial category (and attendant “privileges”) of Indianness. The Indian Act thus elaborated the Gradual Enfranchisement Act’s effort to contain models of relatedness that were identified as alternative to colonizers’ norm, including the mixed-race marriages that gave purchase to a racialized understanding of Métis identity. Audra Simpson focuses more explicitly on the Indian Act’s preoccupation with mixed-race conjugality, arguing that certain legal stipulations within the act respond to threatening “fields of desire and sexual sociality” and address the ontological crisis that “would ensue had mixed marriages between Indians and whites remained unregulated” (“From White to Red” 254).⁹⁸ Simpson, here, references the legal condition that conferred Indian status onto white women who married Indigenous men or that revoked this status from Indigenous women who married white men. Moreover, the “Indian” status that was conferred by the Indian Act further excluded both the Métis and the Inuit. Thus, the Métis nation of the northern prairies (and its contemporary diaspora) were thus actively and repeatedly reproduced as mixed-descent people and further marginalized under these terms.

Indeed, the question that many contemporary scholars of Métis history and culture pursue is just who, exactly, is Métis? Métis scholars such as Lawrence and Brenda MacDougall (2014),

⁹⁷ Canada purchased Rupert’s Land from the Hudson’s Bay Company in 1869. In response, the Métis of the Red River organized a National Committee of Métis in order to ensure that their title and rights would be recognized. This action initiated the events of the Red River Resistance, and the establishment of a provisional government under the leadership of Louis Riel.

⁹⁸ Simpson finds that the “Indian Act represented the state’s efforts to flatten a competing system of [Indigenous] gendered subject formation and social organization” (“From White into Red” 254).

acknowledge that Métis identity is “far more than a matter of government classification” and recognize this historical community as a self-governing Indigenous nation (Lawrence, “Gender, Race, and Regulation” 10). In *“Métis”: Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous Peoplehood* (2014) Chris Andersen argues that the dominant construction of Métis identity is a wholly administrative category, wherein Métisness is understood to stand for “mixed, diluted missives of a deeper, and more legitimate indigeneity” (36). For Andersen, the idea that Métisness is invariably a reflection of racial hybridity is embedded in Canada’s colonial history and reflects the “relative inability of Canadian colonial administrators to think outside their own official binaries of ‘white’ and ‘Indian.’” Andersen challenges analyses that characterize Métis identity as inextricably linked to mixed-race genealogy, a position that he argues re-entrenches Indian Act politics and policies. Thus, Andersen foregrounds the importance of understanding the Métis in peoplehood terms: as a self-governing, sovereign Indigenous nation that predates the formation of the Canadian nation-state. Métis peoplehood encompasses the history, events, leaders, territories, language, and culture associated with the growth of the buffalo hunting and trading Métis of the northern Plains, in particular, during the period “between the beginning of the Métis buffalo brigades in the early nineteenth century and the 1885 North West Uprising” (24).⁹⁹

⁹⁹ In his conclusion, Andersen quotes at length the logic of “peoplehood-based analytics” and elaborates on his initial claim of what categories of analyses signal Métisness: he writes, “The Métis people of the northern Plains are the only Métis people because they were “[the] only group that was able to organize a civil government, to defend itself against Canadian intrusion, to make its place in the economic niches of the West along with Indian nations, and to insist that Canada not annex the West without dealing with it. The Métis nation has symbols associated with this history, including ... [the national anthem] proclaiming military victory against the settlers in 1816, a distinctive flag, unique languages, music, and art, and the well-known symbol of its economic independence, the Red River Cart. It is the Métis nation which is mentioned in the Constitution, in the terms of the *Manitoba Act, 1870*, and whose rights were recognized in statutes and orders-in-council from the early 1870s until well into the twentieth century” (Chartrand and Giokas (2002) qtd. in Andersen 201).

Andersen's study of the ethnogenesis of Métis identity is a significant example of scholarship in the field as he draws attention not only to the historical processes that have fixed race-based understandings of Métis identity, but also to the ways in which "academics and even Indigenous peoples" reproduce Métis-as-racially-hybrid "classifications, understandings, and perspectives" (36).¹⁰⁰ Andersen reminds us that it is essential to delineate between racial mixedness and the ethnogenesis that marks the distinct people of the Métis nation. Otherwise, the historical discourses that conflate Métis identity with racial mixedness enables contemporary mixed-race communities in Canada to evoke Métis identities in order to claim Indigenous self-determination. This action, scholars claim, diminishes the personhood claims of the Métis people based in the historical Red River community (Gaudry and Leroux 117).¹⁰¹ In their essay, "White Settler Revisionism, Making Métis Everywhere" (2017) Adam Gaudry and Darryl Leroux, demonstrate how contemporary claims to "new Métis identities" ultimately capitalize on "settler

¹⁰⁰ Andersen importantly elaborates on Lawrence's own scholarship—he finds that through her work, Lawrence "ultimately reduces being Métis to being mixed-race and the social consequences of being intergenerationally recognized as such" (56). He points to a passage in *"Real" Indians* where she writes, "[the] use of the [term Métis] to denote a common cultural heritage to [Red River] to some extent masks the tremendous diversity of experiences subsumed under the label Métis in western Canada. Like the category "Indian," which homogenizes the identities of dozens of distinct Indigenous nations in Canada, the category of "Métis" currently encapsulates not only different historical experiences of being mixed-blood that existed under the fur trade but also the tremendous experiences that exist among *contemporary* Métis" (Lawrence, 2004 84). Here, Lawrence articulates a view that equates mixed-blood genealogy with Métis identity.

¹⁰¹ I elaborate on this point a little later in the chapter, but it stands to mention here that Gaudry and Leroux are reacting to an increasing number of communities across Canada which are claiming Métis ancestry in order to claim Indigenous territorial rights. In an article for *Maisonnette* Magazine, Leroux traces a growing urge to "self-indigenize" to a significant decision by the Supreme Court of Canada (*R. v. Powley*). This decision introduced a ten-part test called the Powley test to define Métis rights and identify Métis rights holders ("Self-Made" n.p.) The Powley decision clarified section 35 of the Constitution Act (1982), which held that to be recognized as Métis, an individual must self-identify as a member of the Métis community. Métis scholars point out that this has developed the "commonplace misunderstanding ... that the term Métis describes anyone with any Indigenous ancestry." As Brenda MacDougall explains, "Métis society did not ... emerge just nine months after the arrival of the first trader." Rather, the origin of the Métis people "is a process, not an event" (60).

puzzlement over forms of Indigeneity based on kinship and belonging and replace these forms with an imagined past of racial mixedness” (116).

Johnson’s legacy is implicated in this discursive history that misrecognizes the Métis nation as mixed-race as scholars repeatedly reproduce readings of Johnson’s poetry, prose, and performance that identify productive themes of racial hybridity. In regards to “A Cry From an Indian Wife,” for instance, the impulse to contextualize the poem through the events of the Red River Resistance serves to reinscribe the act of racialization that Andersen warns against. With this in mind, it is incumbent on contemporary readers of “The Shagganappi” to recognize how the evocation of Métis identity as mixed-race relies on, and reproduces, historical discourses of bio-racism.

III. Shag: a “Thing Apart”

“The Shagganappi” begins as Lord Mortimer, the Governor General of Canada, pays a visit to an “Indian school” in the Red River, where Shag is introduced by the school’s principal as the “head pupil, [and] the most diligent boy in the school” (12).¹⁰² When the Governor General asks what tribe Shag belongs to, the principal replies on the boy’s behalf, and introduces Shag as a “thing apart.” He tells the Governor, “Oh, Fire-Flint belongs to no tribe; he is a half-breed.” The term “half-breed” deeply affects the Governor, who exclaims, “what an odd term!” He turns to Shag to ask, “Who are your parents?” to which Shag replies not with the given names of his parents, but by itemizing their racial genealogy. His father, he reports, is half French and

¹⁰² For more on the social history of education in the Red River, see Jonathan Anuik “Forming Civilization at the Red River: 19th Century Missionary Education of Métis and First Nations Children” (2006), and Larry N. Chartrand, Tricia E. Logan and Judy D. Daniels in *Métis History and Experience and Residential Schools in Canada* (2006).

half Cree; his mother, “about three-quarters Cree; her grandfather, French.” Shag, in this instance, naturally recognizes that the information that the Governor General pursues is not strictly about identifying the surnames of his parents, but is about identifying and categorizing their racial genealogies. In turn, Shag’s own identity is consumed by a racialized history that is deeply imbricated in Canada’s settler-colonial roots.

The racialized category of “half-breed” completely pervades official discourse in Canadian Indian Affairs documents through the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. As Indian Department officials negotiated treaties with Indigenous nations in Northwestern regions, they began to exert “much more stringent controls over who would be accepted as Indian” (Lawrence, *“Real” Indians* 88). In her thorough work on the juridical powers over the construction of race in British Columbia, Renisa Mawani allows that the law was a significant tool “in the constitution of racial truths and categories” throughout colonial Canada (168). Mawani finds, however, that while colonial agents were invested in codifying “a politics of blood” into laws and policies, the racial “truths” that comprised these racial hierarchies were actually “encountered and assessed in the quotidian practices of everyday situations” (165). For Mawani, the kinds of distinctions that colonial agents drew in order to differentiate between the lawful racial categories of “Indian” and “half-breed” were arbitrary and largely circumstantial. Lawrence further details how flexible these racial categories were: “[i]n some cases,” she writes, “different members of the same family chose different categories” (88). Public debates through the nineteenth century indicate that the prevailing focus of racial differentiation was not strictly about blood, but about the “conduct, character and habits” of mixed-race individuals and communities. “Half-breed,” according to Jacqueline Peterson, can be located within this colonialist vocabulary that reads “social and moral characteristics into blood mixture” (21).

Individuals who were perceived to “[live] like Indians” were allowed to enter into treaty, while those who knew some English or who worked for the Hudson’s Bay Company were registered as “half-breed,” and were not allowed to enter into treaty agreements regardless of their ancestry (89). Andersen similarly explains that these decisions were “based on complex and flexible algorithms of biology, culture, lifestyle, moral comportment, and the ability to support oneself” (42). The specific terminology “half-breed” was entrenched into Canadian law both as a legal category *and* as a racial identity. Historically, the term ultimately works to simultaneously racialize and de-authenticate Indigenous identities—an effect made obvious as the schoolmaster reminds Shag that he belongs “to no tribe” (12).

Shag understands that if he could have called himself “Indian” or “White” he would know “where he stood in the great world of Eastern advancement” (11). Shag, though, recognizes himself as “neither one nor the other ... he was born a thing apart, with no nationality in all the world to claim as a blood heritage.” The manner in which Shag easily recognizes himself as raceless (and thus nationless) speaks to how processes of racialization functions, as Mark Rifkin suggests, as a “vehicle of interpellation” (48). In this case, “half-breed” renders a multitude of racial and national subjectivities and communities inaccessible to Shag—he is neither Canadian nor Cree, Indian nor White, French nor English.

Though Shag is widely pathologized as “a thing apart,” the Governor General provides an alternative narrative to the young boy. The Governor corrects the principal, “I imagine you mean a half-blood, not breed. ... I do not like the word “breed” applied to human beings. It is a term for cattle and not men” (11). Here, the Governor validates Shag’s Cree heritage, though this recognition simultaneously foregrounds the contradictory and convoluted nature of the state’s attempt to translate Indigenous and mixed-race identity into Canadian identity. “Blood” allows

the Governor to reframe Shag's racial difference in a manner that is not pessimistic or derogatory, but that still defines Shag in terms of his biological lineage. The Governor's insistence on using "blood" indicates just how precise, though mutable, the language that racialized Métis identity at the turn of the century. He further tells Shag:

You have blood in your veins that the whole world might envy ... the blood of old France and the blood of a great Aboriginal race that is the offshoot of no other race in the world. The Indian blood is a thing of itself, unmixed for thousands of years, a blood that is distinct and exclusive. Few white people can claim such lineage. Boy, try and remember that of the first great soldiers, settlers, and pioneers in this vast Dominion, that you have one of the proudest places and heritages in the world; you are a Canadian in the greatest sense of the great word.

When you go out in the world, will you remember that, Fire-Flint? (12)

The Governor General's comments to Shag stand in contrast with the historical record. Mawani argues that the colonial regime's preoccupation with mixed-race bodies was due to the fractured and competing understandings of racial purity that were generated by "conditions of interraciality and the contradictory regulatory responses these anxieties inspired" (167). The Governor General's attempt to discursively differentiate "blood" and "breed" is a result of "discourses of genealogical inheritance" that are thrown into disarray when the dynamics of this family are "compromised" through miscegenation (Rifkin 11). For Mawani, this means that if the family was constituted and reproduced through racial intermixture—a white man, an Indigenous woman, and mixed-race children—then settler colonialism was already "imperiled through the mark of racial contamination and impurity" (169).

Through this speech, the Governor General rests his “thin, aristocratic fingers” on top of Shag’s shoulders, and his eyes shine with a “peculiar brotherly light” (12). Shag replies to the familial cast of the Governor’s touch in the affirmative—his “homeless” young heart was “fast creating for itself a foothold amongst the great nations of the earth.” As the Governor General proclaims Shag to be Canadian “in the greatest sense of the word,” Lord Mortimer imbues the boy with a newfound confidence: “[n]o more did the little half-blood despise his own unusually tinted skin, no more did he hate that dash of gray in his brown eyes that bespoke the “white blood,” no more did he deplore the lack of proper coloring that would have meant the heritage of pure Indian blood” (14). This important exchange between Shag and the Governor General emphasizes the institutional connection between the ideological cohesion of race and the significance of imperial, or otherwise governmental, interventions in processes of individual subjectivity and family formation. Mortimer’s words express a colonial project that seeks to insert Indigenous peoples into Euro-Canadian “conceptions of family, home, desire, and personal identity” (Rifkin 9).

Gerson and Strong-Boag note that, through her career, Johnson occasionally “voiced hope for the thousands like her in North America,” and conclude that this particular exchange between the Governor General and Shag “lies at the heart of Pauline Johnson’s ultimate aspirations for Canada” (199). Indeed, the Governor General explains to Shag that he is “Canadian in the greatest sense of the word” precisely because of his Cree genealogy. Gerson and Strong-Boag argue, however, that “The Shagganappi” makes the case for “those whom Louis Riel, the most famous mixed-race Canadian of the nineteenth century, called ‘the new nation.’” The Governor General’s words, however, do not forecast a new nation in Riel’s terms. He does not recognize the specificities of the Métis nation that Shag’s particular racial history

delineates—rather, he praises Shag’s racial hybridity as a great “Canadian” identity. Gerson and Strong-Boag’s reading, here, reinscribes the assumption that mixed-race subjects constitute what Rifkin calls “the modern grammar of the nation” (47).

The complexity and unevenness of classifying mixed-race bodies at the turn of the nineteenth century had implications for children like Shag who were compelled to attend (or who were otherwise barred from) local day schools as well as federally-funded residential schools. Shag first meets the Governor General at the “Indian school” that he attends near the Red River (11). It is unclear if Shag’s “Indian School” is a federally funded residential school or mission-funded boarding school. Residential schools were most often partnerships between the government and the church, and both had different agendas regarding the education of Métis children (*Truth and Reconciliation Commission, The Métis Experience* 3). The church wished to convert as many Indigenous children as possible, and had no objection admitting Métis or mixed-race children. The federal government, however, adopted a more conflicted policy on admitting Métis and mixed-race children to federally funded boarding schools. While the federal government viewed the Métis as members of the “‘dangerous classes’ whom the residential schools were intended to civilize and assimilate,” they believed responsibility for educating Métis people lay with the provinces and territories (4). The authors of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, however, find that despite their perceived responsibility, the provinces and territories “did not ensure that there were schools in Métis communities, or work to see that Métis children were admitted and welcomed into the public-school system.” Rather, there remained widespread opposition to extending residential schooling “beyond treaty ‘Indians’ who were clearly defined as federal responsibility” (13).

In his *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* (1879), Nicholas Flood Davin urged the federal government to take responsibility for the education of “mixed-blood” children:

the mixed-blood has already in high development many of those virtues which would make him a useful official, where activity, intelligence, horsemanship and fidelity were required. But if the mixed-blood is to hold his own in the race for existence, which will soon be exigent, in lands where, even yet, for the greater part of the year, primeval silence reigns, it is not enough that he should know all the arts of the voyageur and trader; not enough even that he should be able to do a little farming; he must be educated, and become susceptible to the bracing influences of complex and varied ambitions. (12)

Davin’s report situates the mixed-race child within two competing timeframes: the vanishing present and the inevitable social and economic advancement of the future nation. The pressing challenges of the developing nation will presumably necessitate new skills, beyond those that characterize the trading, trapping, hunting, and agricultural economy of the Métis, particularly. The expected fruit of Shag’s own Eastern education is first juxtaposed against a memory that he holds of his own father, who works as a guide and a trapper. When Shag arrives at the school, he thinks of this father, whose work trapping “precious fur-bearing animal[s]” ... would go toward keeping [Shag] at this Eastern college for many terms” (18). Shag’s reflection on the economic importance of his father’s work underscores how his own education will affect the “primeval silence” of the Plains; cast into the future, Shag’s training as a land surveyor will ostensibly help develop Canada’s great railroad, a project that will inevitably affect the capacity of the Plains Métis to feed, cloth, and educate themselves.

While Shag is acutely aware of his place as a “thing apart,” the students that he meets when he arrives at his new school do not care for the nuances that comprise his racial identity. Shag’s first appearance at his new school is reported by “Cop Billings,” who returns from a morning run and exclaims to the other students in the dormitory that “there is an Indian blown in from the North-West” (14). Cop explains to the others that he met the new boy on his way to the baths, where he was introduced to the “tall, lithe westerner ... [with] skin like a tanned leather glove” (15). Cop declares Shag’s racial ontology through the recognition of phenotypical markers. For the young schoolboys, these physical markers forecast common sense racial truths that inform the schoolboys’ understanding of familiar and tangible expressions of racial identity. At morning prayers, the school boys watch Shag’s entrance attentively—he enters the hall with a peculiarly silent dignity “and half-indifference,” prompting the boys to wonder how “this Indian [could] come among them as if he had been born and bred in their midst?” (17).

After morning prayers, Shag meets a boy who is “straight, well built, with fine, strong, thin hands, and a face with contradictory eyes, for they twinkled and danced as if nothing so serious as thoughtfulness every disturbed them” (18, 19). Shag welcomes this boy’s handshake and remarks, “the way you boys are treating me makes me feel less strange” (19). This boy is envied by the other children who identify him as Hal Bennington, “the most popular boy in college,” and the “bulliest old pal” (19). In *White Civility*, Daniel Coleman delineates the central importance of the figure of the muscular Christian through nineteenth-century literature. Such figures represented “the civil ideals and practical social improvement that Canadian culture derived from practical education, independent initiative, and self-discipline” (130). The central representation of Hal as a typical muscular Christian figure only serves to alienate Shag further

from the “racial, religious, ethnic, and sexual characteristics” that exclude him from the coherent ideal.

Cop first explains Hal’s familial history to Shag, lionizing Hal’s father, George Bennington. He tells Shag, “you must have heard of Sir George Bennington, a big railroad man. Queen Victoria knighted him for some big scoop he made for Canada or the Colonies or something” (20). Indeed, Shag is familiar with not only the name, but the man himself. Shag recognizes

the name of the wealthy man whom Queen Victoria had honored, knew it well. His father, Trapper Larocque, had met Sir George in the old pioneer days of the railroad in the North-West. There was a little story about Sir George, well known in the Red River Valley; Trapper Larocque knew it, the Hudson’s Bay Company knew it, Shag knew it, and was asking himself if Hal knew it. Then the boy from Manitoba took the story and locked it within his heart, sealed his lips above it, and said to his soul, “Hal Bennington won’t know it from me, nor will anyone else. He’s made my first day at this school an easy day; the fight won’t be half what I thought it would. I owe much to him, and above all I owe him my silence. (20)

Shag’s recognition of Bennington’s name, by way of a “little story” foreshadows a parallel development that takes place later in the narrative, wherein Shag saves Hal, an action that leads to Hal revealing his own Métis lineage. Shag wonders if Hal “knows” about the secret that can compromise his standing within the school’s hierarchy.

Later, Hal invites Shag to his room, where he “show[s] Shag his treasures, his collection of curiosities, his two lynx-skin rugs—animals shot by his father years before—his books, and finally [he comes to] his photographs” where he proudly shows Shag a “splendid” photo of his

father (21). Bennington explains that the photograph “was taken when [his father] was a young man surveying out west before they put the railroad through.” Standing in the photograph with Bennington’s father is a group of axe-men, and Hal points out a single individual to Shag: “that splendid-looking chap on father’s right was his guide and personal cook—the one in the blanket coat and sash. He was part French but mostly Indian, I fancy.” Bennington identifies the “blanket-coat,” a versatile garment worn by the Métis. This kind of coat was commonly known as a “capote coat” or “capot-crait-rien” (Barkwell). The winter jacket was typically made of wool Hudson’s Bay Company blankets, was thigh length and had a full hood. It was held closed with buttons or a sash. Historian Lawrence Barkwell explains that the colour and style of the capote and the sash “were indications of the cultural origin of the wearer.”¹⁰³ Hal marks the prominence of the familiar blanket coat and sash of the Métis people, but also delineates how the coat reflects the guide’s mixed race as part French, but “mostly Indian” (21). Shag quietly recognizes and identifies his own father as the “splendid” man in the photograph and acknowledges the significance of claiming his paternity among his schoolmates:

He knew enough of the civilization of the white people to understand that when two boys attend the same school, one with a titled father and the other with a father who had cooked for the titled one, that things are apt to become strained.

(21)

Shag anticipates the negative reaction that he receives from the boys, but does not “hesitate about claiming the Red River trapper as his sire.” The moment that Shag openly acknowledges his father inculcates a central shift in how the boys racialize their new schoolmate, and importantly initiates a process of identifying “what counts as hybrid” as one of the boys claims with an “ugly

¹⁰³ For more on the capote coat, see Lawrence Barkwell’s article, “Capote” for the Louis Riel Institute.

sneer” to “hate a mongrel ... neither Indian nor white” (23). This moment of racialization is important because it is demonstrative of inconsistent and uneven racial truths. Hal replies sharply to Shorty’s disgust, exclaiming “[Shag]’s more Indian than white, and better for it, too.” Hal quizzes Shorty, “I say, Shorty—what nationality was your father?” Shorty tells Hal that his father is Irish, but caveats the desultory effects of the Irish on whiteness as he quickly tells Hal,

Now you see here ... I know what you are thinking, but I’m British right through and my skin’s *white* no matter how you take it ... I’m white on both sides of the family; I’m not splashed with tinted blood like this fellow from the North-West that’s strayed in here; his skin’s almost yellow. (23)

Here, Shorty articulates the constitutive nature of race, wherein Britishness is rendered a dominant social trait—unlike Shag he is “British right through.” The boys deliberate whiteness as a point of inquiry that helps them negotiate, map, and affirm “other” racial subjectivities. Hal explains to Shorty and the other boys that Shag’s skin is “tinted ... not tainted. There’s a big difference. Do you know, I’d give the world if I had as much of a copper colored tint to my skin as Shag has.” The school boys respond with “ugly sneer[s]” at the news that Shag’s father served as a cook for Bennington, but Hal is so delighted at this new revelation that he narrates two occasions where Shag’s father saved the life of his own, once from “drowning in the Assiniboine and once from freezing to death on the plains” (22). This scene further highlights moments of social power. Shag reflects on Hal’s generosity and how his acceptance has contributed greatly to his ability to remain at the school: “had it not been for Sir George’s son what would his life at college have been? He knew Locke never liked him, he knew that Shorty positively disliked him, he knew there was a strong element of prejudice in the school against him, and he knew

positively that, were it not for Lord Mortimer's influence and recommendation, he would never have been accepted in this exclusive college as a student" (27).

This scene in Hal's room further foregrounds the economic and political realities that affected Métis sovereignty in Canada. There is some significance that Bennington's father was an employee of the Dominion Land Survey. Michael Hogue renders a thorough history of the survey and construction of the forty-ninth parallel in *Métis and the Medicine Line: Creating a Border and Dividing a People* (2015). His review of the project of demarcating this international boundary between Canada and the United States points to the ways in which Métis expertise and labor provided critical material support for the survey. Canadian and British officials often turned to Métis "intermediaries" to help them "navigate the intricacies of the Plains" (92). The surveying work that Hal's father undertakes with the guidance of Shag's father is a focal point of contest over the nation's physical space. The Dominion Land Survey is relevant because of its important contribution to the reconstruction of the social and economic realities of the North America's Northwestern territory then *and* now. Hogue argues that the land survey had "important repercussions on [the Plains' communities] and shaped how others viewed the question of who belonged where. Whether one could hunt, trade, or subsist on lands, live on a reservation, secure a homestead, join a treaty, vote in elections ... depended on one's perceived national attachments and racial characteristics" (8).

Hal decides to bring Shag home for Easter vacation, where Hal's father promises to "welcome the son of my old friend and guide with the greatest delight" (24). Hal's mother, Lady Bennington, "famous as one of the few women who always say and do the right thing at the right moment," extends a personal note of invitation to Shag and signs, "your friend, Hal's mother." Upon his arrival at Hal's home in Montreal, Shag quickly becomes acquainted on a "familial

footing,” but still is confronted by the “threatened difficulty” of “new dishes or unaccustomed food” (25). Lady Bennington becomes especially attached to the boy from the west, and asks to be photographed with Shag. In a movement that mirrors the “familial touch” of the Governor General, Lady Bennington “place[s] one hand on his shoulder,” a feeling to which Shag responds with “trembles [of] pleasure.” When the boy receives a small, framed copy of the photograph, inscribed “To Shagganappi Larocque, with love from Hal’s mother,” he wonders out loud to Hal, “why you and your people are so good to me.” Shag, recognizing himself as “a thing apart,” also recognizes that the “love” which Lady Bennington offers him compromises entrenched racial hierarchies. Both Hal’s reply to this question, though, as well as Lady Bennington’s own familial touch, foreshadow the final revelation that he is more like Shag than any other boy at their school: Hal “[stared at Shag] rather oddly, but did not reply, and it was many months before Shag understood what that look meant” (25). Hal’s stare foregrounds the revelation of his own secret, that his mother’s familial touch extends past a sympathetic feeling she might share with one of her son’s schoolmates—instead, Lady Bennington’s “familial” touch and Hal’s odd stare reflect a shared genealogy that binds Shag *and* Hal to the Métis nation at the Red River.

Partly owing to the familial feeling that the boys develop for one another over Easter vacation, Hal invites Shag to his cottage over the summer holidays, along with a number of other boys and the school’s headmaster, Professor Warwick. Shag feels exceptionally proud to have been extended an invitation by Hal, and he recognizes that it is singularly Hal who makes his life “in the East bearable.” At the cottage, an incident takes place that befits the expectations of a typical boy’s story, wherein the First Nations figure heroically saves the white protagonist and thus proves himself to be equal to the protagonist’s civility.

Shag saves Hal (as well as a younger student) from drowning after they capsize their canoe. While Hal manages to position the younger boy to safety on top of the overturned canoe, he is affected by cramps and begins to drown (30). While the rest of the boys watching from shore are either unable or too scared to help, Shag tries to reach the capsized boat and the drowning boy. From the silence and dark, Hal is brought to shore by a “strong tan-colored arm wound around him like a lifebelt.” Shag, with “almost superhuman strength, fl[i]ng[s] him, limp and nearly lifeless, across the canoe” and returns with both Hal and young Freddie to shore. In this instance, Shag demonstrates more typical traits of whiteness than the rest of the school boys do. While Shorty refuses to swim, Shag’s “lithe, tan-colored body ... struck out towards the unfortunates” (31). The visibility of Shag’s race is underscored through this scene—his “clean, dark face” rises and falls from the surface of the water, while “his strong tan-colored arms” finally bring the canoe and the capsized boys to safety.

Back at the college for the fall semester, the boys eagerly anticipate a visit from His Excellency, Lord Mortimer. It is concluded that Hal Bennington will address the Governor General on behalf of the school, as he is the “head boy ... the most popular, the best beloved” (36). Unfortunately, Hal falls ill with a fever. Professor Warwick entreats Hal to choose a deputy to give the speech in his absence, noting that the boys should be satisfied with Hal’s choice. Hal responds, “then let Shag Larocque take my place.” Although Warwick assents to Hal’s wishes and the boy goes to bed “contentedly,” neither anticipates the “storm that would burst on the morrow” (35). The “tempest” begins when Hal’s sickness is thought to be of the mind, as he is considered to be “clean batty” to allow Shag to read the address to the important visitor. One boy exclaims, “we won’t have that Indian heading the whole school!” (35). Hal asks exactly “who won’t” allow Shag to read the address, a question to which Locke replies “We! We! We! – do

you hear it? Wel!” Locke’s “we” encompasses the school’s implicitly white community, and coheres the idea “that [an] Indian isn’t a fit representative of [their] college.” Hal is accused of disgracing the college, an institution that is “certainly ... no Northwest Indian school” (36). The argument becomes louder and more expressive as “dozens” of boys ask of their peers, “who will join the anti-Indians? Who will vote for a white man to represent white men? This ain’t an Indian school—get out with the Indians!”

The angry reaction of Hal’s schoolmates demonstrates the racial entitlement they are afforded. Shag’s mixed-blood challenges the category of whiteness and the civility that whiteness presumes, thus threatening this privilege in significant ways. Hal leaves his sick room in a fury, and is met by “perfect bedlam.” At this, Hal reveals to the boys: “my mother is a North-West halfbreed, and she’s the loveliest, the grandest woman in all Canada!” (37) Hal’s exclamation here is significant because it announces not only his mixed-race identity, but it demonstrates that he identifies himself as a “North-West halfbreed.” Hal and his mother are not racially “mixed” in the way that Shorty is—they are specifically descendants of the Red River Métis. To the “dead silence” that follows, Hal exclaims, “do you hear me, you fellows? ... you who have of your own free will placed me, a quarter-blood, as the leading boy in this school, my mother is a halfbreed, if you wish to use that refined term, and my mother is proud of it.” Hal goes on:

Her mother, my grandmother, wore a blanket and leggings and smoked a red stone pipe upon the Red River years ago, and I tell you my mother is proud of it, and so am I. I have never told you fellows this before—what was the use? I felt you would never understand but you hear me now! Do you quite grasp what I am telling you—*that my mother is a halfbreed?* (37)

Up until this moment, Shag protects Hal from the pain of racialization; while he recognized the implications of Hal's familial history when he first began at the school, he protects the truth of Hal Bennington's genealogy because of the social risk that it poses to the boy. Hal's status as a "white" student, however, defrauds the privileges of whiteness. This revelation of his "breeding" is revealed to be disruptive. In response to Hal's exclamation, Shorty is dazed and breathless; his only response is to repeat Hal's speech: "Lady Bennington, a halfbreed!" Hal repeatedly asks if the boys can "hear" him, effectively shifting the means of racialization from the eye to the ear. Though Shag's biological lineage keeps him inextricably "Indian" in the eyes of his schoolmate, Hal Bennington is able to successfully effect whiteness only because his own mother's status as a "half-breed" is unknown to his peers up until this moment.

In the style of the boy's story, however, the drama is quickly resolved—Shorty, after coming to the understanding that Hal is also of mixed-race descent, capitulates and seeks his forgiveness; he tells Shag, "I've been too much of a cad ... You must despise me too much to forgive me, despise me for my cowardice in not going with you to help Hal when he was drowning, despise me for my mean prejudices, despise me for—oh, pshaw! I ain't fit to even ask you to forgive me" (38). Shag links arms with his recent enemy, and he and Shorty go forth so that the "feud was ended forever." Johnson ends her narrative with a straightforward moral point that befits the expectations of the boy's story genre: Shorty and the rest of the schoolboys are wrong to be prejudiced against Shag. Moreover, they are wrong to participate in ascribing racial assumptions *onto* Shag, though they only learn this lesson when Hal, a boy they hold as a model of white civility, reveals himself to be mixed-race. This final scene encompasses the utopian view of Canada's mixed-race future that Gerson and Strong-Boag identify, where the effects of mixed-race unions do not automatically signify a degenerate childhood and thus a degenerate

national stock, but signal the capacity for mixed-race subjects to successfully assimilate into the body politic. In the end it is revealed that Shag only *looks* different. His heroic actions at Hal's cottage prove his ability to approximate characteristics of whiteness more than the boys who loudly claim at the beginning of the narrative to be British "through and through" (23).

For Gerson and Strong-Boag the fortuitous result of the publication of "The Shagganappi" is that contemporary readers have access to Johnson's "political views." As a settler scholar, however, a central way to read this story is to better acknowledge the practices of everyday racialization that Johnson represents, and the attendant assumptions about raced bodies—specifically Métis bodies—that follow. Johnson's representation of the Métis people as "half-breed" only serves to reinscribe the assumption that Métis identity encompasses all mixed-race identities. Today, thanks to increased recognition of the Métis Nation as an organized society with a common culture and long history of self-assertion, it is important to mark the Indigenous identity of the Métis people, as well as acknowledge their particular historical relationship with Canada.

Conclusion

Prioritizing Representations of Indigenous Childhood in Literary Analysis

Throughout this thesis I have identified how settler-colonial communities have worked to expand dominant genealogical assumptions about kinship through institutional archives and a range of texts that were produced for, about (and by) children in early Canada. I began the introduction to this project by centering the lives of real Indigenous children in my discussion of settler-colonial childhood, and I would like to extend this discussion to consider the current state of Indigenous child welfare in Canada. More than ever, the welfare of Indigenous children is at the fore of national conversations about reconciliation and decolonization. Through this conclusion, I touch on some of the most recent turns in this national conversation and consider how Indigenous scholars such as Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel (2005) call into question models of reconciliation that remain constrained through Eurocolonial epistemologies. I conclude by thinking through how these public discussions relate to the ways in which dominant kinship discourses are being recast by contemporary Indigenous authors in order to imagine new Indigenous kinship stories. In particular, I consider how Cherie Dimaline's *The Marrow Thieves* (2017) uses the genre of speculative fiction writing to represent the *doing* of kinship in a not-so-distant future that has been decimated by the collapse of the global economy and global warming. My final reading of *The Marrow Thieves* brings together the focus of this thesis—competing discourses of kinship and the place of adolescents and children in the doing of kinship. While the social realities of kinship practices are still being remade across political institutions in Canada—within First Nations, provincial legislatures, and on Parliament Hill—Indigenous authors such as Dimaline draw on past and present kinship practices to imagine what kinship might look like in the future.

Over four days in October 2018, the University of Calgary hosted a cross-disciplinary conference called “The Future of Child Welfare in Canada.” The national conference was the first of its kind, and focused the expertise of Indigenous leaders and scholars, policy makers, academics, bureaucrats, and practitioners to guide the discussion. The conference organizers, from the university’s faculty of Social Work, recognized a “huge wave of energy growing around the need for new strategies and dramatically different approaches to child welfare” and participants were invited to discuss new, preventative-focused strategies that utilize culturally sensitive traditions, values, and protocols in order to support Indigenous children within their communities rather than streaming them into provincial social welfare systems (“The Future of Child Welfare”). For a conference that was ostensibly about the “future” of child welfare in Canada, the program trained its focus on the history of child welfare in Canada. Keynotes, panels, and papers alike contextualized contemporary child welfare issues within the nation’s history of colonialism. Métis scholar, Dr. Jeannine Carrière, for instance, spoke about how the child welfare system re-marginalizes Métis children who are often misidentified as simply “Aboriginal” or “white” (“Bringing the ‘invisible’ children into focus”).¹⁰⁴ Carrière’s work demonstrates how Métis children have historically been marginalized by provincial child welfare services in a manner that reproduces colonial-rooted racialization of Métis identity.

Senator Murray Sinclair, Manitoba’s first Indigenous judge and the chairman of the Truth and Reconciliation committee, gave a keynote address at the conference. His speech recognized the ways in which Canada’s contemporary child-welfare system is rooted in colonial practices of assimilation and elimination. In his keynote, Sinclair drew on his own past and observed that,

¹⁰⁴ Dr. Carrière’s recent edited collection, *Calling Our Families Home: Métis Peoples’ experience with Child Welfare* (2017) is the first scholarly collection to consider how Métis children specifically have experienced inequitable treatment through child services.

had Canada's child welfare system existed in its current form when he was a boy, he would have been cut off from his family and from his heritage. Sinclair explained to the audience that, as a child, he was raised by his elderly grandparents just outside of Winnipeg. He lived with his extended family in a crowded home, without electricity or running water. Sinclair remembered being without food, and without fuel to keep warm, but recognized that his family "managed because of the strong-willed nature of my grandmother who insisted that everybody participate in the raising of those children, those little children who came into her life" (Krugel). Sinclair's observation, though it is anecdotal in its detail, does importantly foreground the significance of extended-familial and community support systems in First Nations cultures. It also recognizes different forms of intergenerational Indigenous trauma and suggests that it is the observable effects of structural poverty and racism (such as the lack of heat and food) through which Sinclair recognizes that he himself was a candidate to be subject to today's child removal policies.

In his speech, Sinclair further drew comparisons between today's child-welfare system and Canada's history of residential schools, noting that there are more Indigenous children in Canada's child-welfare system today than there were children forcibly removed from their communities at the height of residential schools, noting "the monster that was created in the residential schools moved into a new house. And that monster now lives in the child-welfare system." Sinclair's monster is an effect of the earliest colonial policies that built and funded residential schools and led to the intergenerational poverty that still victimizes Indigenous families. This structural inequality initiates contemporary child welfare practices which preemptively remove children from their homes, rather than work to improve social outcomes that might support families' access to safe housing, reliable schooling, clean water, and food security.

Today, child-welfare professionals and advocates are focused on changing the system to better accommodate and respond to the structural disadvantages that are specific to the experience of Indigenous children. One significant move is to shift the decision-making process to First Nations communities. While “The Future of Child Welfare in Canada” conference initiated this discussion, community-based systems of child welfare have been variously developed and implemented in a few provinces across Canada. At the beginning of 2018, for instance, the Quebec government signed a historic agreement that gave the Atikamekw Nation control over youth protection services. The bill authorized the government to “enter into an agreement with a First Nation ... for the establishment of a special youth program applicable to any child whose security or development is or may be considered to be in danger” (*Youth Protection Act*, article 37.5). Today, the Atikamekw-Nehirowisiw First Nation has the ability to adapt child protection services to the *système d’intervention d’autorité Atikamekw* —a framework that reflects the nation’s cultural values in regard to child and youth protection and that focuses on preserving cultural identity (as well as attending to the emotional and material needs of the child). The Atikamekw agreement represents, by all accounts, a productive inroad into reconciliation efforts between the nation and the Canadian state. Grand Chief Constant Awashish called the agreement “one step further to self-determination” (Fennario). Les Femmes Autochtones-Quebec (the Quebec Native Women Association) welcomed the signature of the Atikamekw agreement, noting that the agreement signals that “the government finally recognizes the governmental autonomy and self-determination of First Nations” (Couture-Glassco).

Indigenous scholars in Canada have critiqued similar policy agreements that purport to undertake reconciliation efforts. Taiaiake Alfred and Jeff Corntassel (2005), for instance, argue that Indigenous sovereignty under the framework of reconciliation effectively precludes

distinctive modes of Indigenous governance and reproduces apparatuses of colonial rule (600). In their view, any contemporary agreement that First Nations enter into with the settler-state will only further constrain distinctive modes of Indigenous governance; they find that the “political-legal compartmentalization of community values often leads Indigenous nations to mimic the practices of dominant non-Indigenous legal political institutions and adhere to definitions of Indigenous identity.” While Alfred and Cornthassel are not writing specifically about the context of contemporary child welfare policies as they may relate to issues of Indigenous sovereignty, their argument does flag a broader concern about keeping “the bigger picture of decolonization in view,” as they explain that such agreements serve to refocus the “integrative view of the contemporary colonial agenda” rather than contribute to the “clear and unencumbered production of decolonized spaces” (605). In another essay, Alfred argues that Canadians broadly “accept and celebrate” similar projects of Indigenous cultural restoration because traditions of Indigenous spirituality are duly acknowledged as integral to the “healing process” of reconciliation; because such projects are de-politicized and effectively integrated into social and economic institutions, they do not threaten the interests and identity of Canadians (“Warrior Societies” 3). Alfred’s insistence on maintaining a wide view of decolonization means keeping in mind how the Atikamekw agreement concomitantly invokes the existence of a liberal, compassionate settler-state and signals inclusive modes of governance that gesture towards reconciliation. In this instance, the doing of kinship is still circumscribed by the structural effects of colonialism and intergenerational trauma.

In her important anthology, *Walking on Clouds: An Anthology of Indigenous Science Fiction* (2012), Grace Dillon draws on Alfred to argue that the genre of science fiction engages “colonial power in the spirit of a struggle for survival” (Alfred qtd. in Dillon 3). For Dillon, the

generic codes of science fiction provide a “valid way to renew, recover, and extend” First Nations peoples’ voices and traditions (2). Dillon notes, however, that the genre of science fiction has historically “tended to disregard the variety of space-time thinking of traditional societies, and ... may still narrate the atrocities of colonialism as ‘adventure stories’” (2). This is demonstrable in Traill’s *Canadian Crusoes*, which, as I argued in chapter three, features Indigenous custom adoption kinship practices only to mischaracterize and empty them of their traditional significance in order to stage a land-clearing adventure for the three Crusoes. Still, Dillon argues that writers of Indigenous futurisms may capably “experiment with ... intentionally dislodge, sometimes merely accompany, but invariably change” the generic codes of science fiction (3).

In *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter*, Daniel Heath Justice expands on the capacity for speculative fiction to address issues of reconciliation, decolonization, and self-determination. To him, the genre “is an extension of the possible, not the impossible; it opens up and expands the range of options for Indigenous characters (and readers); it challenges our assumptions and expectations of ‘the real’ and thus calls into question dominant narratives that ‘presume the inevitability of Indigenous deficit’” (149). In this manner, Indigenous science fiction has the capacity to tell tales of “survivance,” a narrative mode developed by Gerald Vizenor (1998) that encompasses an act that is “more than survival ... endurance or mere response” (*Fugitive Poses* 15). Rather, survivance repudiates “dominance, tragedy, and victimry” and effects a process of looking inward, “discovering how ... one is affected by colonization, discarding the emotional and psychological baggage carried from its impact, and recovering ancestral traditions in order to adapt in our post-Native Apocalypse world” (Dillon 10).

The Marrow Thieves is a speculative fiction novel for young adults. It features the first-person point of view of a sixteen-year-old Métis boy, Francis (Frenchie), who is trying to survive in a dystopian near-future where Indigenous people are hunted for their bone marrow. Following the collapse of global economy and the near-destruction of the climate, non-Indigenous people have lost their ability to dream, and have developed a “sadness” (29). A government agency, the Department of Oneirology, dispatches agents called “Recruiters” into the vast, “uninhabited” northern forests of North America. The Recruiters are after the dreams of First Nations peoples—the ancestral stories that establish self, community, and culture, and that articulate the individual’s reciprocal relationship to the human and non-human. In this near-future, Indigenous bone marrow is a commodity, and once an Indigenous person is caught by a Recruiter, the individual is brought to residential school-like institutions where their marrow is harvested, distilled, and sold. The future of settler humanity is literally mined from the traditional knowledge and myth that circulates through the being of First Nations. Justice points out how Dimaline shifts the potent symbolism of blood, which has “long carried powerful symbolic resonance for settler societies: first pathologized as [a] source of contamination, and later sought after as a totemic presence by settler colonial people to claim belonging without relationship” (*Indigenous Literatures* 140).

The narrative begins with Frenchie and his brother Mitch hiding away in a tree house on the outskirts of a metropolis once known as Toronto. The boys are alone—both of their parents have disappeared and have presumably been taken by the Recruiters. As the brothers hide out in the tree house, Mitch is spotted by a pair of Recruiters; they take only Mitch—he insists on sacrificing himself so that Frenchie can escape. Alone, Frenchie continues to travel north, where his father explained that the family “would find a home” (6). Mitch’s loss affects Frenchie

throughout his own journey. He recognizes Mitch's action as one of selflessness and love and believes that his own conduct must honor his older brother in turn. Frenchie acknowledges, "Mitch had sacrificed himself so I could live, so I had to live. It was the only thing left I could do for him" (7).

On his journey, Frenchie meets a group of fellow travelers: two Elders, five boys and two girls. None of the individuals in this group are "related by blood," but they are all being pursued by the government Recruiters for the "Indigenous" blood they possess (20). When Miigwans (Miig), an Anishinaabe elder, invites Frenchie to travel North with the group, the young boy is rocked by emotion until he is "fetal" (17). At first, Frenchie is embarrassed to be "so broken in front of these new Indians" but he comes to realize that he also feels comfort among them:

if they were embarrassed for me, no one made a motion or mouthed a reproach. They just let me be broken, because soon I wouldn't be anymore. Eventually, I wouldn't be alone, either. And maybe tomorrow I'd wake up and find myself closer to home. (16-17)

Frenchie is literally (re)born into this new, chosen family. While his emotional response is the result of the shared trauma of genocide, he is able to recognize that this new group of people, in turn, recognize how his trauma is related, at least in part, to the loss of his family. The group is guided by Miig and Minerva, the group's kookum. The two elders not only guide the children through the forest, away from the Recruiters and to safety, but through stories that they tell them while they are making camp or hunting. The stories and dreams that the group share with one another bring them closer together and initiate the kinship bonds that are constructed across their specific cultural traditions. Stories are central to the way that the children come to see themselves

as responsible for one another. In one instance, Miig explains to the children that they are born with stories, “the DNA weaves them into the marrow like spinners” (19).

After two years travelling together and avoiding close calls with Recruiters, Frenchie and his group come across a small encampment of First Nations people. To Frenchie’s surprise, he finds his father among this new group. His dad, Jean, introduces Frenchie and the newcomers to the Council through the members’ traditional tribal affiliations. Frenchie’s father explains that Clarence is “Cree from the old prairies territory. Mint, Anishinaabe from the south in America. Bullet, she’s Inuit. Jo-jo is Salish and came to us just last month ... General is Haudenosaunee and Migmaw. And Rebecca is Ho-Chunk, also from across the border” (169). The Council is a model of Indigenous custom adoption practices that extend across nations and focus Indigenous principles of expansive relationality.

Frenchie’s reunion with his father is difficult. The boy finds that he must mediate between loyalties he holds to his blood family and his new, adopted family; he reflects on the memories that he shared with his parents as a boy and finds

this feeling, an understanding more than emotion, of protection. It didn’t matter what was happening in the world, my job was to be Francis. That was all. Just remain myself. And now? Well, now I had a different family to take care of. My job was to hunt, and scout, and build camp, and break camp, to protect the others. I winced even thinking of it. My failure. I’d failed at protecting, and now, as a result, I failed at remaining myself. (180)

Frenchie recognizes that he has so far understood his “selfhood” within a constrained network of genealogical, familial obligations. In the intervening years since he was separated from his family, however, Frenchie comes to understand himself and his role in the world through a

relational context that extends beyond the genealogical circumscribed roles of “son” and “little brother.” His perspective and his actions are developed through the perspective of an adolescent identifying and taking his place in a relational community.

Through the narrative, Frenchie relies on the stories that Miig and the others tell him in order to learn how to care for and nurture each individual in the group. Frenchie develops the feeling of safety, of feeling loved, and of giving love. He experiences his self in relation to the human and the non-human elements that he relies on to keep him and his new chosen family safe from the recruiters. When he is tasked by Miig to hunt for the group’s dinner he makes the decision to spare a moose, knowing that the group could not eat the meat without it turning rancid. His experience hunting this moose further develops Frenchie’s expansive view of kin—on one hand, he is eager to march into camp “the conquering hero, with more meat than [the group] could carry,” on the other, Frenchie is thoughtful of the moose’s own place in the world (49). As he trains his bow on the massive animal, Frenchie’s expansive view of his kin reinvigorates a world that is unsafe and ecologically unsound for both himself and for the moose. He sees the moose within the context of this world, living “through it all—the wars, the sickness, the earthquakes, the schools” and knows that the moose exists within this expansive set of relations. He acknowledges how his decision to spare the moose will hurt the human kin that he is travelling with. He imagines the long face of Riri, the youngest child, who he anticipates will be “sad because of an empty belly” (50). In this instance, Frenchie models the doing of kinship that Justice writes about in *Why Indigenous Literatures Matter* insofar as he recognizes his place and responsibility among and to the human and non-human beings that surround him.

The importance of storytelling to the *doing* of kinship is considered when Minerva sacrifices herself to the Recruiters in order to keep the children safe. She is taken to a school, just

outside of Espanola, where she will have her marrow extracted. Miig, Frenchie, and the rest of the children learn of Minerva's story from the new Council, who received it from an ally in the Oneirology department. What happens to Minerva foregrounds the power of Indigenous story telling practices. She utilizes all of the stories and dreams in her marrow to destroy the school and the Recruiters' ability to harvest marrow. The Council explains that when the Recruiters fastened Minerva to the machines that would extract her dreams, she "reached into her heartbeat and instinct ... [and] opened her mouth. That's when she called on her blood memory, her teachings, her ancestors. That's when she brought the whole thing down" (172) Minerva's song upsets the Recruiters' harvesting system. She draws on the traditional stories that she shared with Frenchie and that represented her knowledge of the world. Her dreams, culled from her "blood memory, her teachings, her ancestors," announce the strength of tradition and relationality. Minerva's song disrupts the ability of the Recruiters to harvest her DNA. Though the group ultimately fails to save Minerva, her action is one of survivance in that it disrupts the genocidal project of the Recruiters. If her eventual death is an unsatisfying ending to a story that is filled with traumatic experiences of violence, displacement, and dislocation, it also signals the capacity of relational models of kinship to overcome the abject rejection of Indigenous bodies within the body politic. Minerva knows, for instance, that her stories are being held safe for future generations through Frenchie, and the other adolescents that travelled with them.

Through the context of a not-so-far-away future, *Dimaline* represents the stress that settler-colonialism has wrought on Indigenous families and communities, but also develops a narrative of survivance, wherein young people model the doing of kinship and so support each other in a world that dehumanizes and commoditizes their very being. For Justice, the multitude of subjectivities embodied by the young travellers offers "more hope for the future," even though

the future for these young people is still fraught, as they are still being pursued and must try to “survive the settler authorities and the ecological devastation that surrounds them” (*Indigenous Literatures* 137). Since the novel’s publication in 2017, *The Marrow Thieves* has been recognized for its ability to speak across young-adult *and* adult audiences, and the novel has garnered widespread acclaim, winning the prestigious Governor General’s Literary Award and the Kirkus Prize in 2017. The popularity of the book reflects the important work of championing and foregrounding Indigenous voices and of representing Indigenous children and adolescents in narratives *for* children and adolescents. It also draws attention to other Indigenous writers who represent the Indigenous experience in Canada, including *Son of a Trickster* (2017) and *Trickster Drift* (2018), the first two novels in Eden Robinson’s trickster trilogy, which follows a sixteen year old protagonist, Jared Martin, whose father, Weeg’it, is a Trickster. Jared experiences supernatural awareness of the world around him, which follows him from his home in Kitimat, to Vancouver B.C. In Katherena Vermette’s graphic novel, *A Girl Called Echo* (2017, 2018), a 13 year old Métis girl named Echo is transported into the past where she visits the historic Red River settlement in 1869. These narratives reflect the competing demands of the past and the present that bear on Indigenous lives. Unlike the texts that I consider through this thesis, they articulate a focused future of Indigenous survivance, wherein the protagonists are not assimilated into the dominant body politic through Eurocolonial kinship discourses, but come to understand themselves as Indigenous through their experience learning their traditional stories and accepting their responsibility to carry those stories into the future.

This thesis turns to the past in order to consider the lived experience of real children in Canada. Through the first two chapters, I read how the colonial agents considered non-Indigenous *and* Indigenous children to be central to the project of expanding nuclear,

genealogical structures through the production and circulation of Christian feeling in Canada's settler-colonial context. My reading of the CSSU annual reports and the issues of *Our Forest Children* reveal the ways in which the child was figured as both the object and agent of this project. Whereas the circulation of Sunday school libraries initiated the CSSU's ability to track faltering Christian feeling within the settler-colonial population, the Sunday school texts that populated the libraries represented the capacity of these texts to inculcate Christian feeling within the nuclear family. Reverend Edward Wilson's juvenile magazine *Our Forest Children* expands on this project, but focuses on representing how the children in his Shingwauk Industrial Home could express Christian feeling through their writing. The final two chapters of this thesis revisit two canonical writers of early-Canadian literature. In Catharine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* the language of sentimental racialism contributes to the mischaracterization (and frequent misreading) of Indiana's custom adoption into the Ojibwe clan. I show that it is necessary to take traditional Anishinaabe kinship practices into account when reading this text, even if Traill herself may have had limited knowledge or understanding of custom adoption traditions. My interest in acknowledging the Indigenous kinship epistemologies that inform *Canadian Crusoes* is further elaborated in the final chapter where I argue that Emily Pauline Johnson's representation of the Red River Métis in "The Shagganappi" merits further analytical consideration. I call attention to the ways in which scholars position Shag (and Hal) as productive symbols of racial hybridity; I argue, though, that this common analysis of the narrative diminishes the ethnogenesis of the sovereign Métis nation, and contributes to the idea that Canadian identity is premised on mixed-race identity, or métissage.

Through this thesis, I argued that Canada's literary genealogy reveals how the nation has come to compose its dominant kinship story, a story that *still* imposes inequitable child welfare

outcomes across differently racialized bodies. Indigenous voices are still challenging this story (and further, forecasting the effects of this story into the future), and so this project, in the end, opens up further questions that insist on centering representations of children and childhood in literary discourse and analysis. What, for example, does prioritizing the figure of the Indigenous child in literary studies look like in the wider project of reconciliation and decolonization?

Discourse surrounding the lives of real children also extends to new, contemporary contexts of settler-colonialism. How, for instance, do we think about those children who are displaced from their homelands, who experience deeply violent fissures of kinship traditions, and who come to Canada as refugees? How are these children incorporated into dominant narratives of kinship? Or else, how are they elided or rejected from such narratives? While this project looks to the past to understand how kinship was represented through settler-colonial discourses, I believe that kinship is being re-made by authors who identify as First Nations, Inuit, or Métis; by those writing from queer perspectives; by authors of colour; by immigrants, refugees, and first generation Canadians. These constituencies' experiences are coded into the Canadian "family" in different capacities and so it bears further consideration of how their stories recast this family now and into the future.

Appendix



VOL. II.

SHINGWAUK HOME, MARCH, 1889.

No. 12.

OUR FOREST CHILDREN

PUBLISHED IN THE INTEREST OF
INDIAN EDUCATION AND CIVILIZATION.COPIES SENT GRATIS
TO THOSE WHO WILL INTEREST THEMSELVES IN THE WORK.**Are the Indians to be Lost to the Church of
England?**

WE have been sometimes asked, Do we receive pupils at our Homes whose parents are members of other communions? Our reply is, Yes. We admit pupils, whatever they may be—Roman Catholics, Protestants or Pagans—so long as they are Indians. If fault there is to find in this, the fault lies, not at our own door, but with the Church of England in Canada. Church of England missions to Indians are few and far between. Here in Algoma, with some 10,000 Indians, there are but three small missions, and of these one is at present vacant. In Manitoba and the Northwest the Church is stronger, as regards its Indian work, but still it bids fair to be outstripped by the more zealous workers of other communions. The Roman Catholics take the lead, and Presbyterians and Methodists follow in their wake. What we want is not merely isolated missionaries here and there, but *earnest Christian women* who will leave house and friends, and go out, two-and-two, to live among the Indians, and teach them, not merely by precept, but by example, and by kindly sympathy and help.

So soon as the Church of England can supply us pupils from Church of England mission stations, we

may alter our present plan. At present our rule is, Pagans first and foremost, if we can get them; then children of Church of England parents: then whoever likes to come, provided they are of suitable age and are Indians. The poor Indian has few friends—few who will devote a life to seeking their true welfare. Would that the Church of England would take up their cause heart and soul.

Mr. Wilson's Trip to the States.*(Continued from January Number.)*

TUESDAY, Oct. 30th, we reached Washington. Mr. Oberley, the Indian Commissioner, to whom I presented letters of introduction from Ottawa, received me very kindly, and gave me letters to the Indian agents at the various reserves through which I expected to pass. I also visited the Bureau of Ethnology, and spent the greater part of two days deep in the study of various Indian grammars, dictionaries, maps, etc.

THE OHIO MOUNDS.

We were disappointed about the mounds. We got to the place where they ought to be, but it was very difficult to make them out, as the land was all under cultivation, and covered with orchards and fields of potatoes, grain and Indian corn. The farmers and settlers in the neighborhood seemed neither to know nor care anything about them.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

We first visited the Cherokees in the eastern part of the Territory, and afterwards the Arapahoes, Cheyennes and Poncas in the western part. The Cherokees have

Fig. 1: The masthead illustration of *Our Forest Children*.



DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING CO., Publishers.
22 WASHINGTON STREET, CHICAGO.
Editorial Rooms, Elgin, Illinois.

Elgin, Ill., Nov. 8, 1905.

Miss E. Pauline Johnson,
Clarendon Hotel,
Winnipeg, Man.

My dear Miss Johnson:-

Your letter of Nov. 1st. is received, and we are glad to know that we may promise our readers some stories from your pen.

Your suggestion regarding the Newfoundland boy story meets with our approval. In every case we wish to leave to you the choice of subject and the setting of the story. What we are in need of are good Canadian stories. We have experienced considerable difficulty in procuring Canadian stories with the real patriotic ring- stories where the loyalty does not seem forced. We have many Canadian subscribers, and we wish to give them of our best, and what will appeal to the best in them, and the love of country is a part of every boy whether of Canada or the United States.

Thank you for your Herald. With your permission we ~~would~~ will use your picture in our Boys' World prospectus. If you can furnish us with one at an early date we would prefer it to making a wash of the picture on the cover of your announcement; but time is an important factor just now.

Thanking you for your kind interest, and with the hope that you will send us a photograph and permission to use it in our prospectus, we remain,

Respectfully yours,
The Boys' World,

Elizabeth Ansley Associate Editor.

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Fig. 2: An example of a letter that Emily Pauline Johnson received from Elizabeth Ansley, the associate editor at *Boys' World* (Letter, Nov 8, 1905).

THE BOYS' WORLD

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VOL. VII. No. 25. PUBLISHED WEEKLY.

DAVID C. COOK PUBLISHING CO., ELGIN, ILLINOIS, AND 36 WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO.

June 20, 1908.

The Lieutenant Governor's Prize

A Story of Dominion Day

By E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake)

THE most extraordinary thing that could possibly happen to a boy, happened to "Can" Jackson; he had not only been born in leap year, but on the twenty-ninth of February. Before they had him christened, his parents held a profound discussion as to his name. These parents were a laughter-loving young couple, and they considered it a tragedy that this jolly looking little chap should be condemned to have a really, truly birthday but once in four years.

"We'll have to give him a name that will see him through this disaster," said his father. "I've thought it all out; I've got a name for him—best name in the world. Wish it was mine. Let's name him 'Canada.' It will work out beautifully. Then he can have the first of July—Dominion Day—the birthday of all Canada, for his birthday, too, and a grand flare-out every four years to boot! What do you say?"

Mrs. Jackson of course said it was a brilliant idea, so he was duly christened "Canada," which, of course, was abbreviated to "Can," the first day he entered the doors of the public school. "It's a boy that is called 'Can,' will never have the face to say he can't, particularly when he has to accomplish things." So finally young Jackson was known far and wide and even in his own home as "Can."

The year he took his entrance examination for the high-school was one that marked itself on his workdays and holidays alike. The town had put up a magnificent new high-school building, large, handsome, modern, and second to none in the Province. It was to be formally opened on July 1, "Dominion Day," by the Lieutenant-governor, and the town was all agog anticipating the festivities. There was to be an elaborate luncheon given by the city council in the town hall, a giant parade of the school children, and an afternoon reception in the new building. Street arches, banners and decorations were to be numerous. It was certainly to be a grand occasion.

It was the twenty-fifth of June, the last day of school before the summer vacation, and closing hour had arrived. Just before dismissal the principal of the public school arose on his little platform, and, with what Can called "a smile up his sleeve," announced that he had a delightful surprise for them—that he had the day before received a personal letter from the Lieutenant-governor, offering a special prize to be competed for by the boys who had successfully passed the entrance examination. A special prize of ten dollars was to be presented to the boy who designed the best patriotic emblem to decorate the reception hall of the new high-school for July 1. "Now," added the principal genially, "there are nineteen boys who have passed this examination. Get your wits to work at once. I have arranged to have the designs set up on the wall space between the windows; have your emblems in the new building the night before, and the janitor will put them up early on Dominion Day. The School Board will judge and award the prize at ten o'clock, before they go to the

station to meet His Honor Lieutenant-governor Howard, who writes that Mrs. Howard, who accompanies him, will present the prize. All I can add is, may luck go with the boy who gets it."

By the time the principal finished speaking, the excitement was at fever heat. Every boy in the class felt that ten dollar banknote in his fingers, and before they were half way home each had decided how he was going to spend it. Can galloped home with his next door neighbor, an undersized, shriveled little chap whose face was old before its time, and whose clothes were threadbare, patched and mended. Can always had a peculiar sense of feeling ashamed when he walked with little Dave Doherty; not ashamed of Dave's shabby clothes, but ashamed of his own good ones. He was always afraid that Dave would feel that he, Can, was better dressed, and it made him feel shy and awkward, and he wished his boots were old and his trousers not so new, and his tie not silk, but turkey-red cotton, like Dave's. Mrs. Doherty did washing and sewing for the neighborhood. There was no Mr. Doherty, even Dave could not remember his dead father, but the boy was as clever as he was poor, sharp as a needle at his studies, and had passed the examination in flying colors, six or seven ahead of Can. Now although Mr. Jackson was very comfortably off, Can had never had ten dollars at one time in all his life. It sounded like a fortune to him, and at last he saw within his grasp the desire of his life—a Peterboro canoe. He knew of a splendid one, just that price; to be sure, it was old, and second-hand, and needed a coat of paint badly, but it was safe and steady. Can could actually feel the paddle handle in his palm. All the spring he had coaxed his father to get him that canoe, but without success. Now—well, if, as the principal said, he would set his wits to work, the coveted canoe was his.

Five days to do it in, with eighteen boys competing against him! Each day he would start a fresh design, and by nighttime grow dissatisfied with it. Then late in the fourth afternoon a glorious idea came to him. Hitherto he had been working with a large picture of a beaver, with maple leaves, and the Union Jack, but all the boys would have these emblems, and, when he was almost in despair, this brilliant thought came: As he wanted the prize money for a canoe, why, a canoe he would work into his design—that and other suggestions of Canadian sports. Why, the national sports of a country help make its history! Canada's national sport was lacrosse. Then came canoeing and hockey. At last he had struck the winning note! He walked two miles up the river shore

for birch-bark, and before he went to bed that night had made a gracefully turned bark canoe about four feet long. He had already fashioned a huge shield, a mixture of wood and cardboard, and covered it with coarse factory cotton, with an outlining wreath of green cedar at its edge. This and the canoe he left in the back shed with a whole collection of sporting goods, flags, string, nails, screws, and a hammer. That night he slept happily and dreamed his bed was a canoe.

Long before breakfast the next morning he was at it, and about eleven o'clock the blazing sun beat down on the shed roof, beneath which Can toiled and hammered and perspired until he was driven forth, taking his materials out under the trees, where, beyond the high board fence and in the next yard, he could hear Dave Doherty working away also. Now and again the boys would call across, and the conversation would shape itself this way:

"How are you getting on?"
"Oh, bully!"
"Hard work?"
"You bet it is!"
"Will you get through in time?"
"Lots; I'm going to take mine over to the school before ten."

"So am I."

And so the talk would go on. Can was just in the thickest of the fight when, as he was kneeling on the grass trying to get the canoe fastened onto the shield, something seized his heel in its teeth, and caused Can to bring the hammer down hard on his thumb nail. He "ouched!" and turned to see a fat, silly-faced little fox terrier pup playing and gnawing at his boot.

"Dave!" he shouted, "here's your pup bothering me at my work; he's in your yard here!"

"Shoo him out!" answered Dave. "I can't come and get him right now!"

So Can "shooed" him and went on with his work, but the pup refused to go. He

at all, he's in my way!"

"In a minute," answered Dave. "Kick him out—don't let him bother you!"

But the pup kept on, and in a flying, playful leap, upset Can's package of nails, and landed with his paw right through the center of the big shield. Can never exactly knew just why or how he came to do what followed; he was hot, over tired, and irritated, and without giving time to think of it, he seized the little terrier, flung him over the high board fence and yelled:

"There he is—now keep him there!"

He heard a thick, dull crash, then—stillness. Can's knees weakened; he sat on the grass, listening. Then came Dave's voice, shaking, half-sobbing, strained:

"Oh, Can! You have killed him! You've killed my little pupplums!"

Can found strength to shin up over the fence, only to see the fat little creature lying motionless, dead. He had flung the pup directly on to a strip of brick paving, and its soft little head was bruised and broken.

"Poor Can! He wondered if he would ever be happy again. He left his design and went indoors, but his hour of reckoning was not to be until his father came home to dinner. Nothing was mentioned until the meal was over. Then Mr. Jackson said quietly—too quietly, Can thought—"My boy, as I passed the Doherty's I saw Dave—he is a very big boy to cry, so his heart must be pretty sore. I've learned all about it. What are you going to do to square things up, Can?"

Can looked terribly uncomfortable. "I don't know, father," he said. "I didn't mean to do it. I—"

"Never mind what you meant, or what you did not mean; what are you going to do to right this wrong that your temper led you to commit?"

"I've tried to think," Can answered. "All I can do is to give Dave my pocket money. I have a dollar and a half."

"Oh, Can!" said his father, "don't you know that money never healed a sore heart yet? I'll pay Dave for the dog, or get him another. What I look for you to do is something that will make him forget his trouble, something that will give him a greater pleasure than that pup did. Tomorrow is your adopted birthday, Can. You are in good company. The greatest young country in the world was born the same day. I can't suggest anything to you; you must think out something for yourself, something to do for Dave. If on his birthday a man can't do something decent towards repairing an injury he has done another—well, he's not a man at all; that's all there is to it!" And Mr. Jackson walked slowly away to his office, leaving Can out of tune with the world.

He was the last one to get his design to the school, but when he laid it beside the other eighteen, the load lifted from his heart. It was certainly a work of art. He had filled the bark canoe full of purple Canada thistles, the lacrosse, paddle and hockey sticks were beautifully arranged. Even he, without prejudice, could see in an instant he was sure of the prize.

Next to his came his little neighbor's—a huge crown of green maple leaves, fringed about with tiny Union Jacks, and laced through the leaves was a brilliant scarlet ribbon scroll bearing in gilt letters the words: "Canada, The Gem of The Crown." Can's design was bolder and more brilliant, Dave's was daintier, simpler, nobler; but undoubtedly the prize was Can's. That night as he stood in the post office waiting to get the mail for his father, a little knot of the

(Continued on page 7.)



HE TURNED AND SAW A FAT LITTLE FOX TERRIER PUP PLAYING AND GNAWING AT HIS BOOT.

gambled, and snarled, and chewed at Can's boots, caught at his shirt sleeves, and finally made the boy angry.

"I say, Dave!" he called, "I wish you'd take this animal home; I can't work

Fig. 3: "The Lieutenant Governor's Prize: The Story of Dominion Day" in *Boys' World*.

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