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## Unsettling Sympathy: Indigenous and Settler Conversations from the Great Lakes Region, 1820-1860

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree in English

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## Abstract

Situated at the intersection of Indigenous, Canadian, British, and settler colonial literary studies, this dissertation is a transatlantic analysis of the personal and textual interactions of Drummond Island Métis interviewees, Ojibwe poet Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, British travel writer Anna Jameson, and British Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada Francis Bond Head in the Great Lakes region in the nineteenth century. During the period after the War of 1812 and leading up to Confederation, settler narratives of sympathy for Indigenous peoples proliferated in politics and literature, yet what remains largely unexamined in the Canadian context is how this sympathy supports “the settler-colonial logic of elimination,” meaning “the dissolution of native societies” alongside the creation of “a new colonial society upon the expropriated land base” (Wolfe 2006, 387, 388, 388). Jameson’s and Head’s declarations of exceptional sympathy for Indigenous peoples in their travel writings situate Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) and Head’s “The Red Man” (1840) and *The Emigrant* (1846) as ideal case studies of this colonial phenomenon. Through archival research and Indigenous literary nationalist theory, I interrogate Jameson’s and Head’s sympathy by reframing their texts within the community- and land-based knowledges of the Drummond Island Métis (*The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* 1901) and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (various letters and poems), speakers and writers who are still relatively unstudied in the Canadian literary field. In revealing how Jameson and Head promote the “logic of elimination,” I simultaneously consider how the Drummond Islanders and Johnston Schoolcraft posit in their texts the possibility of “ethical space[s] of engagement” (Ermine 2007, 193) between settlers and Indigenous peoples. Each of the following three chapters interrogates an aspect of settler sympathy (sympathetic aesthetics, sympathetic geographies, and the settler colonial malady) in relation to important socio-political issues in the Great Lakes region (Indigenous representation, sovereignty, and wellness) by considering the perspectives of all of these writers and speakers while attending to the voices of the Drummond Island Métis and Johnston Schoolcraft to unsettle canonical literary and colonial narratives.

## Keywords

Indigenous literatures, Canadian literature, British literature, nineteenth century, Canada, Great Lakes region, sympathy, settler colonialism, Drummond Island Métis, Georgian Bay Métis Community, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Anna Jameson, Francis Bond Head

## Summary for Lay Audience

British writers Anna Jameson and Sir Francis Bond Head express sympathy for Indigenous peoples in their Canadian travel writings. However, there is still little scholarship that considers Jameson's and Head's sympathy in relation to the thoughts of the Indigenous people with whom they personally or textually interacted during their brief visits in Upper Canada in the mid-nineteenth century. This dissertation puts Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) and Head's "The Red Man" (1840) and *The Emigrant* (1846) into conversation with the writings of Ojibwe poet Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and the interviews of relocated Drummond Island Métis in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* (1901). By considering the community- and land-based knowledges of these still relatively unstudied Indigenous authors, I interrogate Jameson's and Head's sympathy as well as the settler narrative of sympathy for supposedly "vanishing" Indigenous peoples that proliferated in settler politics and literature between the War of 1812 and Confederation in 1867. Each of the following three chapters interrogates an aspect of settler sympathy to demonstrate that this sympathy supports "the logic of elimination" (Wolfe, 2006 387). Elimination refers to "the dissolution of native societies" alongside the creation of "a new colonial society upon the expropriated land base" (388), and its connection to sympathy remains largely unexamined in Canadian literary contexts. While Johnston Schoolcraft's and the Drummond Islanders' texts undermine Jameson's and Head's sympathy, they at the same time suggest alternate ways to create "ethical space[s] of engagement" (Ermine 2007, 193). Ethical spaces are those in which Indigenous and settler communities form "an agreement to interact" following "the affirmation of human diversity created by philosophical and cultural differences" (202). By attending to the voices of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis in conversations previously dominated by settler perspectives, this dissertation seeks to unsettle canonical literary and colonial narratives.

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## Introduction

Empires can't survive by acknowledging complexity.

— Daniel Heath Justice, “‘Go Away, Water!’: Kinship Criticism and the Decolonization Imperative”

### An Old Story Retold

“[L]iterature is a vital component part of the Red Atlantic,” states Cherokee scholar Jace Weaver in *The Red Atlantic: American Indigenes and the Making of the Modern World, 1000-1927* (2014) (216). In this book, Weaver seeks “to restore Indians and Inuit to the Atlantic world and demonstrate their centrality to that world” (x).<sup>1</sup> According to Weaver, “[t]he principal literary aspect of the Red Atlantic ... is how Europeans and, later, Americans came to define themselves in comparison with, and in contrast to, the indigenous peoples of the Americas. And literature was a primary forum for those comparisons and contrasts” (216). Weaver’s project, and particularly his observation about literature, offer helpful context for this dissertation in which I analyze the kind of literary comparisons and contrasts he discusses while also placing an emphasis on Indigenous people and their perspectives. Rather than a broad study of “the Atlantic world,” however, I focus on a transatlantic analysis of a very particular time and place—namely, the Great Lakes region of Turtle Island in the mid-nineteenth century. More specifically, this dissertation attempts “to restore” under-studied Indigenous voices from this territory, reframing, in the process, canonical Canadian travel narratives through their

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<sup>1</sup> As Weaver explains, “[t]he most obvious precursor to ... [his] book is *The Black Atlantic* by Paul Gilroy,” which was “[p]ublished originally in 1993” (viii) and “was a necessary corrective to the white Atlantic” (5). Weaver adds that, in *The Black Atlantic*, “Gilroy outlines the diasporic peregrinations of Africans and persons of African descent around the Atlantic basin,” “plac[ing] ... [them] at the center of Atlantic world history. Besides looking at the physical movement of African persons and their ideas, he looks at the cultural imbrications between Europe and its peoples, on the one hand, and on the other, the peoples they encountered as they sallied forth” (5, 6). Similarly, in *The Red Atlantic*, Weaver places Indigenous peoples “at the center of Atlantic world history.” Furthermore, Weaver notes that “Tim Fulford uses the term [Red Atlantic] in his 2006 *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture, 1756-1830* to refer to the image of Natives in romanticism” (ix). Fulford and Kevin Hutchings are the editors of “a 2009 volume ... *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750-1850*, the subtitle of which is ‘The Indian Atlantic’” (ix).

authors' interpersonal and textual interactions with Indigenous people. In so doing, I analyze the poems, letters, and stories of Ojibwe<sup>2</sup> poet Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (also known as Bamewawagezhikaquay)<sup>3</sup> and the interviews of relocated Drummond Island Métis interviewees<sup>4</sup> in relation to British writer Anna Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) and British Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Sir Francis Bond Head's essay "The Red Man" (1840) and somewhat belated travel narrative *The Emigrant* (1846), published eight years after his return to England. Collectively, these diverse voices provide a textured point of entry into the complex transatlantic perspectives and political forces shaping the Great Lakes region at a crucial period in the re-making of the northern part of Turtle Island into the settler nation-state of Canada. Between 1820 and 1867, this region became an important site for the articulation—and contestation—of colonial power and burgeoning Canadian nationalism in the period leading up to Confederation in 1867.

Of course, Johnston Schoolcraft may seem out of place in such a discussion because she was born within what America considers to be its territory and has been previously studied in relation to American settler colonial contexts. However, as I will discuss in greater depth throughout these chapters, Johnston Schoolcraft's family was physically divided over the American-Upper Canadian border, her poetry speaks to Ojibwe, American, and British influences, and Jameson uses her relationship with Johnston Schoolcraft and her family to legitimize her presence on Indigenous lands in Upper Canada and to promote settlement in the colony and British politics more broadly.

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<sup>2</sup> Here I follow the lead of Johnston Schoolcraft and her biographer, Robert Dale Parker, in referring to Johnston Schoolcraft and her community as Ojibwe rather than Anishinaabe. As Parker writes, "the Ojibwe ... increasingly refer to themselves by the more traditional name Anishinaabe. I use ... Ojibwe ... rather than Anishinaabe, partly because it is [Johnston] Schoolcraft's term" (xii). Of course, Johnston Schoolcraft was writing in the nineteenth century and often for English readers; perhaps if she were writing today, she would refer to herself and her community as Anishinaabe.

<sup>3</sup> Like Parker, I refer to Johnston Schoolcraft using her English name since, as Parker writes, "that is how ... [she] signed her name" (xii). He continues, "I have not seen any document that she signed with her Ojibwe name, Bamewawagezhikaquay, though in her home, depending on who spoke or listened and in what language, she was probably used to being called both Bamewawagezhikaquay and Jane. Perhaps, if she had written for Ojibwe speakers who did not speak English, or for people [settlers] who attributed the same prestige and power to Ojibwe that they did to English, she would have signed her name Bamewawagezhikaquay, but she did not" (xii).

<sup>4</sup> The names of the interviewees are Rosette Boucher, Antoine Labatte, Michael Labatte, Angélique Longlade, Lewis Solomon, and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre.

Benefits of studying the Great Lakes region instead of strict settler boundaries, then, include this project's attentiveness to real cross-border influences and conversations in the nineteenth century as well as its emphasis on Indigenous nations and sovereignty within this region. While situating Johnston Schoolcraft in relation to American contexts in the following chapters, I read the intellectual interventions of the writers and speakers in this study largely in terms of their influence on or the resistance they offer to Upper Canadian colonialism because of their interpersonal and intertextual interactions and Jameson's and Head's expressed interest in developing this British colony.

This dissertation's narrower focus on a specific time and place presents an opportunity for a detailed analysis of these writers and speakers that not only reveals the logics of British settlement and challenges established settler accounts of Canadian history, but that also helps to deconstruct the Canadian literary canon by reconsidering some of its prominent authors through the lenses of nineteenth-century British literary studies and Indigenous literary studies. After all, Jameson's and Head's travel narratives are considered part of the Canadian literary canon even though the authors themselves were British, lived in Upper Canada only temporarily, and were heavily influenced by British literary trends such as Romanticism and sentimentalism. While Romanticism is far from a homogenous concept, emerging in different ways and in different times, its general influence on Jameson and Head would have been as "a movement or style during the late 18th and 19th centuries [originating] in Europe marked by an emphasis on feeling, individuality, and passion rather than classical form and order, and typically preferring grandeur, picturesque, or naturalness to finish and proportion" ("Romantic," def. A.7). Similarly, sentimentalism was a Euro-Western literary and cultural trend in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Maureen Harkin explains that sentimental fiction was typically structured by a "journey[]" connected by "spectacle[s] of pathos" or suffering, and the goal of this fiction was to "instruct[] the reader ... how to feel" by "model[ing] the correct, sympathetic response" to suffering (12, 9, 12, 13). In particular, the sympathy for Indigenous peoples that Jameson and Head express in their texts pervades the sentimental genre in the form of "spectacle[s] of pathos" and the Romantic genre in terms of Romantic "primitivism," a particular variant of Romanticism which portrayed "Native Americans [as] ... morally pure as a result of their close connection to

the natural world, a connection that overly cultured Europeans had lost” (Hutchings, *Romantic* 156). However, as I will show throughout this dissertation, these sympathetic discourses, when applied in a colonial context, have the added function of attempting to legitimate settler colonialism by naturalizing settler occupation of Indigenous lands.

This normalization of settler colonialism is also evident in, and in fact works in tandem with, mainstream accounts of mid-nineteenth century Canadian history, which is often told as a history of British settlement that effaces Indigenous peoples, their stories, and their sovereignty. As Creek scholar Tol Foster explains, “[t]he story of Native peoples has long been told in terms of binary oppositions based in weighted political frames crafted by and favorable to the colonizers” (265). Attending to Indigenous voices during this period, then, dramatically undermines the Romantic and sentimental literary modes found in British travel writing as well as the normative settler-Indigenous binaries typically found in nineteenth-century settler narratives and perpetuated still today in recent scholarship about this period. Rethinking the interactions of settler and distinct Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes area during the mid-nineteenth century through Foster’s “regional frame” helps to emphasize the importance of Indigenous voices and attend to the cultural specificity of Indigenous nations while also studying their place-based relations in the region (272). Foster explains that the regional frame is where “we most effectively witness the *interzones* where different constituencies collide and, as a result, renegotiate their communal cultural frames” (272). Interzones are “the borderlands, the contact zones, or whatever we might wish to call them” (272). Like Foster’s “interzones,” Mary Louise Pratt’s famous concept of the “contact zone” delineates “the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects” and “emphasizes how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other” (Pratt 7). The contact zone focuses on “space[s] of colonial encounters ... in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (6). While Foster’s interzones can describe colonial contexts, they focus on Indigenous cultural and historical specificity and are situated within the framework of what he calls “[r]elational [r]egionalism,” which is applicable in contexts other than settler colonialism (268). Relational regionalism proposes that there are “tension[s]” (Foster 272) as well as

“bonds and commonalities” (for instance, “between humans and animals, or animals and spirits”) (278) within a region, and these factors shape community identity and understandings of place.

In this dissertation, I focus on the tensions between Indigenous and settler communities in the Great Lakes region as a way of “mediat[ing] and engag[ing] the claims of the[] very different speakers” and writers I study and of considering “their positions against and in dialogue with one another” (Foster 268). For the purposes of this project, “the Great Lakes region” refers to the area covered by Jameson on her travels through Upper Canada and the United States, a somewhat circular route from Toronto on Lake Ontario to cities on and between Lakes Erie and Huron and finally around Georgian Bay. I have chosen to study this specific region because Jameson interacted with all the writers and speakers I discuss at length in this project so her travels connect them, organically delineating the land on which they engaged. Rather than prioritizing Jameson’s account of the land, my choice to study this region works to defamiliarize it for readers (who most likely have an understanding of settler geographies) by attending to Indigenous voices and their insistence on Indigenous sovereignty or accounts of unjust displacement. I hope to thereby unravel the “binary oppositions” “favorable to” (Foster 265) settler colonialism that are foundational to Canadian literature, history, and nationalism.

As Weaver argues about “the Atlantic world,” literature plays a “vital” role in “restor[ing]” Indigenous people to the record of the Great Lakes interzone, particularly in the way that Indigenous voices may deconstruct the national archive. For instance, the voices of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis add complexity to the normative story of settlement in Upper Canada, belying Jameson’s and Head’s expressions of sympathy, revealing the colonial work of Euro-Western literary discourses, and returning to the national archive the omissions that were necessary to create a “meritorious” Canadian national history (Abrahams 11). In so doing, they mediate these narratives of settlement, re-articulating them within Ojibwe and Métis cultural frames that resist settler colonialism and assert more complex, and less meritorious, understandings of settlement.

While Johnston Schoolcraft, the Drummond Islanders, Jameson, and Head personally interacted with one another in 1837, this project contextualizes their interactions within the years 1820 to 1860, the pivotal period between the War of 1812 and Confederation marked by settler negotiations regarding political status, nationhood, and land rights. During these years, the project of settlement was bolstered by the stereotypical settler narrative of sympathy for “vanishing” or “disappearing” Indigenous peoples. This sympathy clearly manifested in the paternal policies of the settler government. For instance, the War of 1812 was followed by both “the incipient nationalism of the 1820s and 1830s” and settler reconsideration of Indigenous allies as “once again an inconvenience and an embarrassment” (Bentley, *Mimic* 140, 7). Alongside this revised dynamic of relationality, settler attempts to achieve responsible government through the Rebellions of 1837 resulted in “[t]he Durham Report, which in 1839 recommended that British North America be granted self-governing status” (Henderson 21).<sup>5</sup> It did so, however, while “ma[king] recognition of a colony’s right to self-government contingent upon its reorganization around a permanent campaign of internal purification” within the settler state (22). According to Jennifer Henderson, “internal purification” or what philosopher Michel Foucault calls “‘state racism’” describes “an understanding of social relations in terms of a permanent war between races” (22). However, “in the nineteenth century,” “this binary conception of the social body ... entailed a slight adjustment—the conversion of ‘races’ in the plural to ‘race’ in the singular” (22). In other words, rather than a racist policy targeting a “foreign enemy,” state racism in Upper Canada (and, later, Canada) was a policy of “*internal* racism” designed “to assimilate” a so-called “sub- or lower race, a parasite within the nation’s social fabric” (22). Specifically, the Durham Report sought “to subject Catholic francophones to the assimilative pressures of an Anglo-Protestant hegemony” (21); however, as Henderson points out, the effects of this policy of assimilating other nations and cultures within an “orchestrat[ed] ... Anglo-Protestant majority” in Canada were not limited to Catholic francophones but rather

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<sup>5</sup> Jennifer Henderson notes the significance of the Durham Report to international British imperial policy: “The Durham Report was more widely read over the nineteenth-century English-speaking world than any other British state paper (Porritt 101)” (22).

encompassed “the constant ‘discursive production of unsuitable participants in the body politic’” (Foucault qtd. in Henderson 22).<sup>6</sup>

One vehicle for this internal purification as it targeted Indigenous peoples was sympathy, which served the dual function of comparing and contrasting settlers with Indigenous peoples when it was most advantageous to a writer or to the colony to engage in either practice. For instance, sympathy was the means by which writers like Jameson and Head identified with Indigenous peoples in an effort to legitimate their presence on Indigenous lands, such as when Jameson claimed to be “adopted into” and renamed by the Johnston family—a claim which sought to lend credibility to her appropriative account of the lives of Ojibwe women (*Winter* 462). This comparative function of sympathy is possible because, beginning in the eighteenth century, sympathy came to mean “identification rather than pity” (Soni 305). While sympathy no longer entailed the “concern for the other’s happiness” inspired by pity (313), it is this very lack of concern that enabled sympathy to simultaneously perform a contrasting function between settlers and Indigenous peoples. That is, the sorrow expressed by writers like Jameson and Head when they describe Indigenous communities as spectacles of suffering may claim a temporary interest in the happiness of these communities, but only insofar as that happiness aligns with removal or assimilation policies and what they considered to be inevitable Indigenous disappearance. Their sorrow is, therefore, reflective of self-interest, and the sympathy they express for Indigenous communities allows them to assert a contrast between settler presence (and the progress of settlement) and Indigenous disappearance that promotes policies and paradigms of internal racism while forestalling any feelings of guilt. Sympathy thus enables Euro-Western contrasts designed to erase Indigenous peoples as well as comparisons that work to normalize settler presence on Indigenous lands. This dual function of sympathy supports Weaver’s assertion that Euro-Western peoples “came to define themselves in comparison with, and in contrast to, the indigenous peoples of the Americas” (216) and positions sympathy as inherently

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<sup>6</sup> Henderson offers “disputes over land in the Northwest” as an example of this process: “The orchestration of an Anglo-Protestant majority and the reconstitution of political conflict as a problem calling for strategies of internal purification and racial self-defense prepared the ground for the extension of a liberal order to this territory” (22).

structural to settler colonialism in paternal colonial policies and, in less obvious ways, in Euro-Western literary acts of identification.

This dual dynamic of sympathy aligns with what Patrick Wolfe calls “the settler-colonial logic of elimination,” which accounts for the dual structural processes of settler colonialism: that is, settler colonialism “strives for the dissolution of native societies” and also “erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base” (387, 388). While settler colonialism’s “dissolution of native societies” clearly corresponds with the policies designed to promote Indigenous disappearance touted by Jameson and Head in their travel narratives, the development of “a new colonial society” corresponds with these authors’ acts of identification. Wolfe explains that “[o]n the one hand, settler society required the practical elimination of the natives in order to establish itself on their territory. On the symbolic level, however, settler society subsequently sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express its difference—and, accordingly, its independence—from the mother country” (389) as well as to legitimate settler presence on Indigenous lands. Scholarship about this period has not considered the eliminatory role of sympathy despite its meaning as identification. Rather, Jameson in particular has been regularly valorized as sympathetic—and, hence, compassionately and ethically oriented—toward Indigenous peoples. But, as I demonstrate throughout this dissertation, sympathy and ethics are very different things. Through detailed analysis of the interactions between Jameson, Head, Johnston Schoolcraft, and the Drummond Island Métis, I tease out the tensions between sympathy and ethics with respect to important issues at the time such as sovereignty, geography, and health. I argue that while Euro-Western sympathy promotes settler colonial elimination, Johnston Schoolcraft’s texts and the Drummond Islanders’ interviews critically reframe Jameson’s and Head’s travel narratives, not only resisting the sympathy expressed therein but also advocating for their communities by proposing what Cree scholar Willie Ermine calls “ethical space[s] of engagement” (193)<sup>7</sup> as a framework for relationships between Indigenous and settler

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<sup>7</sup> I learned about Ermine’s work from Candace Brunette-Debassige (Mushkego Cree) and Pauline Wakeham’s article “Re-imagining the Four Rs of Indigenous Education for Literary Studies: Learning From and With Indigenous Stories in the Classroom.” Brunette-Debassige and Wakeham consider how to create “ethical space[s] of engagement” (Ermine 193) in English literature courses by re-thinking the

communities. The opposite of eliminatory spaces, ethical spaces are those in which Indigenous and settler communities respectfully negotiate “an agreement to interact” following “the affirmation of human diversity created by philosophical and cultural differences” (202).

## Voices from the Great Lakes “Interzone”

In order to address how the texts of Johnston Schoolcraft, the Drummond Island Métis, Jameson, and Head intersect with one another, I will first situate the writers and speakers themselves and contextualize their interpersonal interactions in the Great Lakes interzone. Many of these interactions took place in 1837, which was a big year for Upper Canada. Victoria’s rise to the throne in England kindled early feminist challenges to patriarchal Euro-Western societies. Rebellion broke out in Upper and Lower Canada in a struggle for responsible government—meaning centralizing the government within the colony by taking some degree of power from the monarchy and “the colony’s local elites” (Cadigan 321).<sup>8</sup> English activists formed the Aborigines Protection Society “in ... response to the report of the Parliamentary Committee on Aborigines (British Settlement) 1834-37” in order “to oppose the exploitation of indigenous peoples in British colonies” (Swaisland 265).<sup>9</sup> In 1837, Anna Jameson also made her famous tour around the Great Lakes and part of the United States, which she documented in her travel narrative *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*.<sup>10</sup>

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teaching of Indigenous literatures in these spaces through Education scholars Verna Kirkness (Cree) and Ray Barnhardt’s “4Rs” framework.

<sup>8</sup> As Sean T. Cadigan demonstrates, the debates on responsible government and how much power should be centered in the colony were complex. He explains, “Many Tories and Reformers, at least before 1828, looked to both the examples of Great Britain and the new economic dynamism of the American republic for a guide to Upper Canadian development. For many Tories and Reformers the issue remained finding the means by which to preserve Upper Canada’s British character while emulating the United States’s economic success. A great many Reformers wished to preserve Upper Canada’s imperial connection, but felt the colony deserved some form of government which would represent the aspirations of respectable Upper Canadians” (324). While some Reformers were “commit[ted] to ... seeing the English rule of law introduced into the Upper Canadian constitution,” some, like Mackenzie, had more “radical[]” republican “aspirations” (324).

<sup>9</sup> As Charles Swaisland explains, the Aborigines Protection Society collaborated with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—founded in 1839 to protest the continuance of “slavery-like conditions ... in many parts [of the British Empire]” after the Emancipation Act (1833)— “[f]or 70 years until they amalgamated in 1909” (265).

<sup>10</sup> As Wendy Roy notes, “Jameson’s hypothetical reader is ... a woman modelled on her friend Ottilie von Goethe” (19). However, Henderson adds that while “[t]he ‘you’ to whom Jameson’s narrator addresses her

Jameson was called to Upper Canada to support her estranged husband, Robert Symson Jameson,<sup>11</sup> in his political career as he vied for the role of Vice Chancellor of Upper Canada: “[h]e needed her presence to earn a promotion, and she needed a formal ratification of their separation and an undertaking from him for some form of financial support” (Judith Johnston, *Anna* 2). The couple were permanently separated by July, but by then Robert had received his appointment (through Sir Francis Bond Head)<sup>12</sup> and Jameson was once again able to pursue her own burgeoning feminist work. Before travelling to Upper Canada, Jameson had published several books including *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826), *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831), and *Characteristics of Women* (1832), which was titled *Shakespeare’s Heroines* in subsequent reprints. Her art-historical texts would contribute to her reputation as a leading feminist: Kimberly VanEsveld Adams states that by the 1860s, “Jameson was an honoured adviser to the Langham Place feminists,” “was active in some of their campaigns, and her art-historical scholarship was cited as testimony to the high abilities of women” (16). *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* has its own feminist dimensions that seek to influence the development of British politics and the settler state,<sup>13</sup> particularly through “gender reform” (Bryant 83). According to Rachel Bryant, in this text, Jameson advocates that “European nations need to let go of their models of womanly household devotion and instead produce women with ‘character’ who can then be exported to Canada” (83). However, as I will demonstrate in this dissertation, Jameson’s vision for gender reform was founded upon her eliminatory sympathetic identification with Indigenous women. In a letter to her father from 21 June 1837, Jameson writes that she “wish[ed] to see, with my own eyes, the condition of women in savage life” (qtd. in Ernstrom 287). As Adele

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discourse is initially a specific interlocutor, Jameson’s friend Otilie von Goethe (the daughter-in-law of the German poet) ... the second-person pronoun gradually loses its association with a proper name and the ‘you’ of the text assumes the more general contours of a middle-class English woman” (47-48). Following Henderson, in this dissertation, I consider Jameson as speaking to, and intending to influence, a “more general” audience in her travel narrative.

<sup>11</sup> According to Clara Thomas, Jameson had always expressed doubts about her compatibility with Robert but married him anyway in 1825 (Afterword 544). “[I]n 1829,” they had “separated with few regrets” when “he accepted a post in Dominica” and afterwards in Upper Canada (544). Jameson lived with her husband again for only a few months between the end of December 1836 and spring 1837.

<sup>12</sup> Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard found “a letter ... in the John Murray Archive” in “which Head wrote to his ... publisher, John Murray,” to complain about Jameson and her travel narrative (165). In this complaint, Head notes that he had “made [Robert] Vice chancellor” (qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 168).

<sup>13</sup> Marian Fowler even calls Jameson “Canada’s very first New Woman” (173).

Ernstrom explains, Jameson “intended to make the situation of native women the crux in a critique of the position of women in ‘civilized’ society” (287). Ernstrom contends that this letter reveals “[a] carefully planned feminist project” (287); however, as I will show in my second chapter, it is a project that promotes Indigenous disappearance and racist settler stereotypes about Indigenous women for the benefit of white British women.

Jameson’s feminism appears to have irritated Sir Francis Bond Head, who actively occupied the role of lieutenant-governor in “Upper Canada from January 1836 until March 1838” (Binnema and Hutchings 116) when he was recalled to England. While Jameson and Head were both living in Toronto in the winter and spring of 1837, they seem to have interacted with each other on pleasant terms. For instance, according to Jameson, Head “playfully” invited her “to get up a grievance, that ... [she] might have an excuse for paying him a visit” (56). However, Head was furious with *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* upon its publication. Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard suggest multiple reasons that Head may have become angry with Jameson, including that she insulted Toronto<sup>14</sup> and that Head was a misogynist (168-69). According to Hutchings and Bouchard, “Jameson’s perceived impoliteness towards prominent members of her husband’s social circle highlighted for the lieutenant governor her moral failings as a wife” (168). Head unleashed his invective against Jameson in a “letter ... to his ... publisher, John Murray,”<sup>15</sup> and, afterwards, in a short, anonymized discussion of her behaviour in relation to Indigenous peoples in a long essay for the *Quarterly Review* titled “The Red Man” (165, 173).<sup>16</sup> Ostensibly an essay delineating the “character” (Head, “Red Man” 312) of Indigenous peoples for a British audience, “The Red Man” is,

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<sup>14</sup> Jameson describes Toronto—the seat of Head’s government—as “a fourth or fifth rate provincial town” full of “petty gossip, and mutual meddling and mean rivalry” (65). In his letter to John Murray, Head expresses concerns that this description “will tend in no little degree to check emigration, and it will wound and mortify the feelings of the people of Upper Canada, who ... are I assure you a religious and a moral and a very sensible little community” (qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 167).

<sup>15</sup> This “letter” was “recently discovered” by Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard “in the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland” (Hutchings and Bouchard 165).

<sup>16</sup> While Head does not mention Jameson’s name, he does hint that he is discussing an English literary woman who travelled in Upper Canada shortly before 1840 (331-32). As Jameson writes in her preface, she “was thrown into ... relations with the Indian tribes, such as few European women of refined and civilised habits have ever risked, and none have recorded” (9). Considering the singularity of her publication in 1838, it seems likely that Head’s hints may have served to subtly identify Jameson in many people’s minds without discrediting him as a gentleman for failing, as he writes in his essay, to offer “protection” to a lady (331).

in reality, as racist as its title suggests, especially in Head's recycling of Euro-Western stereotypes and merging of diverse Indigenous nations and cultures into one "character." As I will discuss in detail in my first chapter, Head's account of Jameson's travels in "The Red Man" is true, but his essay engages in the same eliminatory sympathy as Jameson's travel narrative through his inaccurate depiction of Jameson's Indigenous companions. Head's inclusion of Jameson in "The Red Man" appears to have been motivated by the fact that his "books competed with" hers "in the literary marketplace," and it was to his immediate benefit "to tarnish her reputation" as a sympathetic ally and, therefore, a knowledgeable writer about Indigenous peoples while offering himself as a reliable substitute (Hutchings and Bouchard 174).

After all, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson represents her travels as a means of attaining "correct" knowledge about Indigenous peoples and amending the misinformation circulating in Euro-Western publications (28). Jameson was offered many opportunities for learning through her serendipitous encounter with Charlotte McMurray (also known as Ogenebugoquay) while waiting at the dock in Toronto for the departure of her steamboat in June of 1837. Charlotte was the sister of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, and she invited Jameson to stay with Jane and herself at Mackinaw Island and Sault Ste. Marie. Jameson reached Mackinaw in July, and she and Johnston Schoolcraft quickly became friends. Johnston Schoolcraft was the daughter of Ozhaguscodaywayquay, an Ojibwe woman with significant socio-political influence, and John Johnston, an Irish gentleman, and both her parents' cultures informed her writings. For instance, Johnston Schoolcraft's poems, which (with few exceptions)<sup>17</sup> were unpublished during her lifetime, are written in both Ojibwemowin and English and reflect Ojibwe knowledges as well as British poetic influences. Johnston Schoolcraft was married to the infamous white American "Indian agent" for Michigan Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,<sup>18</sup> who published many

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<sup>17</sup> Nine of Johnston Schoolcraft's poems were published in *The Muzzeniegun, or Literary Voyager*, which was an anthropological magazine that Henry produced between 1826 and 1827 (Parker 33). As Parker implies, the term "publish[ed]" is used a little loosely because *Muzzeniegun* was rather "circulated [by Henry] ... beyond the Sault to Mackinac, Detroit, and friends in the East" (33, 34). Copies of Johnston Schoolcraft's work can also be found in two manuscript collections, the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Papers at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library in Illinois and the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers at the Library of Congress in Washington (Parker xi, 85-86).

<sup>18</sup> Although I address Henry in this dissertation when doing so is useful to an analysis of Johnston Schoolcraft's work, I have chosen not to focus on him because he "[e]clipsed [her] from the historical

ethnographic texts about Indigenous peoples and is perhaps best known for recording the traditional oral stories told to him by his wife and her community largely without “crediting” the storytellers (Parker 27). Johnston Schoolcraft also shared oral stories with Jameson, some of which can be found in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, and taught Jameson about Ojibwe communities. Jameson even proclaims, “The most delightful as well as the most profitable hours I spend here, are those passed in the society of Mrs. Schoolcraft.... While in conversation with her, new ideas of the Indian character suggest themselves” (394). Yet, as I will discuss in my second chapter, Jameson did not represent Indigenous people, particularly Indigenous women, in her travel narrative in a way that accurately reflected the knowledge Johnston Schoolcraft generously shared with her: according to Maureen Konkle, Johnston Schoolcraft and Charlotte both became “alarmed” with Jameson, and Johnston Schoolcraft later sent a letter to Jameson reprimanding her (“Recovering” 94).

After visiting the Johnston family in Sault Ste. Marie, Jameson travelled by canoe with Charlotte and her husband, Rev. William McMurray, to the annual gathering on Manitoulin Island where Colonel Samuel Jarvis, “the chief superintendent of Indian Affairs” for Upper Canada (Jameson 495), was scheduled to address Britain’s Indigenous allies. After the gathering, Jameson returned to Toronto via Penetanguishene, having caught a ride with Jarvis’s party who were being conveyed by a company of voyageurs, at least half of whom can be identified as belonging to the Drummond Island Métis community.<sup>19</sup> Two of these men, Lewis Solomon and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre, would later

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record” (Parker 2). Writers and scholars, both historical and contemporary, have tended to follow Henry’s lead so that, as her biographer Parker writes, “today she is almost unknown” despite being “among the first American Indian writers” as well as “the first known American Indian literary writer, the first known Indian woman writer, by some measures the first known Indian poet, the first known poet to write poems in a Native American language, and the first known American Indian to write out traditional Indian stories (as opposed to transcribing and translating from someone else’s oral delivery, which she did also)” (2). (Of course, Parker also warns against “the notion of firstness,” “us[ing] the term ‘first known’ ... rather than ‘first’ ... to evoke confidence that our notion of what is first will change” (74n1)). Johnston Schoolcraft is an unrecognized literary phenomenon and, in this dissertation, I want to study her as a poet in her own right without allowing Henry to steal any part of the spotlight.

<sup>19</sup> While Jean Baptiste Sylvestre, Lewis Solomon, his father William Solomon (interpreter), and Thomas Leduc are from the Drummond Island Métis community, I am not certain about the rest of the voyageurs. Lewis Solomon says that Neddy McDonald was a member of the company, and because he says that McDonald “sometimes went with us,” it sounds not only as though McDonald was part of the community but also as though Drummond Island Métis community members tended to work together on trips such as this one (135). Solomon’s interview further supports this suggestion when he describes the government’s

recount their experience of travelling with Jameson to settler historian A. C. (Alexander Campbell) Osborne,<sup>20</sup> which he recorded as part of a series of interviews in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* and published with the Ontario Historical Society in 1901. When it was founded in 1888, “[t]he Ontario Historical Society, originally called the Pioneer Association of Ontario,” was “a federation of local groups ... primarily concerned with the promotion of British-Canadian nationalism” (Ontario Historical Society). “Reorganized in 1898,” the Ontario Historical Society’s “expanded mandate” (1899) directed the society’s energies towards the “preserv[ation] [of] archival records and historic sites” as well as “scholarly pursuits” (Ontario Historical Society), though these efforts may have continued to align with the society’s original mandate. For instance, situated on the verge of this transition, Osborne’s publication—which he had to have begun before Solomon’s death on “March 9th, 1900” (Osborne 126)—speaks to the society’s original goal of “promot[ing] ... British-Canadian nationalism” in its efforts to legitimate British occupation of Indigenous lands. However, the Drummond Island Métis interviewees undermine this nationalism in the way they describe their relocation; at the same time, Solomon and Sylvestre undermine Jameson’s self-depicted sympathetic persona through the stories they tell about their shared travels.

The Drummond Island Métis, from whom I am descended, are a community initially from the Fort Michilimackinac and Mackinaw Island area (Osborne 123; Travers 222,

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annual trip to Manitoulin Island the year before Jameson’s travels and says that the canoes were paddled by “myself and fifty-six French *voyageurs* from Penetanguishene” (134). However, Jameson identifies Martin, the steersman, as First Nations (*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* 522) and this may be true. Of course, Jameson may also have described him as First Nations because of his appearance and not his community affiliation. The government did this as well: for example, in the “List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*,” Osborne writes of Joseph Craddock that “[h]is aboriginal descent was so very marked, and the Indian so predominant in his character, that he received a government annuity with the other members of the Indian bands” (*Migration* 151). Additionally, while Jameson writes that there were “seven voyageurs” in the canoe (522), I am not able to identify the remaining two men. Throughout the dissertation, I discuss Jameson as being transported by Drummond Island Métis voyageurs because the voyageurs I am able to identify come from this community, Solomon’s interview suggests that community members tended to work together, and the interactions I discuss tend to be between Jameson and men who I can identify as Drummond Islanders. I once discuss Martin, and when I do, I note that he may be First Nations.

<sup>20</sup> According to his obituary in *The Barrie Examiner* on February 14, 1924, Osborne was originally “from Deseronto,” but had moved to Penetanguishene to teach in one of the schools (“Teacher-Journalist”). This memorial adds that Osborne dedicated “[t]he later years of his life ... to historical research, ... contributed to the Ontario Historical Societies [sic] valuable data concerning the Georgian Bay section,” and served as the “Honorary President of the local Historical Society” (“Teacher-Journalist”).

224). When the British amicably “transferred” Mackinaw Island “to the United States in 1796,” the Métis community was relocated along with the fort “to St. Joseph Island” (Osborne, *Migration* 123). However, the British and Métis retook Mackinaw Island during the War of 1812. According to Osborne, this venture was accomplished by “that famous volunteer contingent of one hundred and sixty Canadian *voyageurs* accompanied by a few (30) British regulars with two field pieces” (123). After the end of the War of 1812 and the signing of the Treaty of Ghent, “Mackinaw was again restored to the United States,” and the Métis community “removed ... to Drummond Island” with the British in 1815 (123). The International Boundary Commission then gave Drummond Island to the Americans in 1828, necessitating yet another relocation for the Métis community—this time to Penetanguishene and Lafontaine (originally called Ste. Croix) in Upper Canada (now Ontario) where the core of the community has remained to this day.

A post-contact Indigenous people, the Drummond Island Métis community formed through inter-relations mainly between French fur traders and Anishinaabe women, though historical records like *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* indicate that some community members also had ancestors from other nations. Osborne frequently uses the word “*voyageurs*” to describe the community (e.g., 123, 124, 125). This usage is somewhat unusual because the term “*voyageurs*” typically refers to “French-Canadian” and Indigenous people engaged in the profession of “transport[ing] explorers, traders, furs, and other goods” (Jasen 63) as well as government officials and tourists.<sup>21</sup> At times, Osborne appears to use the term “*voyageurs*” to refer specifically to the Drummond Island Métis community (even those members apparently not engaged in the *voyageur* profession), such as when he calls the “families” who left Drummond Island for Penetanguishene “hardy *voyageurs* or half-breeds” (124). At other times, he seems to include settlers in this *voyageur* identity: for instance, his “List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*” following the interviews in *The Migration* includes settlers. Perhaps Osborne included them in the “List” because they had married into Indigenous families. While I do not know if this is the case for all of the

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<sup>21</sup> Patricia Jasen’s account of *voyageurs* focuses on the St. Lawrence River but applies to the *voyageur* profession more broadly.

settlers, Karen J. Travers notes that, “[f]or the most part, the original Drummond Islanders—English, French, and Métis males alike—married Ojibwa women” and, later, their Métis descendants tended to “marry[] within their own community” (233).

Despite his broad application of the term “voyageurs,” Osborne is clearly interested in creating a historical record of the relocation and British settlement specifically through the reminiscences of the Métis community: all six of the people he interviews are Métis, and he begins each interview by describing, or by asking them to describe, their ancestry, at times emphasizing their Indigenous appearance (126, 137) and always noting when their mothers are “half-breed” (126, Boucher 140, Sylvestre 142, A. Labatte 144) or “Chippewa” (M. Labatte 138, Longlade 147). While Osborne appears to do so to garner reader interest by representing the community as “strange and heterogeneous” (123),<sup>22</sup> the Métis narratives constitute a form of Métis “[s]elf-ascription” or self-identification (Travers 221). As these narratives attest, Métis community members would have recognized each other through a combination of factors, including ancestry, family connections (Sylvestre 143, A. Labatte 145), language (M. Labatte 138), and culture (Boucher 141). These factors resonate<sup>23</sup> with those suggested by Catherine Bell as indicators of peoplehood, including “a common history, racial or ethnic ties, cultural or linguistic ties, religious or ideological ties, a common territory or geographical location, [and] a common economic base” (Travers 222). Travers believes that these factors demonstrate that “the Métis community [now located] at Penetanguishene” and Lafontaine “is a group that historically can be defined as a people with a distinct yet shared culture, history, and way of life” (222). Moreover, “[t]he 1901 census” also demonstrates continued Métis recognition of their fellow community members through the clustering of their homes within specific “subdivisions” in the area (226). Attentive to the possible confusion caused by Osborne’s use of the term “voyageurs” in *The Migration*, I have tried in this dissertation to focus on the words and experiences of people in Osborne’s publication who he identifies, or who identify themselves, as

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<sup>22</sup> Osborne’s publisher or editor appears to have written the prefatory note that offers this characterization of the Drummond Islanders; however, this characterization indicates their reading of Osborne’s representation and perhaps intended portrayal.

<sup>23</sup> I would like to thank my friend and colleague Maral Moradipour who, in our conversations together, taught me about the concept of resonance.

belonging to the Métis community. My discussion of the Drummond Islanders thus centers on the Drummond Island Métis, though it may at times resonate with the experiences of some of the settlers who lived among the community. Although the Drummond Island Métis have kinship relationships with the Métis communities of Red River and Sault Ste. Marie, they are a “distinct” community. The community in Penetanguishene is recognized as part of the Georgian Bay Métis Community by the Métis Nation of Ontario.<sup>24</sup>

Members of the Drummond Island Métis community participated in the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837, coming to the aid of the British colonial government against the rebels. This rebellion features prominently in Sir Francis’s *The Emigrant*, which at times is overtly engaged in a defense of Head’s political beliefs and tactical decisions. The rebellion was the result of conflict between Reform and Tory factions within the settler government, was led by William Lyon Mackenzie, and called for political reform through responsible government. As Sean T. Cadigan explains, Reformers wanted “limited political democracy, the separation of church and state, and reform in education, public health, and public morality” (323). Despite many Reformers seeking political change within the framework of empire (324), in *The Emigrant*, Head insisted that responsible government in Upper Canada would be akin to the American Revolution and subsequent formation of the Republic. While there are debates about Head’s political acumen,<sup>25</sup> he

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<sup>24</sup> At the time of writing this dissertation, “[t]here is a growing rift between the provincial organizations that make up the Metis National Council (MNC)” based on a belief held by some that the Métis Nation of Ontario’s (MNO) “recognition of six historical [Métis] communities” (“A closer look”) is tantamount to the creation, as MNO President Margaret Froh says, of “new communities” rather than the acknowledgement of “very old communities” (qtd. in “A closer look”). “Manitoba Metis Federation President David Chartrand,” who is “also MNC vice-president,” believes these historical “communities do not belong under the Metis umbrella” (“A closer look”). However, “Audrey Poitras, president of the Metis Nation of Alberta, and Glen McCallum, president of the Metis Nation of Saskatchewan, both said Ontario’s criteria for identity is the same as their own” (“A closer look”). This rift has not been helped by a growing trend in Quebec in which “white French-descendant people [are] using an Indigenous ancestor born between 300 and 375 years ago as the basis for a contemporary ‘Indigenous’ identity” (Leroux 1-2). For a detailed study of the “Eastern métis” (7) phenomenon, see Darryl Leroux’s *Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity* (2019). Unlike this phenomenon with its emphasis on individual ancestry, however, the Drummond Island Métis identity is a community identity, which is evident in their multiple relocations in which they were recognized as a distinct community as well as in the community they afterwards established and developed in the Penetanguishene and Lafontaine area. I will discuss this community development in more depth in my second chapter.

<sup>25</sup> See Cadigan’s “Paternalism and Politics: Sir Francis Bond Head, the Orange Order, and the Election of 1836” for a summary of these debates (319-20).

appears to have engaged in questionable and unethical politics in favour of the Tories in the 1836 election.<sup>26</sup> Cadigan notes that Head's Tories also threatened the working class with "intimations of material punishment[s]" for opposing the party and that, "[i]n specific cases," these "intimations ... took on a solid form" (342). Theodore Binnema and Kevin Hutchings claim that Head's actions ultimately widened the divide between the Reform and Tory parties, a consequence partially responsible for Head's untimely recall (133). While Head does not mention the Drummond Islanders in his account of the rebellion in *The Emigrant*, they were there: they may have "search[ed] the woods ... for ... rebels" after the battle at Montgomery's Tavern (Jury 6); they guided settler officials around the Great Lakes and into the United States in the "hunt[]" for the rebel leader, William Lyon Mackenzie (Sylvestre 143); and they were with Sir Francis Bond Head in his stand-off against rebels and their American allies at Navy Island (Labatte 140).<sup>27</sup> As I will discuss at length in the following chapters, their interviews starkly oppose Head's own assertions of the virtue, righteousness, and necessity of his actions by revealing aspects of the settler colony's misguided approach.

The Upper Canada Rebellion was not the only infamous event to occur during Head's tenure as lieutenant-governor. In 1836, Head proposed a removal plan in an attempt to convince Anishinaabe communities near Upper Canadian settlements to relocate to the area around Manitoulin Island. In *The Emigrant*, Head claims that he was originally "much averse to" removal (77) but revised his opinion after travelling to various Indigenous communities and witnessing first hand the effects of settler colonialism (79) including illnesses such as smallpox and hunger caused by the diminishment of game (78). Inspired by the discourse of Romantic primitivism (Binnema and Hutchings 121),

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<sup>26</sup> According to Cadigan, "[e]vidence from the Upper Canadian newspapers of the day do allow an admittedly speculative study of the paternalist accommodations that the lieutenant-governor reached with a force like the Orange Order so he might prove the victor in the 1836 election" (325).

<sup>27</sup> After the battle at Montgomery's Tavern, "[r]ebels and rebel leaders ... sought refuge in such states as New York and Vermont" and "attempted to get assistance from Americans" (Dagenais). "Initially, the rebels enjoyed much support from Americans," but then "British and Loyalist forces ... crossed the Niagara River into American territory," "captured an American ship called the *Caroline*" that "was rumoured to have been smuggling arms and ammunition to William Lyon Mackenzie and the rebels on Navy Island," "set ... [the ship on] fire and cast i[t] adrift over Niagara Falls" (Dagenais). After this incident, and given the "rising tensions with Great Britain, US President Martin Van Buren made a plea for neutrality" and told his citizens that "Americans were not permitted to participate in the rebellion or send weapons or money to the rebels" (Dagenais).

Head “believed” that Indigenous disappearance was “inevitable,” but in removing Indigenous communities “from those parts of Upper Canada settled by Europeans,” Indigenous disappearance would occur “more slowly” (125). Although Head frames his advocacy for removal within expressions of sympathy for Indigenous communities, he then mobilizes this sympathy to promote elimination. In so doing, Head proposes a legitimate role for settler and British governments on Indigenous lands in the implementation of paternal policies ostensibly created to “save” Indigenous peoples, but in reality designed to expropriate Indigenous lands for Euro-Western settlements through the alibi of sympathy.<sup>28</sup> This legitimation of settler colonialism is further supported in *The Emigrant* through Head’s identification with Indigenous peoples: that is, he draws a connection between Romantics, such as himself, and the representation of Indigenous peoples in Romantic primitivist discourse as having a “close connection to the natural world” (Hutchings, *Romantic* 156). Such a representation disregards Indigenous peoples’ sovereignty, cultures, land-based knowledges, and ways of living on their traditional lands, instead equating Indigenous peoples with Romantic settlers through a shared interest in “nature” as a way of further normalizing settler colonial occupation.

While Jameson supported Head’s removal plan (497),<sup>29</sup> the Aborigines Protection Society did not.<sup>30</sup> Although the Aborigines Protection Society was involved in

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<sup>28</sup> Binnema and Hutchings make a related point, writing that Head’s “seemingly benevolent” “cultural primitivism also had a sinister side, for Head ultimately appealed in *The Emigrant* to the Aboriginal peoples’ inherent nobility in order to rationalize his proposal to remove them from their traditional lands in Upper Canada” (117, 129). While Binnema and Hutchings provide a mostly historical (and very helpful) account of Romantic primitivism and Head’s time in Upper Canada, they do not write on sympathy or elimination, and they imply that the “sinister” effect of and humanitarian “oppos[ition]” (130) to Head’s Romantic primitivism are ironic, noting that “[t]he historical irony of Head’s position as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada seems obvious enough” (134). Conversely, through literary analysis and close-reading of Head’s *The Emigrant* and “The Red Man,” I demonstrate throughout this dissertation that Head’s sympathy for Indigenous peoples is not only consistent with but in fact promotes elimination.

<sup>29</sup> Jameson writes of Head’s Manitoulin Island removal plan, “As far as I can judge, the intentions of the government are benevolent and *justifiable*” as well as “*very reasonable and politic*” (497).

<sup>30</sup> Head also received direct resistance to his 1836 removal scheme from several Anishinaabe leaders, including Joseph Sawyer and well-known minister Peter Jones (Hutchings, *Romantic* 163). Sawyer stated that his community would not be able to subsist on Manitoulin Island, adding that “soon we should be extinct as a people” (qtd. in Hutchings, *Romantic* 163). Peter Jones travelled to England to take up this issue with Glenelg. Binnema and Hutchings describe how “Head tried to convince Glenelg to deny the Mississauga chief a hearing, arguing that Jones could not legitimately represent the Mississauga because he was not himself a ‘real’ Indian but, rather, a degraded product of ‘the contaminated barrier (the region of land occupied by half-castes)’” (132). However, Glenelg ignored Head and not only “agreed to meet with Jones” but also told Sir George Arthur—the incoming lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada after Head was

international initiatives in response to British imperialism, they considered Indigenous people in what is now Canada “the Society’s first and special care” (Bourne qtd. in Binnema and Hutchings 130) and “collected 80 signatures under a memorial addressed to [Lord] Glenelg [the Colonial Secretary in England] to protest Head’s removal plan” (Binnema and Hutchings 130). This protest may seem like a sympathetic act of allyship, but the Aborigines Protection Society discouraged removal because it did not accord with the Society’s preferred colonial policies:<sup>31</sup> as James Hartfield explains, “[m]any of the Society’s members were missionaries, and many more supported the missions. As such they were bound to the ideas of conversion and civilisation, which were also a part of the Society’s goals, right from the beginning, with the Select Committee’s Report” (78).<sup>32</sup> Like Head’s removal policies, then, the Aborigines Protection Society’s assimilationist ideals were eliminatory in that they sought the destruction of Indigenous lifeways and the structural implementation of Euro-Western “civilisation” on Indigenous lands and in Indigenous communities.

Sympathy, then, is structural to settler colonial society because it is bound up in the competing British and settler political and rhetorical forces seeking to legitimate control over Indigenous lands through the trope of Indigenous disappearance: these forces

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recalled—“that Head’s policy was being abandoned” (132, 134). Binnema and Hutchings add that “Jones, who was in London at the time seeking this very result, was overjoyed” (134). For further discussion of the responses of Anishinaabe leaders to Head’s removal plan, see Hutchings’s *Romantic Ecologies* (2009) as well as Hutchings and Theodore Binnema’s “The Emigrant and the Noble Savage” (2005).

<sup>31</sup> Binnema and Hutchings make a similar point in their discussion of the Committee of the Executive Council of Lower Canada when they note that “primitivist concepts of First Nations societies and identity did not sit well with British humanitarians devoted to the Christian conversion of Aboriginal peoples” (131).

<sup>32</sup> In 1840, Standish Motte, a member of the Aborigines Protection Society, wrote at the organization’s request his “Outline of a System of Legislation, for Securing Protection to the Aboriginal Inhabitants of All Countries Colonized by Great Britain.” The Aborigines Protection Society printed and distributed Motte’s document, which advocated against injustice toward Indigenous peoples, but not for Indigenous sovereignty. Rather, Motte’s (and the Aborigines Protection Society’s) interest in British paternalism through Indigenous assimilation is evident in the following quotation: “The rapidly extending political and commercial relations of Britain (comprehending under the imperial rule not less than one-sixth of the inhabitants of the globe) . . . render it the paramount duty of the people and government truly, justly, and humanely to fulfill the great trust in them reposed; to be careful that in grasping the commerce of the earth we do not defraud; in acquiring possession of territory we do not despoil; in planting new colonies, we do not demoralize, ruin, and exterminate those who by birthright are nature’s lords of the soil they inhabit; but so to combine and guide intelligence, enterprise, and capital, as to direct them to their legitimate ends; political and commercial reciprocity, and the diffusion of religion, knowledge, and civilization, among the heathen nations of the earth” (6-7).

include paternalism, humanitarianism, nationalism, imperialism, British-feminism, sentimentalism, and Romanticism. Contemporary scholarship has tended not to address the eliminatory function of sympathy—and, for that matter, few literary scholars have addressed the writers and speakers in this study, except for Jameson. These scholars, however, have tended to subscribe to Jameson’s sympathetic persona in their studies of her ethnography, artwork, and feminism without acknowledging that while she sets up her travel narrative like she will disprove racist Euro-Western characterizations of Indigenous women as “drudges, slaves” to their husbands (Jameson 513), she goes on to spread these harmful stereotypes herself.<sup>33</sup> If acknowledged at all, scholars often excuse Jameson’s reaffirmation of the racism of her predecessors, citing her superiority to these other travel writers because she comparatively problematizes her own society.<sup>34</sup> This is the fatal flaw with much, but not all, scholarship on Jameson: as I will demonstrate throughout this dissertation, in their desire to celebrate Jameson’s challenging work as an early feminist, scholars often ignore or downplay the problematic racist dynamics of her travel narrative. Sir Francis Bond Head has received somewhat more ambivalent scholarly treatment. Although there is some historical scholarship about Head, there is very little recent scholarship on him that addresses his career in Upper Canada, and there is even less from the standpoint of literary criticism: Hutchings and Binnema analyze how Head’s Romanticism affects his political decisions regarding Indigenous peoples (2005); Hutchings compares Head’s writings with those of Anishinaabe author George Copway (Kahgegagahbowh) (2009); and Hutchings and Bouchard discuss Head’s work in relation to that of Anna Jameson (2012). All of this helpful scholarship has been foundational to my project, but, while it holds Head accountable for poor, Romantically-inspired political decisions, its authors often seem to appreciate Head’s self-proclaimed sympathy for Indigenous peoples and appear to suggest that his Romantic approach, though ultimately harmful, was more sympathetic than colonial policies of assimilation.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Maureen Konkle is a notable exception to this trend. Wendy Roy and Jennifer Henderson also offer incredibly detailed, critical, and insightful scholarship that troubles in significant ways settler appreciation for Jameson.

<sup>34</sup> See Ernstrom (289), Fowler (168), and Lisa Vargo (64).

<sup>35</sup> See Hutchings and Bouchard 169-70 for a discussion of Head’s admiration of Indigenous peoples. Although Binnema and Hutchings clearly delineate the “sinister” connection between Head’s “seemingly benign philosophy of cultural primitivism” and removal (129), they also write that “some would argue” that the “stereotype of the ‘degenerate savage’” is “much more insidious” than Head’s “ideal” (116). Since they

My intention is not to argue that Jameson and Head were never sincere in their sentiments for Indigenous people nor that their approaches to Indigenous policy and settler-Indigenous relationships in Upper Canada could not be, in some ways, challenging to dominant Euro-Western beliefs. Rather, I intend to show that their sympathy for Indigenous peoples is itself problematic in that it contributes to both the ideological legitimation and structural implementation of settler colonialism. In his discussion of elimination, Wolfe writes that “settler colonizers come to stay: invasion is a structure not an event” (388). Similarly, the practice in contemporary scholarship of excerpting challenging quotations from Jameson’s and Head’s writings to justify interpretations of them as sympathetic is like selectively highlighting desirable literary “events”; however, these events exist in relation to the writers’ travel narratives as a whole as well as political and rhetorical nineteenth-century trends and thereby reinforce the “structure” of settler colonial “invasion” while enabling the writers and their Euro-Western readers to forgo feelings of guilt. Jameson’s and Head’s self-descriptions as exceptionally sympathetic toward Indigenous peoples make them ideal candidates for such a study.

Johnston Schoolcraft’s and the Drummond Island Métis’ voices provide an alternative vantage point for narrating Jameson’s and Head’s interactions with these local Indigenous communities, undermining the colonial archive and “renegotiat[ing] their communal cultural frames” (Foster 272) to assert Indigenous “survivance” (Vizenor vii)<sup>36</sup>

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contrast Head to his contemporaries at several points (e.g., 117, 122, 123-24, 124), they give the impression that they agree while still holding Head accountable. Also, a post on the University of Northern British Columbia’s website about Hutchings’s 2019 receipt of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada Insight Grant contextualizes Sir Francis as a “lone dissenter” among Upper Canadian politicians who were advocating for assimilation without noting that Head promoted removal, which is also an eliminatory and supposedly sympathetic policy (“Investigating”). Hutchings likewise suggests that Head was opposed to assimilation without describing what he calls Head’s “opposite idea” (“Investigating”). In an interview with *The Interior News*, Hutchings explains that he is not “classifying Bond Head as pro-Indigenous” and notes that Head was “promot[ing] the colony” (Hewitt). Yet, Hutchings selects quotations in which Head “criti[ques] ... European colonialism” (Hewitt) when there exist in these works, especially in “The Red Man,” dehumanizing accounts of Indigenous peoples that advance colonialism. This dissertation builds on earlier work about Head to engage in a more focused analysis of his sympathy and its connection, specifically, to elimination.

<sup>36</sup> Anishinaabe author and theorist Gerald Vizenor writes that “[s]urvivance is an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction.... Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry” (vii). In other words, survivance refers to the actions Indigenous people take not only to resist elimination but also to live their identity and practice their culture in the present. Alan R. Velie and A. Robert Lee describe survivance as an “emphasis on Native self-creativity ... as a hedge against the stasis of stereotype” (7).

and sovereignty. Perhaps due to the relative inaccessibility of Johnston Schoolcraft's unpublished manuscripts in the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library and the Library of Congress, and perhaps due to the tendency in settler scholarship to prioritize settler voices and published text, most scholarship that addresses Johnston Schoolcraft has, historically, focused on her husband. Recently, there have been a handful of exceptions to this unhelpful practice. For instance, Robert Dale Parker made a breakthrough for scholarship on Johnston Schoolcraft by searching various archives for her manuscripts and, in 2007, publishing her collected works in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*. I gratefully use Parker's transcriptions of Johnston Schoolcraft's manuscripts in his anthology to analyze her poems in this dissertation. In addition to Parker, Bethany Schneider has insightfully explored Johnston Schoolcraft's use of citation in her poetry (2008), Christine Cavalier has analyzed Johnston Schoolcraft's use of Euro-Western sentimentalism (2013), and Maureen Konkle has discussed her activism and use of Ojibwemowin in her poetry (2014). Putting Johnston Schoolcraft into conversation with Jameson and Head not only helps to correct the deficiency of scholarship about Johnston Schoolcraft's work, but also challenges Jameson's and Head's appropriation of Indigenous cultures, prompting critical re-readings of their work. The same can be said for the Drummond Island Métis, whose interviews also undermine Jameson's and Head's writings, though very little research has been done on the Drummond Islanders.<sup>37</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis interviewees reveal the eliminatory work of sympathy in Jameson's and Head's travel narratives while also proposing a revised ethical framework for relationships between Indigenous peoples and settlers. This framework resonates with Ermine's "ethical space of engagement" in that their writing dispels Euro-Western tropes of universality and Indigenous disappearance, re-centers their communities, "affirm[s] ... human diversity," and implies "an agreement to interact" based on the understanding of Indigenous survivance (202).

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<sup>37</sup> Karen J. Travers discusses the Drummond Islanders specifically in a historical study called "The Drummond Island Voyageurs and the Search for Great Lakes Métis Identity" in *The Long Journey of a Forgotten People: Métis Identities and Family Histories* (2007).

Ermine explains that “[e]ngagement at the ethical space triggers a dialogue that begins to set the parameters for an agreement to interact modeled on appropriate, ethical and human principles” (202). While Jameson’s and Head’s eliminatory sympathy precludes such ethical engagements, I have developed a reading method that puts their travel narratives in dialogue with Johnston Schoolcraft’s and the Drummond Island Métis interviewees’ writings and stories as a way of drawing out “the parameters for an agreement to interact” in these Indigenous works—and demonstrating how Jameson’s and Head’s texts fail to meet these conditions. This reading method aims to reconstruct elements of the personal interactions of these writers and speakers and show the impact of these interactions on their texts. At the same time, it reconstructs conversations in the Great Lakes interzone that influenced and resisted settler colonialism, emphasizing Indigenous agency as a way of unsettling the settler colonial logics attempting to effect Indigenous disappearance. This reading method thus necessarily impacts the structure of my dissertation. Instead of focusing chapters on a single text or author, each chapter is based around a particular thematic “conversation” in which all the authors and speakers participate to different degrees. That is, each chapter discusses an issue important in the Great Lakes region at this time and considers the contributions of Johnston Schoolcraft, the Drummond Island Métis, Jameson, and Head to this discussion while attending carefully to the voices of the Indigenous authors and speakers in order to unsettle canonical narratives and scholarship with previously undisclosed facts and more nuanced interpretations. In returning to the same authors and texts, and occasionally some of the same events or textual excerpts, I risk a certain recursiveness in order to emphasize the dynamic character of the writers’ and speakers’ engagements with each other and how attentiveness to previously “silenced” (Foster 272) voices can illuminate new and impactful understandings on contested topics like geographic knowledges and personal and community health. With regard to his theory of relational regionalism, Foster writes, “Anywhere the story is simple, we can be assured that it is incomplete and that some crucial member of the community has been silenced” (272). This project’s recursivity thus aims to do justice to the complexity of Johnston Schoolcraft’s and the Drummond Island Métis interviewees’ interventions in the Great Lakes interzone.

## Sympathy and the Settler Colonial State in the Mid-Nineteenth Century

Since this dissertation addresses critical conversations in the Great Lakes interzone to both trouble the “simple” story of the colonial archive and problematize the sympathy found in Euro-Western texts and political policies, each of the following chapters is structured by Foster’s theory of relational regionalism as well as critical work on sympathy, especially in its nineteenth-century manifestation. Foster’s concept of the regional frame is an Indigenous literary nationalist<sup>38</sup> approach in that it centers Indigenous voices and attends to Indigenous national specificity. Foster argues:

Instead of looking for some theory to import into indigenous communities, we yield a far more rigorous understanding by both valuing *and critiquing* the historical and cultural archive as a theoretically sophisticated site of its own. One’s history and experience can provide a testable and portable framework for understanding relations between individuals, institutions, and historical forces. (267)

Applying Foster’s assertion, I investigate “the historical and cultural archive,” using Johnston Schoolcraft’s and the Drummond Islanders’ “histor[ies] and experience[s]” to create “a testable . . . framework” against which I read—and seek to better understand the complex dynamics of—their “relations” with the American nation and the emergent settler colonial state of Upper Canada and its literary representatives, Jameson and Head. Foster’s argument resonates with earlier work in the field of Indigenous literary nationalism, particularly Osage scholar Robert Warrior’s concept of Indigenous “intellectual sovereignty” or the necessity of Indigenous people determining scholarly

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<sup>38</sup> For some readers unfamiliar with this genre of literary criticism, the word “nationalism” may recall either problematic settler state nationalism or even fascism. However, Indigenous literary nationalism focuses on the perspectives, cultures, and sovereignty of specific Indigenous nations, thus directly opposing the white supremacy and genocide central to both the settler state and fascism. Indigenous literary nationalism developed in the 1990s through the work of Osage scholar Robert Warrior (*Tribal Secrets* 1994), Cherokee scholar Jace Weaver (*That the People Might Live* 1997), and Creek-Cherokee scholar Craig Womack (*Red on Red* 1999). Indigenous literary nationalism recognizes the significance of attending to the cultural specificity of a text.

approaches to their own literatures (*Tribal Secrets* 117-18, 124). More broadly, Indigenous intellectual sovereignty has come to signify Indigenous peoples' rights to articulate and to govern the use of their rich and longstanding knowledges. Rather than accept the simple story found in the colonial archive, national narratives of settlement, and contemporary literary criticism, I consider the voices of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis, allowing their voices and experiences to determine my scholarly approach when reading them in conversation with Jameson and Head. In *American Indian Literary Nationalism* (2006), Warrior, Jace Weaver (Cherokee), and Craig Womack (Creek-Cherokee) argue that in developing this field in their earlier work, they “envisioned” it as one that encouraged “more vigorous intellectual exchange that would include voices from the Native intellectual past, present, and future” (xvi).<sup>39</sup> With regard to “the Native intellectual past,” in *Red on Red: Native American Literary Separatism* (1999), Womack emphasizes the importance of re-examining Indigenous writing from the nineteenth-century in particular, arguing that “[n]ot nearly enough of this intellectual history has been” attended to and that “[w]e need ... to recover the nineteenth century, especially in terms of understanding what Native writers were up to during that time and how their struggles have evolved toward what Indian writers can say in print today, as well as the foundational principles they provide for an indigenous criticism” (3). By applying Foster’s Indigenous literary nationalist framework, I seek to highlight the voices of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis and demonstrate their influence on an “indigenous criticism” (Womack 3) as well as their “vigorous intellectual exchange” (Weaver et al. xvi) with Jameson and Head. In so doing, I also hope to encourage such exchange in contemporary literary criticism.

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<sup>39</sup> Some scholars—like Tol Foster and Daniel Heath Justice (Cherokee)—have noted and sought to overcome the limitations of Indigenous literary nationalism as it originally developed in order to make it more helpful to and “inclusive” (Justice qtd. in Fagan et al. 26) of all Indigenous people. In particular, Justice points out three problematic aspects of Indigenous literary nationalism in the following quote:

1. The dominance of male perspectives....
2. the lack of attention to or substantive engagement with the nationhood and peoplehood specificities of urban, pan-Native, or multitribal literary traditions and writers; and
3. the dangers of literary nationalists failing to challenge dehumanizing community politics in the misguided cause of an intellectually and morally vacuous version of “sovereignty.” (Justice qtd. in Fagan et al. 26)

In turn, I analyze Jameson's and Head's declarations of sympathy for Indigenous peoples within the framework of critical and theoretical work on nineteenth-century sympathy and its connections to literary discourses such as Romanticism and sentimentalism. This theoretical context has been noticeably absent in previous scholarship on Jameson's and Head's travel writings. Vivasvan Soni's *Mourning Happiness: Narrative and the Politics of Modernity* (2010) is especially helpful for re-situating Jameson's and Head's texts within nineteenth-century understandings of sympathy. In *Mourning Happiness*, Soni explains that sympathy assumes its counter-intuitive function in tandem with the widespread cultural appeal of sentimentalism in Europe in the eighteenth century when sympathy came to mean "identification rather than pity" (305). This change is particularly evident in sentimental fiction and, later, in nineteenth-century Romanticism (291). Accordingly, sympathy is now commonly understood to mean "'fellow-feeling'—the capacity to feel anything that others are feeling" (294).<sup>40</sup> While it might be expected that such fellow-feeling would support the happiness of others, Soni shows that in identification, an observer only imagines what a sufferer is feeling and thus "leaves the self embroiled with its own emotions" (309). In sentimental fiction, literary "protagonists" demonstrate such emotion after witnessing other characters' "suffering" (310), and readers identify with the feelings of the protagonist rather than with those of the sufferer (311). Sympathy, then, enables spectators and readers of others' suffering to abdicate "concern for the other's happiness [which] is no longer ... [their] responsibility" because sufferers' feelings are irrelevant to this process of identification (313). In other words, sympathy is a self-centred feeling that intellectually and emotionally displaces the sufferer.

In importing this understanding of sympathy into a colonial context, Jameson and Head function as the sentimental protagonists of their travel narratives. Their regretful descriptions of the effects of settler colonialism on Indigenous communities allow them to identify with Indigenous peoples as allies; yet, they ultimately neglect settlers'

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<sup>40</sup> As Soni later explains, the term "fellow-feeling" comes from Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (301). Smith explains sympathy as follows: "Neither is it those circumstances only, which create pain or sorrow, that call forth our fellow-feeling. Whatever is the passion which arises from any object in the person principally concerned, an analogous emotion springs up, at the thought of his situation, in the breast of every attentive spectator" (5).

responsibility for maintaining good relationships with Indigenous peoples by portraying Indigenous communities as spectacles of suffering that they mobilize as evidence of Euro-Western stereotypes that seek to confirm Indigenous disappearance. In so doing, Jameson and Head bypass Indigenous realities and use their representations of Indigenous people to reflect settler feelings and desires, at the same time encouraging their readers to identify with their own feelings. As Indigenous realities are displaced in their travel narratives, so too do Jameson and Head advocate for the physical displacement of Indigenous communities through disappearance and removal. Through their sympathy, Jameson and Head thus center the settler self and seek to legitimate their presence on Indigenous lands.

In my first chapter, I turn to *Mourning Happiness* and David Marshall's *The Surprising Effects of Sympathy* (1988) to deconstruct Jameson's and Head's literary-theatrical frame in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and "The Red Man." Both Soni and Marshall contend that theatre may in some way desensitize spectators to others' suffering—or, as Soni puts it, theatre may cause "a radical misalignment of affect, in the pleasure we experience at a good theatrical performance," and this misalignment may "extend[] to real situations in which we are called upon to sympathize" (298, 299). My third chapter applies Robert Mitchell's *Sympathy and the State in the Romantic Era* (2007) to deconstruct Jameson's and Head's "intellectual sympathies"<sup>41</sup> by showing how they participate in colonial "systems of social relations" (Mitchell 17). Specifically, I build on Mitchell's analysis to pose a question the chapter seeks to answer: What if Jameson and Head mobilize sympathy "to create new systems" (17) in Upper Canada—not decolonizing systems, but systems beneficial to the settler colonial state? While Soni's, Marshall's, and Mitchell's scholarship is essential to the way I theorize sympathy and critique Jameson's and Head's travel writings, none of these theorists offer in-depth problematizations of the role sympathy plays in settler colonialism. In the following chapters, then, I adapt their work from the context of British Romanticism and refocus it

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<sup>41</sup> "Intellectual sympathies" is a phrase from Henry Rowe Schoolcraft's dedication in *The Myth of Hiawatha* (1856). In this dedication, Henry argues that Indigenous oral stories "indicate the possession, by the Vesperic tribes, of mental resources of a very characteristic kind—furnishing, in fact, a new point from which ... to excite intellectual sympathies" (n.p.).

upon settler colonial studies. However, in my second chapter, I apply Naomi Greyser's *On Sympathetic Grounds: Race, Gender, and Affective Geographies in Nineteenth-Century North America* (2017), which corresponds more closely with my analysis of settler colonialism, to show how Euro-Western sympathy is connected to settler colonial mappings of Indigenous lands.

Greyser situates her work in relation to the study of sentimentalism in nineteenth-century America. She explains that criticism in this field has centered around “what Laura Wexler (2000) helpfully termed the Douglas-Tompkins debate” (10). According to Greyser, “this debate juxtaposes Ann Douglas’s condemnation of the sentimental in *The Feminization of American Culture* (1977) with its celebration in Jane Tompkins’s *Sensational Designs* (1986)” (10), and, as Laura Wexler points out, also consists of “early supporting work by” a number of influential scholars “which prefigures, surrounds, and amplifies the basic insights codified by the more famous exchange” (12). These insights focused on the role of “domestic fiction” in the period, with Douglas critiquing the sentimental as an ideological sedative rather than a call “actively to ‘interfere’ in civil life” and Tompkins asserting that “the ideological and commercial ascendancy of nineteenth-century women’s writing” was an indicator of its social power and “democratiz[ing]” influence (9, 10, 10, 11). Wexler generatively intervenes in this exchange when she argues that “the Douglas-Tompkins debate as a whole has tended to elide ... the expansive, imperial project of sentimentalism. In this aspect sentimentalism was an *externalized* aggression.... The energies it developed were intended as a tool for the control of others, not merely as aid in the conquest of the self” (15). Shirley Samuels similarly reflects “that in nineteenth-century America sentimentality appears as a national project,” one with “often conservative results” (3, 4). There are resonances between this discourse (especially Wexler’s analysis) and my dissertation in that I also address the racist nation-building work of sentimentalism in the same time period, but my project demonstrates certain differences. For instance, my dissertation focuses on travel narratives (rather than domestic fiction) written by both women and men, is framed by Indigenous scholarship, particularly Indigenous literary nationalist theory, and articulates the work of sympathy and sentimentalism as more than an “imperial project” of “control” (Wexler 15) in being eliminatory and structural to the developing settler colony. Additionally, I analyze

sympathy and sentimentalism in the Canadian context, which has not yet received the kind of critical attention that this topic has garnered in and about the United States.

Like my project, Laura Mielke's work on American sentimentalism in *Moving Encounters: Sympathy and the Indian Question in Antebellum Literature* (2008) also addresses Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and should, therefore, be noted here. Mielke provides a useful summary of racist American "scientific" pursuits prior to the Civil War (1861-65) as well as a valuable study of ethnography's focus on controlling the emotions of Indigenous people. However, her discussion of Johnston Schoolcraft is limited. Mielke argues that Johnston Schoolcraft's poems published by Henry in *The Muzzeniegun, or Literary Voyager* (1826-27)—a journal he organized for entertainment during a difficult winter—"dramatize the submission ... of American Indian ancestry to Euro-American expression, the submission of sentiment to Christian stoicism, and the submission of wife to husband," ultimately suggesting, like her versions of traditional oral stories in the same collection, that "encounter and union must lead to repression and control" (142, 143). Mielke's argument overlooks a number of important factors, including the substantial editorial control that Henry exerted on the *Literary Voyager*. She writes that Henry "produced" the *Literary Voyager* "in collaboration with Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and the Johnston family," making it sound as though the Johnstons had significant input in the direction of the publication (137-38). However, Parker explains that, as editor, "Henry filled" the journal "mostly with his own writing while including pieces from Jane and others in the area," emphasizing Henry's central role in the direction of the journal and in choosing what would be published (34). Furthermore, Mielke's claim that Johnston Schoolcraft believed in the necessity of "submission" to her husband and Indigenous "submission" to Americans essentially transforms Johnston Schoolcraft into her husband's sidekick, seeming to deny her agency while at the same time failing to consider how her own Ojibwe cultural context informs her writings. Although Mielke does not provide a detailed analysis of any of Johnston Schoolcraft's writings, nor does she contextualize Johnston Schoolcraft's works in *Literary Voyager* within her broader corpus of writing, this dissertation demonstrates that such detailed analysis and contextualization reveal how Johnston Schoolcraft resists domestic and settler colonial

“repression and control” in clever ways that are attentive to Ojibwe lands and knowledges.

Although my dissertation strongly disagrees with Mielke’s account of Johnston Schoolcraft, her discussion of sympathy, sentimentalism, and feeling has offered a helpful background against which I have refined my analysis. While Mielke addresses how sentimentalism “proposed the possibility of mutual sympathy between American Indians and Euro-Americans, of community instead of division,” she explains that the failure of sympathy in this literature indicated that “the moving/affective qualities of the Indian-white encounter bled into the moving/displacing force of the narrative” (2, 4). Here, Mielke implicitly acknowledges the eliminatory work of sympathy, yet insists that “when one reads such words from a modern vantage point and rejects all appeals to sympathy as essentially complicit in an imperial worldview, one resurrects the language of doomed sympathy and invokes the discourse of extinction” (10). She believes that it is possible to “reconstruct[] a critical middle ground between a naïve acceptance of sentimentalism and a prejudiced dismissal of all sympathy as suspect” (10). Conversely, given recent theoretical work on sympathy like that of Soni, Marshall, and Mitchell, I contend that the identificatory nature of sympathy lends itself to settler colonialism through the processes of elimination. Rather than “a prejudiced” assessment of all individual acts of sympathy “as suspect,” I argue that Euro-Western sympathy is inherently structural to settler colonialism in ways that transcend such acts or events.<sup>42</sup> That is, this dissertation does not question whether “*all* sympathy” (emphasis added) is “suspect” or sincere, but shows how sympathy functions on a broader sociopolitical scale to implement Euro-Western policies and attitudes of elimination. Whether moments of sympathy between individual actors do or do not correspond with this broader structure does not impact the cultural function of sympathy in instituting settler colonialism.

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<sup>42</sup> A defense of Mielke’s argument for recuperating sympathy might point to the examples she offers of Indigenous authors, like Johnston Schoolcraft, who employed sentimentalism in their work. However, I suggest that Johnston Schoolcraft invokes sentimentalism in counter-intuitive and culturally-specific ways that reject the structural work of Euro-Western sympathy, proposing an alternate ethics of relationality or an ethical space of engagement. Moreover, as Greyser points out, sympathy could have different meanings within Indigenous understandings, cultures, and languages. For instance, while in Euro-Western contexts, sympathy ceased to refer to pity in the eighteenth century (Soni 305), “[i]n the Northern Paiute language Numu or Paviotso, *sidaminimakiti/sympathy* connoted compassion/pity, a mixed emotion with desirable and presumptuously intimate facets” (Greyser 17).

Although I argue that this Euro-Western sympathy is structural to settler colonial society, I am not suggesting a universal or identical form of sympathy applied by all authors. For instance, Head's removal policies opposed the Aborigines Protection Society's promotion of assimilation, but both of these approaches to settler-Indigenous relationships were forwarded as purportedly sympathetic ones. However, an important dimension of sympathy as a structural component of settler colonial society is how it is actually strengthened by these divisions in approach. In my first chapter, for example, I examine what I call *settler sympathy* in Jameson's and Head's writings. Settler sympathy occurs when settlers or Euro-Western peoples contextualize their affects and actions against other members of their community who have committed recent or historical wrongs against Indigenous peoples as a way of differentiating themselves while simultaneously excusing their continued participation in ongoing settler colonialism. Jameson engages in settler sympathy in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* when she problematizes Head's purchase of land from the Lunaapeew community of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown (306-08)<sup>43</sup> and when she plans to correct previous travel writers' accounts of Indigenous peoples with correct ethnographic information (28) before going on to approve Head's Manitoulin Island removal scheme (497) and promote stadial theory (512-16).<sup>44</sup> Head enacts settler sympathy in "The Red Man" when he accuses Jameson of stealing Indigenous relics and strengthens his own "sympathetic" persona by contrast (331-32) while, at the same time, misrepresenting the specifics of Jameson's theft through his adherence to Romantic primitivism and advocating for removal (362-65). While I elaborate on these examples in the following chapters, I include them here to illustrate the dynamic of settler sympathy: that is, how settlers and Euro-Western people differentiate themselves from earlier writers, speakers, or actors in order to promote a sympathetic persona that enables them to actually affirm the long-standing beliefs, discourses, and policies against which they originally sought to differentiate themselves. Although some may not consider Jameson and Head to be settlers because of their short

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<sup>43</sup> I learned this name and more about the community on their website: <http://delawarenation.on.ca/>.

<sup>44</sup> Stadial theory is a racist Euro-Western system that categorizes "stage[s] of social development": for instance, David Smits explains that "Adam Smith ... conjectured that mankind had progressed through successive stages of hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and commerce," and relegated Indigenous peoples "to the lowest stage of social development" (286). Predictably, this system argued that Euro-Western society was at the highest stage of social development.

stay in Upper Canada, I would argue that their temporary residency does mean that they were, for a time, settlers. However, settler sympathy is less about the identity of the Euro-Western people involved and more about how their sympathy contributes to the structural processes of settler colonialism. Settler sympathy, then, can be practiced by settlers—historical and contemporary—as well as nineteenth-century Euro-Western travellers, British politicians, and even humanitarian organizations like the Aborigines Protection Society.

Settler sympathy builds upon Renato Rosaldo’s concept of “imperialist nostalgia.” According to Rosaldo in *Culture & Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (1989), imperialist nostalgia refers to the “paradox[ical]” process through which “agents of colonialism” “mourn” what “they intentionally altered or destroyed” (69) and thereby distance themselves from their own “complicity” in settler colonialism (70). While engaging in a similar type of mourning, settler sympathy deflects responsibility onto others—often, historical others—transforming a seemingly individual and paradoxical process into an insidiously public and structural one. Settler sympathy is also reflective of what Mark Rifkin calls “settler common sense.” In *Settler Common Sense* (2014), Rifkin explores “how the regularities of settler colonialism are materialized in and through quotidian nonnative sensations, dispositions, and lived trajectories” (9). In this dissertation, I attend to the ways that settler sympathy is likewise operative in the “quotidian” feelings of settlers and Euro-Western people, a fact especially evident in Jameson’s travel narrative with its intertwined record of dates, places, and feelings.

I frame the work of this dissertation with a discussion of settler sympathy in my first chapter, and then focus the chapter on an analysis of the interplay between sympathy and aesthetics in Jameson’s use of prophecy and sentimentalism in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, A. C. Osborne’s paternal paratextual frame to his interviews with the Drummond Island Métis, and Head’s theatrical rendition of Jameson’s theft in “The Red Man.” My analysis demonstrates how these texts advance a prophetic discourse that promotes Indigenous disappearance. In turn, I discuss how the Drummond Islanders and Johnston Schoolcraft resist such prophecy, especially with their own community-centered forms of artistic practice in the Drummond Islanders’ oral stories and Johnston

Schoolcraft's poems "On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior" and "Lines to a Friend Asleep." These stories and poems, I contend, declare Indigenous survivance and re-think Indigenous-settler relationships within textual ethical spaces of engagement.

While my first chapter considers the influence of textual representation, my second chapter analyzes the impacts of the writers' and speakers' embodied movements over Indigenous lands on their texts and stories. I demonstrate how in *The Emigrant* and *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Head and Jameson combine sympathy and textual colonial mapping to identify themselves—and settlers more broadly—with Indigenous peoples' lands while seeking to remove these Indigenous people in both physical (e.g., relocation, removal policy) and rhetorical (e.g., stadial theory) ways. However, I also discuss how the Drummond Island Métis in their interviews and Johnston Schoolcraft in her poems "To the Pine Tree" and "To the Miscodeed" reframe Head's and Jameson's travel accounts through what Seneca scholar Mishuana Goeman calls "(re)mapping"<sup>45</sup> and their "[e]mbodied geographies" of the lived geographic knowledges of their communities (*Mark* 3, 12).

In my final chapter, I turn from considering how Jameson and Head try to rhetorically and spatially remove Indigenous people from their lands and think instead about how they attempt to materialize, through their sympathy, a future settler colony that is reflective of their personal ideologies. Jameson, through her feminism, and Head, through his Romantic primitivism and mourning, attempt to displace their feelings of disorientation and unease onto Indigenous communities, thereby claiming a rightful role for settlers in Upper Canada through the supposed "healing" of Indigenous communities. Yet, in the Drummond Islanders' interviews and Johnston Schoolcraft's poems "To my ever beloved and lamented Son William Henry," "Language Divine!" and "The Contrast," these Indigenous authors maintain the rightness of their own affective realities, in fact using an understanding of time as "sensuous" and composed of "affective orientations" (Rifkin, *Beyond* 40) to deconstruct settler representations of Indigenous

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<sup>45</sup> By "(re)mapping," Goeman means "the labor Native authors and the communities they write within and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map making, to generate new possibilities" (*Mark* 3).

communities as “out of time” (Rifkin, *Settler* 31) and Indigenous feelings as “uncivilized.” Instead, the works of the Drummond Islanders and Johnston Schoolcraft demonstrate the possibility of ethical spaces of engagement that affirm Indigenous affect and community survivance.

Because the conversations shaping the Great Lakes regional frame were the result of settler colonialism, I partly structure the chapters of this dissertation to demonstrate the ways that Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis resist Jameson and Head; however, I would like to be clear that the works of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders do more than respond or react to these settler authors and their colonial paradigms. Given this project’s emphasis on the regional frame of the Great Lakes interzone, I have chosen to begin my chapters’ comparisons with discussions of Jameson and Head in order to delineate their normative colonial paradigms before demonstrating how Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders unsettle these paradigms—and seek to transform their interzone—with their own perspectives. Furthermore, in interrogating the sympathy expressed in Jameson’s and Head’s travel writings, I would argue that it is necessary to propose, in the place of sympathy, more ethical forms of relationality, and Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders consider such possible dynamics in their works. The contrast I would like to stress here is not a reductive comparison between authors (e.g., Jameson and Head are bad, Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders are good), but a productive contrast between elimination and ethical relationships—one that will prompt interrogation of the emphasis on sentiment rather than action in nineteenth-century colonial texts as well as present-day decolonial settler initiatives in Canada.

It is not my intention, however, to reduce Indigenous-settler relations to binaric structures of Indigenous resistance. While Johnston Schoolcraft and the Métis interviewees occasionally respond directly to Jameson or react to Head’s political decisions, they more often write and speak outside of these restrictive colonial interactions, foregrounding Indigenous sovereignty, lands, knowledges, languages, ethics, and feelings. Johnston Schoolcraft’s writings reflect the long-standing communal knowledges and principles of her Ojibwe community that pre-existed settler presence, and the Drummond Islanders’

interviews demonstrate their own cultural consciousness accompanied by their own understandings of relationality and ethics. That is, their strategies of engagement with settlers and the land are their own and are founded upon their communities' own values and epistemologies.

In this dissertation, I do not put the Drummond Island Métis and Johnston Schoolcraft into conversation because I have not found a literary record of interactions between these authors. However, the historical record does provide evidence of the relationships and solidarities between their communities. As Travers notes, the Drummond Island Métis community was “[c]onnected by culture and economics ... to over two dozen villages in the Upper Great Lakes, including Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie,” and when most of the Drummond Island community was relocated to Penetanguishene and Lafontaine, some families chose instead to live in “Métis towns in Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie” and “[a] few claimed Indian status and settled on the Ojibway reserve on Beausoleil and Christian Islands” (223, 225, 225).<sup>46</sup> “A petition ... dated January 27, 1840” from the Drummond Island Métis “to the Governor General” attests to the connections they perceived between themselves and these communities (Marchand and Marchildon 61): a number of Drummond Island Métis men asked “to have the same advantages ... from the issue of Indian presents” as other Métis communities around Lake Huron, citing Sault Ste. Marie in particular (Petition qtd. in Marchand and Marchildon 61). In a similar question of status and rights, “[i]n 1850, four Ojibwa chiefs of the Sault Ste Marie area petitioned the Canadian government that the local ‘half breed’ families ... be given title to the lands they occupied in the area. The families deserved this because they were ‘the children of the sisters and the daughters of your Memorialists thus having an inheritance in the country equal to our own, and bound to it by as strong and heartfelt ties as we ourselves’” (qtd. in W. Brian Stewart 3). While such petitions

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<sup>46</sup> This passage from Travers centers on an account of Drummond Island “*voyageur* traders” who she describes as “Métis themselves, who married Ojibwa and Cree women” or “French Canadian,” though “[b]oth groups are ancestors of the present Métis community in Lafontaine, and some are ancestors of the treaty Ojibway on Beausoleil and Christian Islands” (224). I suggest that those individuals who moved “to Métis towns in Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie,” like those who moved to “Beausoleil and Christian Islands” (225), were likely Indigenous themselves or married into Indigenous families. This seems probable given Travers’s account of marriages within the community (233), which I discussed earlier in this Introduction (see page 16).

demonstrate the relationships and solidarities between the Métis and Anishinaabe communities discussed in this dissertation, they also demonstrate that although the communities perceived themselves, and were perceived by others, as distinct, they were not as different as we might imagine from our historical moment. They not only saw themselves as related, but occasionally Anishinaabe communities accepted Drummond Islanders after the relocation, possibly because their mothers were quite often Anishinaabe. This movement between distinct communities speaks to the historical moment in which the colonial government was still in the process of attempting to define the status of Indigenous peoples on colonial terms—rather than on the terms of these Indigenous communities—as a way of limiting their responsibilities to Indigenous peoples and, as Goeman notes, “deplet[ing] their land bases” (*Mark* 49). Although I am not able to put the Drummond Island Métis and Johnston Schoolcraft into conversation, these historical connections and solidarities between their communities should inform the way we read their works as engaged in related decolonial projects based in Indigenous knowledges and understandings of the land, community, and identity.

While the comparative structure of these chapters potentially risks misreading Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis as merely reacting to settlers, a virtue of using the regional frame to consider conversations taking place between the different constituencies of the Great Lakes interzone is that Jameson’s and Head’s writings become the means of emphasizing what has been overlooked and obscured with regard to Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis. For instance, while Johnston Schoolcraft has been “described by historians and antiquarians” as a “meek woman” (Parker 38) and even Parker suggests that “many of ... [her] poems have no forthright political or national dimension” (50), comparison with Jameson’s and Head’s writings highlights how thoroughly Johnston Schoolcraft’s sometimes seemingly-innocuous poems are imbued with her strong sociopolitical opinions, opinions that center the sovereignty and knowledges of her Ojibwe community. Similarly, while Osborne seeks to foreground the Drummond Islanders’ interactions with famous settlers, tourists, and colonial events, such as Jameson’s tour and the Upper Canada Rebellion, the Métis interviewees respond to his questions as part of a larger project of their own, a project of sustaining community in the face of diasporic fracturing both after their migration and

into the future. Daniel Heath Justice writes that “[e]mpires can’t survive by acknowledging complexity” (155), and in each of these chapters, I seek not only to add Indigenous voices to what have been predominantly settler conversations, thereby offering complex retellings with the potential to deconstruct both scholarly and settler colonial discourses, but also to delineate the long-overlooked sociopolitical and community-centered aspects of the works of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis.

## Chapter 1

# The World Is Not a Stage: Indigenous Art and Storytelling's Challenge to Settler Prophecy and Sympathetic Aesthetics

Just above the fort is the ancient burial-place of the Chippewas. I need not tell you of the profound veneration with which all the Indian tribes regard the places of their dead. In all their treaties for the cession of their lands, they stipulate with the white man for the inviolability of their sepulchres. They did the same with regard to this place, but I am sorry to say that it has not been attended to, for in enlarging one side of the fort, they have considerably encroached on the cemetery. The outrage excited both the sorrow and indignation of some of my friends here, but there is no redress.

— Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*

## Introduction

In August 1837, less than two weeks after writing this eviscerating indictment of the Americans at Sault Ste. Marie, British writer Anna Jameson was travelling from Manitoulin Island to Penetanguishene when she stole several skulls from an Indigenous grave on Head Island. While Jameson refrains from discussing this theft in her travel narrative, she does describe stopping briefly on Head Island and observing an open grave.<sup>47</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Jameson was travelling in the company of Colonel Jarvis, Sir Francis Bond Head's son George, the Métis interpreter William Solomon, and seven voyageurs. While I can identify only four of these voyageurs, I refer to the company as Drummond Island Métis because it appears that community members tended to work together (Solomon 134), though I note throughout these chapters that Jameson describes Martin as First Nations (*Winter* 522), which may be true or may reflect her opinion of his appearance rather than his

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<sup>47</sup> Jameson refers to Head Island as “the ‘Island of Skulls’” and writes that “some skulls and bones were scattered about, with the rough stones which had once been heaped over them” (528).

community affiliation.<sup>48</sup> Two of the voyageurs who can be identified as Drummond Island Métis, Jean Baptiste Sylvestre and Lewis Solomon, protested Jameson's grave-robbing at the time and, approximately sixty years later, related the incident in interviews with a settler historian named A. C. Osborne that have since been archived with the Ontario Historical Society.

Of course, although they were unable to find corroborating evidence like these eye witness accounts, Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard have previously questioned whether Jameson *could* have stolen Indigenous relics during her summer rambles in Upper Canada after finding "a letter" written by Sir Francis Bond Head—the lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada at the time of Jameson's travels—"to his friend and publisher, John Murray," "in the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland" charging her with this crime (Hutchings and Bouchard 165).<sup>49</sup> In this letter, Head

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<sup>48</sup> As I noted in the introduction, it was not unheard of for settlers and government officials to decide an Indigenous person's identity based on their appearance: for instance, in the "List of the Drummond Island Voyageurs," A. C. Osborne writes of Joseph Craddock that "[h]is aboriginal descent was so very marked, and the Indian so predominant in his character, that he received a government annuity with the other members of the Indian bands" (*Migration* 151). Moreover, although I cannot identify two of the voyageurs travelling with Jameson in 1837, it seems likely that they are Drummond Island Métis because Lewis Solomon says that this annual trip was made the previous year by "myself and fifty-six French *voyageurs* from Penetanguishene" (134), which suggests that community members worked together.

<sup>49</sup> While this dissertation was under review by the examiners, I learned that Kevin Hutchings had updated this article as a chapter in his recent book *Transatlantic Upper Canada: Portraits in Literature, Land, and British-Indigenous Relations* (August 2020). In the revised text, he does consider Lewis Solomon's and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre's accounts of their travels with Jameson. However, he considers them largely in relation to Jameson and what their interviews may add to understandings of this British-settler history in Canada. While, if I were to continue this work in the future, I would discuss Hutchings's updated chapter in ways I cannot here, my project provides a more extensive and thorough close-reading of Solomon's, Sylvestre's, and the other Drummond Island Métis' interviews not only in relation to British history but also with regard to their own community. Moreover, Hutchings's account demonstrates several factual inaccuracies or, at least, confusions that should be addressed here because they may impact interpretation of my project. For instance, Solomon was born in 1821 not, as Hutchings writes, in 1881 (125). Additionally, Hutchings describes Solomon's father, William, as "[a] British government interpreter" who "married one of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's sisters at Mackinaw" (125). Perhaps Hutchings meant that William worked for the British, but he fails to mention that William is Métis. Also, William did not marry one of Johnston Schoolcraft's sisters, whose names were Eliza, Charlotte, and Anna Maria (Parker 6). He married Marguerite Johnston (Osborne 156), who may have been a half-sister of Johnston Schoolcraft through her father, John Johnston, but who was not a daughter of Ozhagusodaywayquay, and I doubt the families interacted. Finally, while Hutchings quotes David Hurst Thomas to partially defend Jameson's sympathy for Indigenous peoples, noting that "most of the nineteenth-century anthropologists who collected Indigenous crania 'cared deeply about Indian people' (xxx), and it is likely that Jameson felt the same way" (132), I consider how this sympathy functions on a larger socio-political scale with regard to Romantic literary discourses on sentimentalism and prophecy as well as Patrick Wolfe's concept of elimination.

complains that “[i]n her travels, she disgusted the Indians, by disturbing one of their graves, and carrying off as a literary curiosity one of the skulls [sic] of their ancestors. Several Indian councils were I have been informed held on the subject and you can hardly conceive how their simple feelings were hurt” (qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 168). Hutchings and Bouchard note that Head also mentions this theft “in his [1840] *Quarterly Review* essay on ‘The Red Man,’” though he conceals Jameson’s name (173). Referring to Jameson as “an English female tourist,” Head writes that she “very coolly carried off the sleeping tenant’s skull, as if it had been a specimen of quartz or granite,” and the Indigenous people of the area still “speak with horror and repugnance of what they consider an uncalled-for and an unaccountable violation of the respect which *they* think is religiously due to the dead” (331, 331-32, 332). Reluctant to accept Head’s accusation without evidence, Hutchings and Bouchard turn to Jameson’s condemnation of the Americans for disturbing Indigenous graves at Sault Ste. Marie. Reiterating some of Jameson’s language, they suggest that “Jameson’s sympathy for the ‘sorrow and indignation’ experienced by her indigenous ‘friends’ in the wake of the ‘outrage’ she describes ... makes it all the more difficult to believe Head’s claim that she violated a ‘burial-place’ herself” (176-77). Given the information that they had, they do thoroughly explore the possibility that Head was telling the truth by discussing the opportunities she had to perform such a knowingly disrespectful act while visiting Indigenous graves (175-78). However, they also express their “scepticism” of her ability to do so (179).

This scepticism is partially founded on Head’s virulent misogyny and the strong chance that he may have been attempting to damage the credibility of Jameson’s character or at least that of her “ethnographic representations” (179) for his own purposes. For instance, Hutchings and Bouchard note that Jameson’s “books competed with ... [Head’s] own writings in the literary marketplace” (174). Moreover, they point out that Head’s response targets Jameson’s gender (168-69): he mocks her in his letter for considering herself “a literary lady” and makes his critique more explicitly misogynist in “The Red Man” when he writes that “[f]or our parts, we have often felt that we would not be haunted by the

possession of that skull, for all the blue-stockings<sup>50</sup> that ever were knit” (qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 178, 173). Hutchings and Bouchard also suggest that Jameson may have inadvertently made an enemy of Head, accidentally insulting him when she reviled the city of Toronto, which was the seat of Head’s government and the home of his friends and colleagues (168). Miserable with her own situation in passing a winter at Toronto, Jameson wrote of the city in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* that it was “a fourth or fifth rate provincial town” and that the settlers there “have all the mutual jealousy and fear, and petty gossip, and mutual meddling and mean rivalry, which are common in a small society” (65). Hutchings and Bouchard contend that this passage may have offended Head, not only on behalf of the settlers living in Toronto, but also because her description “was bound to ‘have a bad political effect’ by ‘check[ing] emigration’ to a colony whose prosperity relied to a great extent on its ability to attract new settlers” (Head qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 168).<sup>51</sup>

While these are all practical and compelling reasons to be dubious of Head’s account of Jameson, Hutchings and Bouchard’s scepticism also resonates with the long history of scholarship praising Jameson’s sympathy for Indigenous peoples in her ethnographic work. Although they do acknowledge that “Head’s allegations might complicate” the popular impression of Jameson’s sympathy (174), the scholars they cite nevertheless read like character witnesses in a trial. In a retrospective of such literary criticism, Hutchings and Bouchard note that “Judith Johnston praises ... [Jameson’s] ‘open and sympathetic discussions of ... native people’; Wendy Roy mentions the ‘tolerance that Jameson’s personal contact with First Nations people produced’; and Helen Buss gives Jameson credit for eschewing ‘the point of view of an objective, superior observer’, so common in the writings of her European contemporaries” (174). Of course, these are not the only

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<sup>50</sup> Head’s reference to blue-stockings mocks Jameson because the term “blue-stockings” associates her with “a series of assemblies or salons held c1750 by a group of London society ladies, notable for the informal dress worn by the male attendees and for the intellectual conversation engaged in by women and men equally” (“Bluestocking,” def. A.2a).

<sup>51</sup> Jameson situates her text as a travel narrative descended from Alexander Henry’s *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1776* (1809): according to Wendy Roy, “[i]n making her ‘rambles,’ ... [Jameson] consciously follows in the footsteps of Alexander Henry,” who “she [also] quotes” (13). However, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* does follow closely on the heels of Catharine Parr Traill’s *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836) and, as Head suggests, may have done some of the same work in terms of encouraging or discouraging British settlement in Upper Canada.

scholars whose praise extols the many virtuous dimensions of Jameson's sympathy. For instance, Marian Fowler lauds Jameson for "constantly comparing white and Indian culture, usually to the detriment of the former" (168). Clara Thomas writes that Jameson's "personality ... played the most positive role in her success. She was obviously able, when travelling ... to make the most of chance meetings<sup>52</sup> and to sympathize and to engage sympathy easily" (*Love* 132-33). Kimberly VanEsveld Adams argues that Jameson "manages to break some of the links between feminism and imperialism" (115). Ultimately, Hutchings and Bouchard posit that "[g]iven the passage of time since Anna Jameson and Sir Francis Bond Head locked horns in Upper Canada, it is possible that the latter's allegations will never be conclusively proven or disproven" (179). If they were proven, however, Jameson's theft of Indigenous relics "would complicate her avowed sympathy for North America's First Peoples" (165) as well as the popular impression of Jameson in literary studies (174).

Are they ever right.

My first encounter with Anna Jameson was not in academic scholarship or even one of her own texts. I first read about Jameson in Solomon's interview, which was shown to me by my grandmother. This interview was conducted around the year 1900 by A. C. Osborne and published in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* (1901). Although Solomon's interview focuses on his memories of our Métis community's relocation from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene after the War of 1812 when the British and American governments renegotiated the placement of their international border, he briefly discusses working as Jameson's attendant when he was sixteen years old. Solomon describes how he witnessed "Mrs. Jameson gather[] several human skulls at Head Island,<sup>53</sup> above Nascoutiong, to take home with her" (136). As I will discuss below, Sylvestre also describes this theft in

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<sup>52</sup> Thomas's reference to "chance meetings" is likely an allusion to Jameson's rushed first encounter with Charlotte McMurray before her departure from Toronto. The quick meeting resulted in an invitation to Jane Johnston Schoolcraft's home on Mackinaw Island and Charlotte's home in Sault Ste. Marie. It was these visits that provided Jameson with the opportunity to gather the ethnographic material that she included in her travel narrative.

<sup>53</sup> I am unsure of the precise origin of the name "Head Island." Jean Baptiste Sylvestre refers to the island by an alternate name, Skull Island, when he says, "We stopped at Skull Island, where there was a large pit in the solid rock filled with skeletons" (143).

his interview. While the testimony offered by Solomon and Sylvestre is transformative for studies of Jameson, we should not lose sight of the fact that the racism epitomized in her theft of Indigenous skulls is also inherent in her travel narrative's literary depiction of Indigenous peoples. This racism has been obscured by Jameson's self-depiction as a sympathetic ally which, in turn, literary scholars have failed to sufficiently question despite contradictions like her racist rhetoric and occasional support for removal. Perhaps seduced by Jameson's sympathetic discourse, settler scholarship has tended to valorize Jameson as an early feminist icon engaged in acts of solidarity toward Indigenous peoples. Solomon's and Sylvestre's interviews, then, not only provoke a reckoning for both Jameson and her text, but also gesture toward the settler colonial implications bound up in scholarly readings of Jameson's sympathy.

In this chapter, I intend to pick up where Hutchings and Bouchard left off and do the work of "complicat[ing] ... [Jameson's] avowed sympathy for" Indigenous peoples. To avoid a reductive reading that merely assesses Jameson's feelings, I will discuss the way in which Jameson's sympathy is subtly encoded within her travel narrative through her art and artistic references, gently encouraging her readers' prejudices by inviting them to mourn Indigenous disappearance<sup>54</sup> and imagine a settler future on Indigenous lands. I contend, therefore, that Jameson's sympathetic aesthetics have an eliminatory effect. "Elimination" is a term coined by Patrick Wolfe to describe the way in which settler colonialism "strives for the dissolution of native societies" in order to eradicate Indigenous claims to territory and, in turn, "erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base" (388). In order to re-position settlers as the rightful inheritors (rather than expropriators) of the land, "the logic of elimination" (Wolfe 387) often camouflages settler colonialism's active assaults on Indigenous rights, knowledges, and lifeways, and re-presents the effects of such eliminatory techniques as evidence of the inevitable disappearance of so-called inferior Indigenous societies. Specifically, I consider how Jameson applies sympathetic aesthetics in her travel narrative in ways that

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<sup>54</sup> "Indigenous disappearance" refers to the widespread nineteenth-century British and settler belief that Indigenous peoples were disappearing and that settlers were, therefore, rightfully inheriting their traditional lands rather than stealing them through colonial acts like removal, relocation, broken treaties, and various government efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples.

reframe elimination as inevitable Indigenous vanishing by incorporating the literary forms of sentimental fiction and Romantic prophecy in her treatment of Indigenous peoples. I examine her textual artistic reference to the *Repose in Egypt* and her sketch titled *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837*<sup>55</sup> to demonstrate how her “prophetic” sympathetic aesthetics are designed to pronounce Indigenous disappearance and bring into existence her desired future settler colonial state.

Importantly, a focus on artistic practice not only demonstrates the complexity and versatility of Jameson’s settler sympathy, but also opens up the possibility for Indigenous rebuttal and re-contextualization outside the realms of settler science and literature, thereby adding Indigenous voices to what has been predominantly a settler conversation within Canadian scholarship. To this end, I have chosen to examine these two examples in Jameson’s travel narrative because they directly engage Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis. The sympathetic aesthetics in Jameson’s textual reference to the *Repose in Egypt* are thrown into relief via a comparison with the respectful forms of intercultural aesthetic application and appreciation articulated in the poetry of her friend Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. In this way, Johnston Schoolcraft’s poetry resists elimination while re-centering her own Ojibwe community. Similarly, the interviews of Lewis Solomon and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre eclipse Jameson’s attempted artistic constraints in *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* as well as Osborne’s eliminatory interview frame: through storied resistance, they make a Métis future in their new home.

## At the Crossroads of Sympathy and Prophecy: Jameson’s Settler Rambles

In her Canadian travel narrative, Jameson at times engages in what Renato Rosaldo calls “imperialist nostalgia” or the “paradox[ical]” process through which “agents of colonialism” “mourn” what “they intentionally altered or destroyed” (69). “[O]ccur[ring] alongside a peculiar sense of mission, ‘the white man’s burden,’ where civilized nations stand duty-bound to uplift so-called savage ones,” imperialist nostalgia surfaces when the

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<sup>55</sup> Jameson makes numerous textual references to Euro-Western art and, as Marian Fowler notes, produced “a legacy of forty drawings ... of Canadian scenery” (165).

writing of an imperial or colonial society employs “a pose of ‘innocent yearning’” for a purportedly past state of Indigenous societies in order “to conceal” the invaders’ intentional acts of colonialism and “complicity with often brutal domination” (70). In effect, imperialist nostalgia enables colonizers to engage in acts of elimination but also dispel any feelings of guilt through nostalgia’s ideological claims to innocence: as Rosaldo argues, “[n]ostalgia at play with domination” is a more powerful colonial practice than denial because “ideological discourses work more through selective attention than outright suppression” (87). While Jameson’s emphasis on Indigenous disappearance in her travel narrative invokes imperialist nostalgia, her sympathy in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is also anticipatory: that is, in addition to looking back on the settler colonial past, Jameson mobilizes sympathy to imagine the colony’s future in which settlers continue to displace Indigenous peoples, attaining resources that are both physical (e.g., land) and ideological (e.g., a sense of rightful belonging). As with imperialist nostalgia, Jameson’s anticipatory sympathy displaces settler responsibility for colonialism, though it does so not through the innocence of nostalgia but, as I will show in this chapter, through the sanction of prophecy. This account of sympathy may seem to be at odds with common understandings of the term. For instance, according to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, sympathy refers to an affective exchange that signifies “[a] (real or supposed) affinity between certain things, by virtue of which they are ... correspondingly affected by the same influence” (“Sympathy,” def. 1a). Previous scholarship has discussed Jameson’s sympathy for Indigenous peoples on these terms: as a feeling indicative of either reciprocated friendliness or sorrow for their suffering that marks her as an exceptional ally.

As I briefly mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Vivasvan Soni troubles this definition of sympathy in *Mourning Happiness: Narrative and the Politics of Modernity*, historicizing in order to critique the fraught meaning of the modern understanding of sympathy through its evolution as a term in the eighteenth century. While prior to the eighteenth century, “sympathy” had meant “pity,” Soni explains that, since this period, sympathy has come to mean “identification” (305)—a change particularly evident in sentimental fiction and, later, in nineteenth-century Romanticism (291). Accordingly, sympathy is now commonly understood to mean “‘fellow-feeling’—the capacity to feel

anything that others are feeling” (294). As Soni notes, the term “fellow-feeling” comes from Adam Smith’s *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (301). Smith describes sympathy as follows: “Neither is it those circumstances only, which create pain or sorrow, that call forth our fellow-feeling. Whatever is the passion which arises from any object in the person principally concerned, an analogous emotion springs up, at the thought of his situation, in the breast of every attentive spectator” (5).<sup>56</sup> While it might be expected that such fellow-feeling would support the happiness of others, Soni shows that in identification, an observer only imagines what a sufferer is feeling and thus “leaves the self embroiled with its own emotions” (309). In sentimental fiction, literary “protagonists” demonstrate such emotion after witnessing other characters’ “suffering” (310), and readers identify with the feelings of the protagonist rather than with those of the sufferer (310-11). Sympathy, then, enables spectators and readers of others’ suffering to abdicate “concern for the other’s happiness [which] is no longer ... [their] responsibility” because sufferers’ feelings are irrelevant to this process of identification (313).

Jameson borrows from the genre of sentimental fiction in the way that she structures her travel narrative to create a theatre of sympathy in her account. It may seem strange to read Jameson’s travel narrative in relation to sentimental fiction as she was intentionally writing a kind of history of her time in Upper Canada and purportedly aiming for

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<sup>56</sup> A key feature of Smith’s theorizing on sympathy is his concept of the “impartial spectator” (43). Smith argues that sympathy occurs when “spectators ... assume the circumstances of the person principally concerned” and this person, otherwise understood as the sufferer, “in some measure” modifies their behaviour based on their consideration of the perspective “of the spectator[.]” (38). However, as James Otteson summarizes the problem with this reliance upon the exchange of emotion, Smith recognizes that “the judgments of spectators are often partial and biased as a result of their limited knowledge of the agents’ situations, their lack of first-hand knowledge of the agents’ actual sentiments, and perhaps also ... their reluctance ... to consider the agent’s [sic] situation in its full detail” (5). Smith’s solution is the impartial spectator, which, as Otteson points out, has the “completely unintentional[.], but nevertheless inexorabl[e]” consequence of instituting “a formal order or structure of the system of moral judging” based on “the gradual establishment of the general rules of morality” (6, 6, 5-6). In other words, the impartial spectator becomes a way of establishing moral norms and is, therefore, not impartial after all. This partiality becomes especially evident in a colonial context where the differing moral norms of many nations collide and where it is to the political and financial benefit of spectators like Jameson and Head to assert the rightness of supposedly impartial Eurocentric moral norms based on prejudices against and stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. Rosaldo’s concept of imperialist nostalgia similarly critiques imperial representations of “innocen[ce] and pur[ity]” (68). He argues that “it is a mistake to urge social analysts to strive for a position of innocence designated by such adjectives as ... impartial. Under imperialism, metropolitan observers are” unlikely “to avoid a certain complicity with domination” (69).

accuracy in her representations of Indigenous peoples,<sup>57</sup> noting in particular her desire to learn “the true position of their women” (28). Furthermore, Jameson published *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* in 1838, but according to Maureen Harkin, “[b]y the 1790s the dominance of sentimentalism as a literary form and as a mode of response was over, and by the 1820s it was something of a joke” (19). Of course, Harkin focuses her analysis on the European context, but Shirley Samuels points out that sentimentalism persisted “in nineteenth-century America” and amounts to “a national project” (3). The same is true for Canada. While Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* participates in the colonial work of sentimentalism, this aspect of her travel narrative is more likely influenced by the European context that Harkin describes. There are a number of strong overlaps between *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and European sentimental fiction that suggest this art form could have been a model for Jameson’s travel narrative. For instance, Jameson employed a similar model when writing *Diary of an Ennuyée* (1826), which was “based on a journey to Italy in 1821-22 which Jameson undertook as governess to the Rowles family” (Judith Johnston, “Fracturing” 11). Judith Johnston explains that *Diary of an Ennuyée* “is both a sentimental fiction ... and a non-fiction travel guide” (11). *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* appears to be structured with a reverse emphasis: a non-fiction account of Jameson’s travels infused with the elements of sentimental fiction.

Harkin explains that what is “unique” about “the sentimental novel” is that it “mak[es] the spectacle of pathos, which it typically stages over and over in its pages, and the responses of observers to that spectacle its central concern” (9). Although spectacles of pathos do not dominate *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* in quite the same way they do in sentimental fiction generally, they are nevertheless central to Jameson’s travel narrative in terms of its goal to represent Indigenous peoples. Rather than the interpersonal, interactive, dialogic exchange found in sentimental fiction, Jameson typically portrays Indigenous communities as “scenes of pathos” (12) by observing them

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<sup>57</sup> Jameson positioned herself as setting out to resolve the contradictory descriptions of Indigenous peoples in previous travel narratives. She writes: “Notwithstanding all I have heard and read, I have yet but a vague idea of the Indian character; and the very different aspect under which it has been represented by various travellers, as well as writers of fiction, adds to the difficulty of forming a correct estimate of the people” (28).

as spectacles and writing her racist impressions of them without reference to the thoughts and words of the Indigenous people who live there. For instance, in describing a community now known as the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation,<sup>58</sup> Jameson laments that they “were at length nearly extirpated; a wretched, degenerate remnant of the tribe” remained (165). She writes that although “[t]he government ha[d] expended a large sum in aid of ... [the] charitable purpose” of “civilis[ing] and convert[ing] them,” “dirt, indolence, and drunkenness, are but too general. Consumption ... carries off numbers of these wretched people” (165, 165, 166). She makes a similar observation about Indigenous peoples while describing the Lenape (Lunaapeew) People of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown.<sup>59</sup> She writes that “[t]he refuse of the white population along the back settlements have no perception of the genuine virtues of the Indian character. They see only their inferiority in the commonest arts of life; their subjection to our power; they condemn them, oppress them, cheat them, corrupt their women, and deprave them by the means and example of drunkenness” (311). While she portrays the government as “charitable,” she represents the backwoods settlers as having a prejudiced and unenlightened perception of Indigenous peoples. Of course, Jameson’s critique reflects her class prejudices because she herself reproduces the same unenlightened perception of the backwoods settlers in her own (purportedly sympathetic) stereotypical account of the Mississaugas’ community. This misdirection of blame away from the government and upper-class settlers obscures the systemic nature of settler colonialism and its widespread implementation through governmental policies. Whether praising or blaming settlers, though, her representations of Indigenous peoples are the same in that they are scenes of pathos meant to offer her own sympathy as a model for the emotional response of her Euro-Western, middle-to-upper-class readers. Inasmuch as she is trying to offer her readers an ostensibly accurate picture of Indigenous peoples in Upper Canada, she is also trying to teach her readers appropriate responses to Indigenous peoples (e.g., the

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<sup>58</sup> I learned this name and more about the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation on their website: <http://mncfn.ca/>. For instance, in 1847, the community “move[d] from the River Credit to the Mississaugas of the Credit First Nation” (Duric), so they were not living at their present location when Jameson visited Upper Canada in 1837. Moreover, referring to “an article [written] in ... January ... 1848” by Peter Jones, Donna Duric offers a representation of the community and “how they had flourished at the River Credit” that sharply contrasts Jameson’s portrayal.

<sup>59</sup> I learned this name and more about the Lunaapeew People of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown on their website: <http://delawarenation.on.ca/>.

“charitable” responses of the colonial government as opposed to the derogatory responses of the backwoods settlers).<sup>60</sup> Jameson may have borrowed this effort to mold the emotional responses of readers from sentimental fiction as Harkin notes that one of the genre’s key “features” is its “evident emphasis on instructing the reader how to react, how to feel: a sense of mission as moral education which marks the genre as strongly as its scenes of pathos” (12).

Another important overlap between *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and sentimental fiction is their mutual emphasis on the journey. Jameson’s text is, of course, a detailed account of her travels in Upper Canada and the United States as she moved between various locations. Harkin notes that in sentimental fiction, the scenes of pathos between the protagonist and other characters “are often initiated by the various journeys ... which, whatever their ostensible purpose, function to reveal the profound bonds of sympathy between the protagonist and the strangers he meets, bonds often explicitly asserted to be as strong as those of consanguinity” (12). Like sentimental fiction, Jameson’s travel narrative could be read as a series of linked scenes of pathos if the reader were to focus on her observations of Indigenous peoples. In addition to asserting “bonds of sympathy,” a governing argument of sentimental fiction is that “[d]espite what might first appear unbridgeable gaps between characters of different social rank, nationality, gender, and/or religion, all such social and cultural differences are ultimately shown to be mere surface phenomena” (12). Of course, Jameson does not think that differences between settlers and Indigenous peoples are “surface phenomena” because she believes in Indigenous disappearance, a trope she returns to numerous times throughout the text usually in relation to scenes of pathos. For example, just prior to discussing the Lunaapeew community of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown, she writes: “I am inclined to think that the idea of the Indians becoming what *we* call a civilised people seems quite hopeless; those who entertain such benevolent anticipations should come here ... and see with their own eyes that there is a bar to the civilisation of the Indians” (305-06). While

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<sup>60</sup> Of course, Jameson is interested in how the sympathetic emotional responses of readers will influence their future actions, but, unlike the sentimental novel, her travel narrative does not “privilege the visible, somatic expression of sympathy” (i.e., weeping) (Harkin 11). Counter to the code of conduct prioritized in sentimental fiction, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* does believe that “verbal language ... [is] an adequate means of communicating the emotions” (Harkin 11).

Jameson's belief in Indigenous disappearance is based on her claim that Indigenous peoples will never be able to approximate settlers, she does believe it is possible for Euro-Western people to "indigenize" themselves. Terry Goldie explains that "indigenization" refers to settlers' "need to become 'native,' to belong in their land" (194). Most notably, Jameson depicts her own indigenization in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* when she proudly describes what she considers to be her adoption into the family of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and Charlotte McMurray. Jameson notes that their mother, Ozhaguscodaywayquay, referred to her as "Nindannis, daughter, and ... [Jameson] called her Neengai, mother" (455). Strengthening this perception of "consanguinity," she later "introduce[s]" readers to her "new relations," the relatives of Jane and Charlotte (462). Jameson's journey builds on the sentimental tradition in order to invoke Indigenous disappearance and attempt to legitimate her own presence on Indigenous lands.

Through her travels, then, Jameson is "translating" what she observes: as Thomas Gerry explains, "[w]hether it be translation as the process of turning from one language into another ... or ... the turning from journal into letters, and verbal descriptions into sketches ... translation is the paradigm of Jameson's time in Canada" (39). While Gerry approves of Jameson's various translations and the "powers of sympathy" evident in some of her "sketches" (45), Harkin offers a more troubling account of translation, noting that in sentimental fiction the protagonist, "through his experiences of the bonds created by sympathy, is always recognizing the familiar. Yorick's reflections on his own practice as a 'sentimental traveller' in [Laurence] Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768) stands as epigraph to the genre: 'I go translating all the way'" (12). Broadly, translation is a key concept in this chapter for reflecting upon artistic practice. The Drummond Island Métis had to translate their stories into English—their second or third language<sup>61</sup>—in order to communicate with their interviewer, and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft wrote poems in Ojibwemowin and English. While these examples recall a more common understanding of translation as working between languages, Head, Osborne, and Jameson also "translate" their observations of Indigenous peoples in the sense that they are making

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<sup>61</sup> After French and Anishinaabemowin.

Indigenous peoples familiar to their settler and European readers. However, while sentimental fiction forwards a thesis of common humanity by showing how seemingly insurmountable differences are overcome by bonds of sympathy, Head, Osborne, and Jameson make Indigenous peoples familiar to their readers in a different way. Rather than seeking commonality or real relationships with the vast majority of Indigenous people they meet, they fit these people within prejudiced settler and European ideas about Indigeneity.

Jameson borrows from sentimental fiction in that her travel narrative is a journey strung together by scenes of pathos. Unlike sentimental fiction, though, any moments of commonality that Jameson portrays are superseded by her adherence to the familiar within her own culture. Jameson performs a sleight of hand by which her scenes of pathos become spectacles of suffering that reinforce settler colonial tropes, narratives, and agendas.<sup>62</sup> Jameson's role becomes not that of a friend, a researcher, or even an objective traveller, but rather that of a spectator. This spectator role corresponds closely with theories of sympathy by her contemporary Adam Smith as well as with the more modern complications of sympathy offered by David Marshall. Marshall notes that "[f]or Smith, acts of sympathy are structured by theatrical dynamics that (because of the impossibility of really knowing or entering into someone else's sentiments) depend on people's ability to represent themselves as tableaux, spectacles, and texts before others" (5). However, the Indigenous people that Jameson met, such as Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis, did not offer themselves as spectacles or tableaux; rather, they shared with Jameson a glimpse of the vibrant, diverse, and dynamic lived realities of Indigenous people. It was Jameson who flattened, twisted, and froze these experiences into tableaux of suffering in her text. Her choice to do so has significant consequences because, as Marshall points out, there are disturbing implications for theatre serving as an epistemological foundation for sympathy. These include that in transposing "the frame" of theatre onto life, spectators (such as Jameson and potentially her readers) could come to view others' distress as theatre and thereby grow desensitized to it (22). Moreover,

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<sup>62</sup> It should be noted that although sentimental fiction does demonstrate commonality between people, the protagonists of the genre encounter scenes of pathos "not to alter the circumstances, or to be changed by them in the manner of the *Bildungsroman*" (Harkin 12).

Marshall suggests that “in viewing the people and events to which we become spectators—indeed, in the very act of viewing them as spectacles, as if they were paintings or scenes from a play—we might be misconstruing what we see” (33).

Since Jameson has depicted herself as exceptionally sympathetic toward Indigenous peoples—and since scholarship has likewise interpreted Jameson in this way—it is essential to explore sympathy as an indicator of settlers’ repressed desire for Indigenous elimination. Jameson’s travel narrative relies upon what I term *settler sympathy*, which occurs when settlers contextualize their affects and actions against other members of their community who have committed recent or historical wrongs against Indigenous peoples as a way of differentiating themselves while simultaneously excusing their continued participation in ongoing settler colonialism. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* mobilizes settler sympathy in both broad and specific ways. For example, underlying the entire text is Jameson’s stated goal of correcting the racist travel narratives of earlier writers (28), so all of her interactions with Indigenous people and lands are situated in the context of her self-proclaimed exceptional allyship. Here, settler sympathy takes the form of a strong affinity for Indigenous people, which we will see specifically in Jameson’s account of the Drummond Island Métis. However, throughout her travels, Jameson also describes scenes of pathos in which she extends a mournful sympathy toward Indigenous people or communities in response to witnessing their individual circumstances of suffering, such as when she chastises the Americans at Sault Ste. Marie. In all of these broad and specific circumstances, though, Jameson’s sympathy works to further elimination by adhering to the trope of Indigenous disappearance and promoting settlement on Indigenous lands.

Jameson’s travel narrative is particularly striking as an example of settler sympathy because it unites Euro-Western sentimentalism with the Romantic literary form of prophecy to promote Indigenous disappearance. To claim that Jameson was prophesying the future of Upper Canada is not at all as odd as it initially sounds. Speaking of women writing in the early Romantic period in the wake of the French and American revolutions, Orienne Smith explains that some writers were “[c]onvinced that they were living in a period of spiritual and political crisis” and “assumed the mantle of the female prophet to

sound the alarm before the final curtain fell” (2). Prophecies were printed so copiously after 1789 “that the *Monthly Review* created a separate heading, ‘Modern Prophecy,’ in order to review them” (4). Smith’s analysis focuses on writers who, she argues, “believed ... [themselves] to be authorized by God to bring about a social or religious transformation” and “to articulate God’s message at this critical juncture of sacred and secular history” (2). These writers engaged in such prophetic acts because of the “millenarian expectations sweeping through England after the French Revolution”; in response to these expectations, the writers Smith studies sought to legitimate their socio-political interventions by drawing upon the tradition of female prophecy from “the Civil War decades when a series of sectarian female prophets in England ... interpreted contemporary political events as the catastrophic ushering in of the Last Days” (1). While Jameson’s vision of Upper Canada is not a millenarian one, she nevertheless appeals to this contemporary literary tradition, in part by interpreting the future as God has supposedly planned it. Her sense of assurance, throughout her travel narrative, about eventual Indigenous disappearance builds on and benefits from her claims that settlement is part of the divine plan.

Moreover, Jameson’s vision fits within the wider tradition of prophecy in the Romantic period because, although prophecies could rely on interpretations of the Bible, Smith also counts social prophecies in her analysis, such as Mary Wollstonecraft’s *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792). She writes that Wollstonecraft’s “demand ... for ‘a revolution in female manners’ was predicated on her belief that society was steadily evolving towards a divinely decreed state of perfection” (18). Similarly, although Jameson’s travel narrative does not rely on scripture, it does take recourse to religious language to bring about a sociopolitical change in Upper Canada. For instance, the most conspicuous of Jameson’s prophecies is a vision she claims to have been inspired with while approaching St. Thomas at a natural landmark called Bear Hill. Jameson exclaims,

[T]he present fell like a film from my eyes: the future was before me, with its towns and cities, fields of waving grain, green lawns and villas, and churches and temples turret-crowned; and meadows tracked by the frequent footpath; and railroads, with trains of rich merchandise steaming along: — for all this *will* be!

Will be? *It is* already in the sight of Him who hath ordained it, and for whom there is no past nor future: though I cannot behold it with my bodily vision, even *now* it is. (268)

Jameson's vision anticipates colonialism while foregoing the need for any sort of guilt about the occupation of Indigenous lands because God has always intended settlement. Like Smith's analysis of Wollstonecraft, Jameson's vision frames the development of the settler colony as a preordained social evolution or, in Jameson's words, "progressive civilisation[,] progressive happiness, progressive approximation to nature and to nature's God" (268).

In the midst of her prophecy, Jameson waxes eloquent about the transformation she envisions. She meditates whether "*that* NOW [is] better than *this* present NOW? When these forests, with all their solemn depth of shade and multitudinous life, have fallen beneath the axe—when the wolf, and bear, and deer are driven from their native coverts, and all this infinitude of animal and vegetable being has made way for restless, erring, suffering humanity" (268). Jameson may seem to hesitate out of sympathy for the loss of life that her vision would entail, but this pause allows her to defer responsibility for the affected lives onto God, writing "surely it will be *well* and right in His eyes who has ordained that thus the course of things shall run" (268). Significantly, Jameson does not mention Indigenous peoples in this passage. In order to maintain her sympathetic persona while advocating for divinely-sanctioned settlement, she performs a trick of literary misdirection wherein she has readers focus on settlement and thereby elides the erasure of Indigenous communities and sovereignty essential to this vision. Such a straightforward prophecy of elimination may seem to exist in tension with Jameson's later denunciations of settler efforts to expropriate Indigenous lands, such as when she criticizes Sir Francis Bond Head over his purchase of land from the Lunaapeew community of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown and when she refers to removal again in his treatment of a Wyandot petition (306-08, 351). Hutchings and Bouchard show that Jameson's criticism reflects her opposition to Head's "paternalism" rather than removal (172), but they contend that Jameson's sympathetic stance nevertheless reflects "an affirmation of indigenous peoples' agency, and a concern for the justice of their

treatment” (172-73). Conversely, I argue that Jameson’s settler sympathy supports elimination: she marks herself as being a better ally through her sympathy but ultimately perpetuates settler colonial logics, though she does so in less explicit ways, using prophecy to aestheticize and romanticize Indigenous disappearance. For instance, with regard to the Lunaapeew and the Wyandot, she agrees with Head that Indigenous peoples can only be saved through removal (310, 351). She later defends Head and offers her unqualified support for his proposal to remove Anishinaabe communities near settlements to Manitoulin Island—a plan she calls “benevolent and *justifiable*” (497). Jameson’s settler sympathy suggests to readers that she has a more just and compassionate understanding of settlement, thereby holding other settlers to account while simultaneously promoting a vision of elimination that is not substantively different. Her prophecy at Bear Hill, then, resonates with and profits from the more direct comparisons she makes between herself and other settlers throughout her travel narrative.

Moreover, Jameson’s moment of sympathetic reflection in her Bear Hill vision resembles a passage from American Samuel George Morton’s notorious *Crania Americana* (1839), which is a phrenological study based on Morton’s theft of the skulls of Indigenous people. While it is unlikely that Jameson read *Crania Americana* before the publication of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* since Morton’s text was published a year after her own, the connections between these texts are deeply troubling. At one point, Morton quotes from an *Edinburgh Review* article titled “Howison’s Upper Canada” to observe that “it now seems certain that the North American Indians, like the bears and wolves, are destined to flee at the approach of civilised man, and to fall before his renovating hand, and disappear from the face of the earth along with those ancient forests” (qtd. in Morton 272). Alarming, the observations of Morton and the *Edinburgh Review* also appear to be those of Jameson in her Bear Hill prophecy (see full quote above) with its references to “the wolf, and bear,” settlement by “suffering humanity,” and “multitudinous life ... fall[ing] beneath the axe” (268). These authors share a certainty about a preordained settler future on Indigenous lands as well as remarkably similar references to specific animals and the theme of renovating the land. Jameson is further connected to Morton through the intricacies of their projects. Tim Fulford explains that natural historians like Morton justified their racist observations about Indigenous bodies by referencing the

observations travel writers made about Indigenous character (96-97). Jameson's interest in Indigenous character in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* suggests, then, that her theft of Indigenous skulls is indicative of her broader efforts to bridge travel writing, artistic representation, and settler sciences.<sup>63</sup> Of course, unlike Jameson, Morton explicitly cites and approves the trope of Indigenous disappearance. However, when Jameson earlier described Toronto as being “within half a mile of” “the interminable forest,” she called this forest “the haunt of the red man, the wolf, [and] the bear” (69), so that she appears to have erased Indigenous peoples from her later Bear Hill vision. These comparisons—with Morton's *Crania Americana* and with her description of Toronto—demonstrate that even though Jameson's Bear Hill vision does not mention Indigenous peoples in its prophecy of settlement, their very erasure reinforces her logic of elimination and resonates with the common belief in Europe and America that settlements would rise on Indigenous lands through Indigenous disappearance.

*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* similarly tries to naturalize Euro-Western belief in Indigenous disappearance by working to make it register as inevitable through settler sympathy. Jameson seemingly does so with success since I have encountered no criticism on her use of prophecy and general acceptance of her invocation of racist literary tropes like Indigenous disappearance as routine for settlers and tourists. Yet I think it is important to consider how the repetition of these tropes is an artistic choice that functions for Euro-Western writers and readers as a self-fulfilling prophecy. Near Six Nations of the Grand River, Jameson declares that “[t]he white population throughout America is supposed to double itself on an average in twenty-three years; in about the same proportion do the Indians perish before them” (233-34). This statement is a prediction of a settler future through elimination, but it poses as a statistic or fact—something inevitable and incontrovertible. In the repetition and acceptance of the trope of

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<sup>63</sup> In a related suggestion, Hutchings and Bouchard propose that “for Jameson, a skull might have served literary story-telling purposes as a symbol of authentic Indian culture while also serving ‘science’ as an ‘Indian source’ from which further information could be derived via phrenological or craniological study” (179). While similar to my analysis, I am specifically attentive to the ways in which Jameson's interest in settler science and literature replicates the racist practices of natural historians to promote settler belief in Indigenous disappearance as a way of expropriating Indigenous lands. Fulford likewise notes that Morton's work supported the theft of Indigenous lands, though he does not discuss Jameson, sympathy, or elimination (97).

Indigenous disappearance within *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, between settler texts, and across genres (e.g., within politics), early settlers not only generated a belief in the inevitability of Indigenous disappearance but actually participated in efforts to create that future through emigration, development of settlements on Indigenous lands, and the removal and relocation of Indigenous communities. Modern scholarship tends to further normalize such references to Indigenous disappearance by erasing Indigenous contexts and making allowances for early settler writers as products of their time. Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar and author Leanne Simpson makes a similar argument in her analysis of English writer Susanna Moodie's famous recounting of her experiences as a Canadian settler in *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852). Simpson notes that scholarship tends not to hold Moodie accountable for her racism through appeals to historical context, and she counters this problematic critical approach by indicating that Indigenous people also have their own "historical context" and ethical "standards" (*As We* 99). This erasure of Indigenous contexts is the work of what Mark Rifkin calls "settler common sense," a phenomenon by which "the regularities of settler colonialism are materialized in and through quotidian nonnative sensations, dispositions, and lived trajectories" (*Settler* 9). Through repetition of such tropes as Indigenous disappearance, "settler expansionism" becomes "the evident horizon through which the present moves toward the future" (31). In Jameson's travel narrative, Indigenous disappearance is intertwined with settler sympathy, which encourages her Euro-Western readers to view themselves as blameless in their supposed preordained inheritance of Indigenous lands because, as Soni's work on identification indicates, Jameson's readers will identify with her emotional responses rather than consider Indigenous contexts in their own right. Moreover, Jameson's eliminatory sympathetic aesthetics are even more subtle because they are, at times, articulated through her use of Euro-Western artistic references. These familiar and reassuring artistic applications attempt to assert Jameson's "control[]" over Indigenous peoples and their lands (Roy 72) and they also invite readers to adopt Jameson's colonial gaze.

## Seeing the Settler Colonial Future: Anna Jameson's "[A]rtistic [E]ye"

Although Jameson's colonial gaze is strongly apparent in the scenes of pathos she creates within her travel narrative, it was equally evident in life to Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, the husband of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and notorious "Indian agent" for Michigan. In his *Personal Memoirs* (1851), he wrote reproachfully that the English tourists who visit him

look on America very much as one does when he peeps through a magnifying glass on pictures of foreign scenes, and the picturesque ruins of old cities and the like.... [E]ven Mrs. Jameson, who had the most accurate and artistic eye of all, but who, with the exception of some bits of womanly heart,<sup>64</sup> appeared to regard our vast woods, and wilds, and lakes, as a magnificent panorama, a painting in oil. (qtd. in Thomas, *Love* 134-35)

Like Jameson's scenes of pathos in which she promotes Indigenous disappearance by translating the lived experiences of Indigenous people into spectacles divorced from reality, Jameson also uses art and artistic references in an effort to transform Indigenous people and their lands into signifiers of British sovereignty. As Patricia Jasen explains, the picturesque was an "aesthetic categor[y]" developed during the Romantic period which not only marked "the rising importance of landscape as an element of taste," but that also served as a way to connect these "landscape[s]" to "nationalism, and history" (7). Of course, rather than defending Indigenous sovereignty, Henry characterizes Indigenous lands as American when he refers to them as "*our* vast woods, and wilds, and lakes" (emphasis added). His account of Jameson's understanding of the land throws into relief his own supposed authentic perception, rendering Jameson foreign while

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<sup>64</sup> In this passage, Henry constructs a gendered sympathy through reference to Jameson's "womanly heart," which he uses to explain moments of exception to her colonial gaze. It would be unfair of me to fail to recognize actual friendships, attachments, and moments of disinterest expressed by Jameson in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, such as what appear to be sincere feelings of friendship for Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, Charlotte McMurray, and Ozhagusodaywayquay. It is in no way my intention to argue that Jameson is totally insincere in her affections. Rather, I stress that her work, and especially the sympathy she expresses in it, participate often personally but always systemically in the process of settler colonial elimination.

indigenizing himself and, accordingly, Americans. Henry's depiction of Jameson, then, reveals the stakes to American nationalism if British tourists are permitted to determine the signification of the Great Lakes within popular Euro-Western literary discourse, suggesting that such control would amount to an imperial incursion not against Indigenous peoples but rather against Americans. Jameson's artistic understanding of the land and Henry's disapproval of it ultimately work toward a comparable goal: the legitimization of settler colonies.<sup>65</sup>

Wendy Roy elaborates upon the ethnographic dimension of Jameson's use of art to record her travels, explaining the potential impact of Euro-Western signification upon Indigenous peoples. As Roy points out when discussing Jameson's use of "the languages of landscape and literature," the shrouding of Indigenous bodies and lands in Euro-Western signifiers "reinforces their difference, and at the same time defines and contains them. Although they are 'other,' if they can be written about using the idiom with which Jameson is familiar, they are both knowable and controllable" (72). Roy further explains that while Jameson sometimes carefully attends to the "individuali[ty]" of Indigenous people in her drawings "to the extent that their features were distinct and their portraits named" (65), she often reductively "construct[s] First Nations peoples as part of the scenery or as 'types' or ethnographic specimens" (64-65). In using Euro-Western aesthetic categories like the picturesque, Jameson seeks to define Indigenous people not respectfully on their own terms but as signs that reinforce pre-existing Euro-Western prejudices and beliefs about their occupation of Indigenous lands. After all, such representations made the land familiar: Euro-Western readers may have picked up Jameson's travel narrative because they were curious about Indigenous peoples, but they put it down reassured by the project of empire and their place within it. By containing Indigenous people within her representations as "scenic" or "specimens," Jameson subtly suggests their passing away, leaving artefacts and their land for British settlers.

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<sup>65</sup> Roy also analyzes this passage from Henry's *Personal Memoirs*. Rather than examine the tensions between British and American representations of the land, however, Roy comments that "Schoolcraft astutely pointed to the depersonalizing and simultaneous containment inherent in 'picturesque' approaches to landscape" and how such approaches worked to "distance" viewers "from what they saw by aestheticizing it" (72).

Roy's analysis focuses on Jameson's sketches, but the dynamics she describes are also apparent in Jameson's textual references to Euro-Western art. For instance, Jameson's reference to the *Repose in Egypt* in her text contains Indigenous people within Euro-Western aesthetics in order to exert settler colonial control over them and their lands. As I will show, Jameson's use of the image may at first seem complimentary, but it becomes threatening when read alongside Jameson's prophetic interpretation of the Madonna figure. *Repose in Egypt* is a generic name for a biblical scene, meaning that it was a popular subject depicted by numerous artists and titled in similar ways. While Jameson does not mention a specific artist in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, in her later *Legends of the Madonna* (1852), she focuses her analysis of *Repose* scenes on productions from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including works by Anthony van Dyck and Correggio.<sup>66</sup> Jameson was insistent about what constituted a *Repose* scene: according to her, a *Repose* must represent a "rest on the journey, or at the close of the journey," and "the personages ought to be restricted to the Virgin, her Infant, and St. Joseph, with attendant angels" (*Legends* 238, 239). In her travel narrative, Jameson refers to the *Repose in Egypt* after leaving Sault Ste. Marie as part of a company that included three Métis voyageurs connected with the Drummond Island community<sup>67</sup> and her Ojibwe friend Charlotte McMurray, the sister of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. Jameson writes: "[I]t was a perfect picture: ... Content was washing plates and dishes; Pierrot and Masta were cooking; the two Indian girls were spreading the tablecloth on the turf. Mrs. MacMurray and her baby—looking like the Madonna and child in the 'Repose in Egypt'—were seated under a tree" (488).<sup>68</sup> Jameson seems to be expressing a sympathetic affinity for her Indigenous companions through a complimentary comparison between them and the Madonna, Christ child, and attendant angels in the

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<sup>66</sup> Anthony Van Dyck (1599-1641) was born in Belgium and "[i]n 1632 ... became 'Principal Painter in Ordinary to their Majesties'" in England (Aldridge). Born Antonio Allegri, but referred to "by the name of his birthplace," "Correggio (ca. 1494-1534)" was an "Italian painter" ("Correggio") whose artistic techniques "were so widely imitated in the seventeenth century" (Vaccaro).

<sup>67</sup> The voyageurs Jameson mentions are Drummond Islanders or are at least connected with the community since Jean Baptiste Sylvestre calls them "our people" (144). In his interview with A. C. Osborne, Sylvestre explains that Jameson "had been brought down from the 'Sault' by some of our people of the North-West Company to Manitoulin Island" (144).

<sup>68</sup> Jameson goes on to describe Mr. McMurray as part of this picture, but the implications of his objectification as a white, settler man with religious status are clearly not the same since his person is not threatened with settler colonial disappearance or elimination.

painting. Her comparison of Charlotte and the Madonna may seem especially complimentary given that Charlotte was a devout Protestant who might therefore appreciate being compared to Mary.

However, Jameson's compliment covers her Indigenous companions with a picture of the Euro-Western spiritual-historical past and thereby offers her readers a lens through which they can comfortably gaze on the difference of Indigenous people via an affinity for their own cultural signifiers. As in Roy's analysis of Jameson's sketches, Jameson "contains" her companions by layering this picture over their bodies and land. Furthermore, although Jameson in this passage is ostensibly describing the labour Indigenous people undertook in transporting her to Manitoulin Island, she does so in such a way that she transforms their lived experiences into a Romantic scene, recontextualizing them within the frame of a Euro-Western painting and thereby making them "still." Jameson transforms their dynamic camp—whose members were racing to the gathering on Manitoulin Island—into a tableau (a form of art that literally stills life). Her artistic practice thereby resonates with the criticism of Elisabeth Bronfen about "the interstice between death, femininity and aesthetics" and how, through "representation of a dead feminine body," artists and spectators may attempt to "disavow" "the reality of [their own] death[s]" (xi, xi, x). While Bronfen is discussing "representation[s]" of the deaths of "beautiful wom[en]" (x), her analysis gestures toward systemic power dynamics in Western understandings of gender, and these power dynamics could be read in relation to settler colonial elimination. For instance, Jameson's tableau disavows the reality of Indigenous presence by stilling life—as well as Indigenous sovereignty by portraying Indigenous people as existing within a Euro-Western context. Jameson's tableau, like her representations of Indigenous disappearance throughout her travel narrative, "articulate[s] an anxiety about and a desire for death, ... [it] function[s] like a symptom, which psychoanalytic discourse defines as a repression that fails" (x). In the context of settler colonial elimination, these textual and visual "still-lives" "articulate an anxiety" not about the death of the artist, but rather about empire, settler rights to Indigenous lands, and the belonging of the artist. In other words, still-lives like those created by Jameson articulate an anxiety about Indigenous sovereignty. Kahnawà:ke Mohawk scholar Audra Simpson argues that, within settler colonial logics, Indigenous "sovereignty is the uncitable thing" ("Settlement's"

209). She adds that sovereignty “is the sign that is attached to robust Indigeneities ... persistent and insistent ‘survivals’ ... that are nightmarish for the settler state” (211). Jameson’s transformation of her companions into a tableau that imitates the *Repose* represses an anxiety about Indigenous sovereignty by shrouding dynamic Indigenous realities or “robust Indigeneities.”

Moreover, I suggest that the *Repose in Egypt* functions as a medium through which Jameson attempts to control Indigenous peoples, especially through her understanding of the Madonna. Kimberly VanEsveld Adams explains that

[t]he ‘Age of Mary’ is a name frequently given to Continental Europe during this era—more precisely, the years 1854 (dogma of the Immaculate Conception) to 1950 (declaration of the Assumption of the Virgin)—because of the great revival in Marian devotion. There had been Marian apparitions at the Rue du Bac in Paris in 1830 (which led in 1832 to the striking of the Miraculous Medal honoring Mary immaculate). (21)

Although Jameson compared Charlotte and Mary before this renewed Marian devotion reached its fever pitch, her comparison still occurred during the revival Adams describes (that is, six years after the creation of the Miraculous Medal). Adams notes that this religious revival also took root in popular literary representation, pointing out that “Madonna-figures appeared with some frequency in the art and literature found in Britain and the United States in the nineteenth century” (4).<sup>69</sup>

Jameson capitalized on this revival when, in 1852, she published an art history text called *Legends of the Madonna*, which examines representations of Mary throughout history and frames them within Jameson’s own sociopolitical ideologies. Although it is unclear how much of this information Jameson would have known at the time of her travels in Upper Canada, I think it is important to contextualize Jameson’s comparison of Charlotte and Mary within Jameson’s academic work on Madonna imagery, especially because

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<sup>69</sup> For example, Adams notes that Jameson, Margaret Fuller, and George Eliot incorporate the Mary figure into their work to promote feminism. Also, the Madonna figure can be found “in Victorian literature,” including works by Charles Dickens, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, and Thomas Hardy (5).

Jameson did have a significant artistic education.<sup>70</sup> In *Legends of the Madonna*, Jameson argues that the governing “influences” behind Madonna worship can “be ranked with those which have helped to humanise and civilise our race” (xviii). Her comparison of Charlotte and Mary, then, plays upon this racist understanding of the Madonna as a symbol of Euro-Western civilization. While seeming to praise Charlotte, Jameson reinforces her friend’s difference from the typical Euro-Western representation of the white Madonna in terms of both race and cultural context, especially when she writes of her Upper Canadian *Repose* scene that “[n]ever ... were the graceful, the wild, the comic, so strangely combined” (488). Jameson thereby allows her readers to “know” Indigenous people through Euro-Western signifiers while also containing these Indigenous people in stereotypical characterizations of their otherness. She similarly misconstrues Charlotte, whose father was Irish, at their first meeting when she writes that Charlotte’s “features are distinctly Indian, but softened and refined” and “[h]er dark eyes have a ... fawn-like shyness” (194). The word “refined” recalls her Preface in which Jameson characterizes upper-class European women as “refined and civilised” (9).<sup>71</sup> In praising what she considers to be Euro-Western characteristics in Charlotte’s appearance, Jameson insults Charlotte as an Indigenous person by implying that Indigenous people are unrefined or uncivilized and reinforces this insult through an animal metaphor. Jameson reveals that such representations are bound up in the theft of Indigenous lands when she writes that Charlotte “speaks English well, with a slightly foreign intonation” (194). Jameson, of course, is foreign, but her statement suggests that English people and their language belong on this land.

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<sup>70</sup> Her “father ... was a professional artist who” had been employed as “Painter in Ordinary to Princess Charlotte” (Fowler 139), and four years after the publication of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson produced a “guidebook” to art located in “British galleries” called *A Handbook to the Public Galleries of Art in and near London* (1842) (Judith Johnston, *Anna* 154, 155). Between 1843 and 1845, “Jameson was invited to write a series of articles on the early Italian painters for the *Penny Magazine*,” and in these articles, “the dominant critical intelligence is Jameson’s own considerable firsthand knowledge of paintings and sculpture, not only those in galleries in Britain, but also in Germany, France and Italy” (158).

<sup>71</sup> Roy similarly notes the class dynamics of this phrase: “[a]s someone ‘refined,’ ... [Jameson] is different from most British women in Canada, who are settlers from the lower classes” (21). Roy also connects Jameson’s interest in “refinement” to her meeting with Charlotte McMurray, but she does so in order to discuss Jameson’s desire to be adopted into the Johnston family (35).

In *Legends of the Madonna*, Jameson distinguishes between what she terms “devotional” and “historical” subjects in artistic treatments of Mary (lii). She calls devotional subjects “those which express a dogma merely,” such as “enthroned Madonnas” or “Mystical Coronations” (lii). Conversely, she characterizes “historical subjects” as those which “comprise the events from the Life of the Virgin, when treated in dramatic form,” such as “the Flight into Egypt” (lv) and the *Repose in Egypt* (lvi). Therefore, when Jameson offers the *Repose in Egypt* to her readers as a lens through which they can know Indigenous people, she implicitly encourages her readers to understand these people as belonging in a Euro-Western past. The Madonna figure allows her to propose Marian worship as a form of progress narrative whereby her readers can locate themselves as the epitome of civilization. For example, Jameson writes of the Magi that

[t]hey had come, perhaps, from some far-distant savage land, or from some nation calling itself civilised, where innocence had never been accounted sacred, where society had as yet taken no heed of the defenceless woman, no care for the helpless child; where the one was enslaved, and the other perverted: and here, under the form of womanhood and childhood, they were called upon to worship the promise of that brighter future. (qtd. in Adams 58)

For Jameson, the Mary figure serves the dual purpose of distancing the Magi to a time and place before “civilisation,” and also of locating Euro-Western society and Christianity as part of a prophetic “brighter future.” According to Jameson, Madonna worship “becomes one great monument in the history of progressive thought and faith, as well as in the history of progressive Art” (xviii). That is, while other cultures may have religious figures representing “divine maternity,” Jameson brackets these within a progress narrative, situating them in the past out of which the white, Euro-Western, Christian Madonna figure developed (xix). Jameson includes among these “divine maternity” figures “the Eve of the Mosaic history, the Astarte of the Assyrians ... the Isis nursing Horus of the Egyptians, the Demeter and the Aphrodite of the Greeks, [and] the Scythian Freya” (xix). Through the Madonna, Jameson creates what, in *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object*, Johannes Fabian has famously called “a stream of Time” (17) that situates nineteenth-century Euro-Western culture as the peak of

civilization and progress. According to Fabian, “[i]t is not the dispersal of human cultures in space that leads anthropology to ‘temporalize’.... The history of our discipline reveals that such use of Time almost invariably is made for the purpose of distancing those who are observed from the Time of the observer” (25). The Madonna, then, is a sign within Jameson’s travel narrative: it assists her ethnographic work by directing time into a linear, Euro-Western stream that displaces Indigenous peoples by ignoring their simultaneous presence and sovereignty. Instead of recognizing such “shared Time” (31), through the Madonna, Jameson uses Indigenous peoples’ geographic distance from Europe to “temporalize” their cultures and impose a narrative of Western futurity onto their lands and supposedly vanishing bodies.

Through the *Repose in Egypt*, Jameson actively looks towards the future, especially with her belief that “the worship of the Madonna” is “evol[ing] perhaps with our future destinies” (*Legends* xviii). In writing of the Madonna in *Legends of the Madonna*, she claims to “have seen ... [her] own ideal once, and only once, attained” in Raphael’s *Madonna di San Sisto* (xlii). She describes this Madonna’s “sibylline eyes” and the way she “look[s] out ... quite through the universe, to the end and consummation of all things” (xlii). Jameson’s concept of the Madonna is profoundly and intricately linked to prophecy and God’s plan for humanity and the world. She herself becomes a symbol of “progress” and the “stream of Time.” Jameson even incorporates the argument of a group of people she vaguely describes as “[o]thers” who, as a seeming consensus, believe “that these scattered, dim, mistaken—often gross and perverted—ideas which were afterwards gathered into the pure, dignified, tender image of the Madonna, were but as the voice of a mighty prophecy, sounded through all the generations of men, even from the beginning of time” (xix). In this way, Jameson appropriates figures from other cultures, divorcing them from their origins, insulting them when comparing them to Christianity, and even using them so that they become a marker within a progress narrative. Jameson further professes that in the Madonna figure, she has “seen this great hope standing like a spirit

beside the visible form,” so that her concept of the Madonna actually doubles in strange and uncanny ways as a vision of impending Euro-Western imperialism (xix).<sup>72</sup>

Jameson’s textual application of the *Repose in Egypt*, then, invokes settler colonial elimination from multiple angles. Through it, she tries to code, still, and control the signification of Indigenous bodies and, therefore, their possible futures. In marking them within the signs of a Christian spiritual-historical past, she attempts to shape a settler future on Indigenous lands by relegating Indigenous peoples to a Euro-Western past. Moreover, her use of the Madonna functions as a kind of prophecy, a symbol of the “stream of Time” articulated most clearly in her Bear Hill prophecy as “progressive civilisation[,] progressive happiness, progressive approximation to nature and to nature’s God” (268).

## Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, “nature’s God,” and the Future of the Great Lakes Interzone

The phrase “nature’s God” in Jameson’s Bear Hill prophecy may be a veiled reference to the American Declaration of Independence where, as Bethany Schneider notes, “nature’s God” famously appears “in the very first sentence” (134).<sup>73</sup> The Declaration of

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<sup>72</sup> Jameson’s use of the Madonna figure in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is similar to Duncan Campbell Scott’s later poem “The Onondaga Madonna” (1898). Scott worked “for the Department of Indian Affairs” and was one of the people responsible for “the establishment of residential schools” and “the banning” of Indigenous cultural practice (Sugars and Moss 425). He was also a poet—one of the group now known as the Confederation Poets. His poem “The Onondaga Madonna” presents a tableau of an Indigenous woman holding her son. As with Jameson’s use of the Madonna, Scott invokes this image in an attempt to “contain[]” (Roy 72) Indigenous peoples within Euro-Western representation as well as an understanding of impending elimination. In describing the federal government’s policy toward Indigenous peoples, Scott wrote that it was their intention “to protect the Indian, to guard his identity as a race and at the same time to apply methods which will destroy that identity and lead eventually to his disappearance” (qtd. in Sugars and Moss 425). In “The Onondaga Madonna,” Scott repeats tropes of Indigenous disappearance—calling the mother a member “of a weird and waning race” and her son “[t]he latest promise of her nation’s doom” (2, 10). However, in the poem’s final line, the baby breaks the tableau—he “draws his heavy brows and will not rest” (14)—suggesting that Scott, like Jameson, had anxieties about the failure of colonialism and elimination. The similarities between his and Jameson’s projects should inspire reconsideration of Jameson’s status as an exceptional ally to Indigenous peoples.

<sup>73</sup> The Declaration of Independence begins as follows: “When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with one another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature’s God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation” (“Declaration”).

Independence may seem like a strange source for Jameson, who was advocating for British sovereignty on Indigenous lands. However, as Orienne Smith explains, Romantic prophecies were inspired by cataclysmic sociopolitical events and the American Revolution (1775-1783) was, like the French Revolution, a sign of the impending “final curtain”—and, therefore, a transatlantic opportunity for prophetic transformation (2). The American Revolution looms behind every instance in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* where Jameson anxiously asserts British superiority over the Americans, and, by transplanting the phrase “nature’s God” from the Declaration of Independence into her Bear Hill prophecy, Jameson undermines them. While in the Declaration settler Americans performed what Smith calls “the possibility for a radically different political future” (27) by assuming a “separate and equal station” to Britain (“Declaration”), Jameson seeks to disrupt this possibility by marshalling the phrase “nature’s God” into the service of her own vision of the future. Her quoting the Declaration is not so strange after all. Through her Bear Hill vision, Jameson suggests that the British are superior to the Americans because their practices of colonization are blessed and their future on Indigenous lands is divinely sanctioned and preordained. Jameson’s quotation allows her travel narrative to engage in the work of prophecy and “exceed ... [its] original context[]” (Smith 27)—the political structures and associated geographic boundaries brought into being by the Declaration of Independence—and work to transform the world. While this transformation primarily impacts Indigenous nations, it also has consequences for the American nation. That is, like the Romantic women writers Smith studies, Jameson’s vision “bear[s] witness to the difference between the state of the world and the world as God intended it to be” (31). In other words, Jameson hints that, despite the Revolutionary War, the world God intends and is bringing “progressively” into being is attainable through British imperialism.

While Jameson cites the Declaration of Independence strategically as part of her efforts to transform the world through Romantic prophecy, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft also refers to the Declaration in one of her poems, though for radically different reasons. As Schneider points out, the phrase “nature’s God” appears in Johnston Schoolcraft’s “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior” (134). “Schoolcraft’s poem” was “written ... in response to” an insulting “letter” that Johnston Schoolcraft received from an American printer

named Melancthon Woolsey (128), an associate of Henry's who accompanied him on his 1831 expedition "to negotiate a treaty" and "conduct scientific exploration" (Parker 95). Presumably thinking he was being complimentary, Woolsey wrote to Johnston Schoolcraft about Doric Rock, romanticizing Indigenous peoples by telling her that "[t]hey act from the impulse of nature, and well will it be for those who enjoy every advantage that civilization and Christianity can bestow, if when weighed in the balance, even with the pagan Indian, they are not found wanting" (qtd. in Parker 96). Apparently Woolsey missed the fact that he was calling her community uncivilized—but Johnston Schoolcraft didn't. According to Schneider, Johnston Schoolcraft's repetition of "[t]he phrase 'nature's God'" within her poem is "a resonant citation, through which she quietly but firmly reminds readers that among those who 'act from the impulse of nature' are America's founding fathers, and that what nature impelled them to do was declare their freedom ... from a colonizing power" (134). By citing the phrase "nature's God," Johnston Schoolcraft refers to the moment in which America declared their nationhood and disunion from Britain—an almost prophetic moment in which they envisioned a better settler future for themselves as they took the first steps in building it. Through her allusion to the Declaration, Johnston Schoolcraft incorporates this vision into her poem, turning it over in her mind to analyze the settler world it is creating and to refuse narratives of Indigenous disappearance. As Schneider writes, Johnston Schoolcraft's voice in this poem *is* quiet, but its gentleness does not detract from the vital disruption it registers in the settler conversations seeking to transform the Great Lakes interzone.

As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, Creek scholar Tol Foster warns that "[a]nywhere the story is simple, we can be assured that it is incomplete and that some crucial member of the community has been silenced" (272). The Declaration of Independence and settler appropriations of Doric Rock are, in their own ways, silencing tactics. While Woolsey's account of Doric Rock attempts to historicize and confine Indigenous peoples within a simplified, "uncivilized" past, he is not the only settler to use Doric Rock on behalf of settler colonialism. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft used the image of Doric Rock "on the frontispiece" of "his 1821 *Narrative Journal*" (Parker 95), which was effectively an exploration narrative about his travels on the Great Lakes in the previous year. In prefacing his account with the image of Doric Rock, Henry engages in settler

sympathy by doing what he accused Jameson of doing: he represents Indigenous lands as a “foreign scene[],” a “picturesque ruin[],” “a painting in oil” (qtd. in Thomas, *Love* 134, 134, 135) in an effort to indigenize settlers through colonial picturesque aesthetics. Even the name “Doric Rock” symbolizes settler colonial transformation because, according to Schneider, “the Dorian invasion of Greece marked the transition in Greek culture from savagery to ‘civilization’” (128). In Woolsey’s and Henry’s accounts, as well as within settler geographic understandings, Doric Rock is shifted from being a place on contemporary Indigenous lands to being a picturesque marker of expansion in a settler landscape.

By attempting to displace and disappear Indigenous peoples and their sovereignty by similar means, the voices of these authors come together to participate in what D. M. R. Bentley calls “consolidatory historicism,” which reflects “the incipient nationalism of the 1820s and 1830s” in its attempt to write the European history of North America over that of Indigenous presence and resistance (*Mimic* 140). The writings of authors and travellers like Jameson, Rowe Schoolcraft, and Woolsey intersect with other settler works published during this period<sup>74</sup> so that by treading the same physical ground and negotiating the same settler colonial conversations (through interrelated textual references, written letters, interpersonal dialogue, etc.), these authors help to create settler colonial nation-states. Their textual repetition acts as corroborating evidence in colonial centres, like London or Toronto, creating a colonial map (with an attendant colonial history) that becomes more settled as more people tread over the land. It is prophecy in practice: a vision of the future performed and further consolidated in every word.

Johnston Schoolcraft’s voice complicates the “simple” story of this “*interzone*[]” (Foster 272) because her interpersonal dialogue, written letters, and interrelated textual references persistently engage with settlers and their accounts of Indigenous peoples and lands in ways that disrupt settler prophecy and forestall their visions of a colonial future.

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<sup>74</sup> For instance, Jameson’s travels are guided by Alexander Henry’s *Travels and Adventures*, and in using him as both her map and historical source, she not only supports his experience but also consolidates his account, together with hers, into a body of European knowledge that claims Indigenous lands and overlays a European history onto those lands. Roy refers to Alexander Henry as well as “Henry [Rowe] Schoolcraft, Catharine Parr Traill, Harriet Martineau, and Frederick Marryat” as “pre-texts” for Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* (20).

In the following discussion, I will consider how Johnston Schoolcraft subverts settler sympathy, reveals settler sympathetic aesthetics, and re-visions settler prophecy in two of her poems: “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior” and “Lines to a Friend Asleep.” In so doing, she challenges settler attempts to transform Indigenous lands and re-centres her community, proposing more nuanced forms of intercultural exchange between Indigenous and Euro-Western communities. Johnston Schoolcraft’s poetry offers a more generous and compassionate paradigm than that forwarded by settler prophecy—an aesthetic model that textually manifests what Cree scholar Willie Ermine calls an “ethical space of engagement” (193). As Ermine defines it, the ethical space is the space of “cross-cultural” interaction between Indigenous peoples and non-Indigenous peoples in which their exchanges “affirm . . . human diversity created by philosophical and cultural differences” (202). Johnston Schoolcraft’s textual ethical space of engagement reframes her interzone to prioritize her own Ojibwe culture while incorporating select Western influences in order to supportively strengthen her community and its relationships to settlers. Johnston Schoolcraft lived in an increasingly multicultural society, and as Elizabeth A. Povinelli points out, despite its many risks for diluting recognition of the specificity of Indigenous rights, multiculturalism can provide “a place within which minority and subaltern subjects creatively elaborate new social imaginaries” (6).<sup>75</sup> In engaging her interzone in an “ethical revolution” (Orianne Smith 31), Johnston Schoolcraft offers a model for a new social imaginary at the same time as she tries to realize it through her writing and her own daily practice. In this way, her poetry at least parallels the prophetic: while it does not announce a vision of a new world, it adapts the crisis of settler colonialism to try to realize respectful future relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples in the Great Lakes interzone.

For instance, “On the Doric Rock” exerts pressure on the sympathy found in Woolsey’s letter, which expresses affinity for Indigenous peoples and their lands even as it invokes Indigenous disappearance by relegating Indigenous peoples to a time prior to and

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<sup>75</sup> Although Povinelli is specifically discussing a more contemporary period in which a discourse had developed around multiculturalism as such, and multiculturalism had become part of official state policies, her idea of the intersection of multiple national and cultural influences becoming a way for “minority and subaltern subjects” to negotiate space and even create new spaces is applicable here (6).

separate from Euro-Western “civilization.” However, Johnston Schoolcraft’s “On the Doric Rock” re-vision Woolsey’s letter by proposing alternative concepts of art and addressing settler tropes of exploration. Johnston Schoolcraft writes that settlers and Europeans who remain “at home, in indolence and ease” have a significant “debt” to the explorers who travel “in quest of every art / That science, knowledge, pity can impart / To help mankind” (1, 2, 3-5). Notably, in Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem, settlers are in search of knowledge rather than bringing it. Unlike the “untaught natives” who “act from the impulse of nature” in Woolsey’s letter (qtd. in Parker 96), Johnston Schoolcraft insists that Indigenous peoples have important arts, sciences, and social knowledges—after all, Euro-Western explorers go to great extremes in terms of distance and danger in order to acquire them. Her term “bold discoverers” (6) for explorers has an ironic edge to it because what these explorers are “discovering” is not knowledge sitting idly in the “wilderness” and waiting patiently to be found—that is, it is not knowledge divorced from Indigenous communities. Rather, this “discovery” is refigured as intercultural exchange, knowledge-sharing that helps all “mankind,” including Indigenous peoples. Johnston Schoolcraft’s discoverers are mediators because they are discovering how to “renegotiate their communal cultural frames” (Foster 272). The appropriative process of settler treaty negotiations and scientific explorations—as in Rowe Schoolcraft and Woolsey’s expedition—is weighed and found wanting. Instead, Johnston Schoolcraft envisions a future space of ethical engagements between settlers and Indigenous peoples that appropriately values and respects Indigenous knowledges. She represents mediation as an exchange between equals rather than a contrast between “civilization” and “savagery.”

Johnston Schoolcraft seems to pose a challenge to this argument when she uses the Romantic phrase “simple Indian” to describe an Indigenous man gazing on Doric Rock: “The simple Indian, as the work he spies, / Looks up to nature’s God above the skies” (23-24). As already mentioned, though, “nature’s God” is a revolutionary term, a swift allusion to crisis and even, as Schneider writes, a sign of breaking with “a colonizing power” (134). Schneider further explains that Johnston Schoolcraft’s “simple Indian” is actually an ironic representation of her brother, George, who was accompanying Rowe Schoolcraft and Woolsey. Woolsey writes to Johnston Schoolcraft of George’s reaction

upon seeing Doric Rock: “Your brother expressed his emotion as well as it was in the power of any mortal to do. Clapping his hands together, and putting a peculiar emphasis upon the last syllable, he exclaimed, ‘Oh! *Oh!*’ Nothing more could be said” (qtd. in Parker 96-97). Schneider reads this account as Woolsey portraying George as a “simple Indian” by associating him with a “pre-verbal, emotional response,” a “paradigmatically curt Indian grunt” (132, 133). Though Woolsey writes that “[n]othing more could be said” (qtd. in Parker 96-97), his letter “belies this claim” with its “happy verbosity” (Schneider 133). Schneider argues that, in her poem, Johnston Schoolcraft “allows her brother to inhabit the stereotype—the citation—of the Indian, in order, ultimately, to bring Indianness forward, out of a distant past” (133-34).

For example, Schneider writes that, in this final stanza, Johnston Schoolcraft “cites the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, and God and Adam’s moment of touch” (136) when the Indigenous man “[p]oints to the great good sovereign [sic] of the skies / And thinks the power that built the upper sphere, / Hath left but traces of his fingers here” (30-32). Johnston Schoolcraft’s Indigenous man points up while the fingers of the “great good sovereign” reach down, so that Johnston Schoolcraft’s Indigenous man takes the place of Adam.<sup>76</sup> The interchangeability she poses between Adam (typically represented as Euro-Western) and the Indigenous man suggests their equality and exposes the fallacy of portraying Indigenous peoples as “savage” and Euro-Western peoples as “civilized” because of their shared humanity. Johnston Schoolcraft reminds her settler readers that they are the beneficiaries of Indigenous knowledges in her first stanza before posing ethical engagement through intercultural exchange as the future of their interzone. In the third and final stanza, she practices this ethical engagement, drawing a fruitful comparison between her appreciation for the Sistine Chapel and Doric Rock, which “voyageurs called ... La Chapelle, a name still in use in English as the Chapel” (Parker 95). George parallels Adam, and Doric Rock parallels the Sistine Chapel, in ways that assert respect for the equal humanity of Indigenous peoples, as well as their cultures and

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<sup>76</sup> Bethany Schneider makes a similar observation: “The Indian points up to heaven as a creator’s fingers point down to leave their trace” (136). However, rather than Johnston Schoolcraft’s Indigenous man taking the place of Adam, Schneider interrogates the possibility that “there is more than one creator figure, and perhaps the structures of kinship, of reciprocity, mean that the pointing Indian is as responsible as that creator or those creators ... for the remaking of the world” (136).

knowledges, instead of their disappearance within Euro-Western culture. Rather than a shroud, Euro-Western painting becomes, in Johnston Schoolcraft's poem, a conscious articulation of intercultural exchange that respects both Indigenous and settler communities while strengthening their relationship with one another.

Johnston Schoolcraft's "On the Doric Rock" alludes to other pieces of Euro-Western art to model ethical cross-cultural engagements. For instance, in her second stanza, Johnston Schoolcraft writes that Doric Rock seems like a place "[w]here ancient victims by their priests were slain" (16), an allusion to John Keats's "Ode on a Grecian Urn": "Who are these coming to the sacrifice? / To what green altar, oh mysterious priest, / Lead'st thou that heifer lowing at the skies" (31-33). Her references to "the traveller's tale" and to Doric Rock as "some vast ruin of the plain" (13, 15) allude to Percy Shelley's "Ozymandias" (Schneider 130-31), which opens with an iconic traveller's tale: "I met a traveller from an antique land / Who said, 'Two vast and trunkless legs of stone / Stand in the desert'" (1-3). The ruin of Ozymandias's statue resembles Johnston Schoolcraft's Great Lakes "plain": "Round the decay / Of that colossal Wreck, boundless and bare / The lone and level sands stretch far away" (12-14). Schneider shows how Johnston Schoolcraft again uses irony in her comparison, noting that "the Doric Rock is not, in fact, a wreck at all" (131). Through these allusions, Johnston Schoolcraft demonstrates the contemporaneousness of Indigenous and Euro-Western societies: she draws out resonances between their cultures without allowing Western culture to subsume Indigenous cultures, as in Woolsey's letter.

Moreover, in order to create this textual ethical space of engagement, Johnston Schoolcraft uses what Leanne Simpson calls the "Nishnaabeg aesthetics" of abstraction and layering (*As We* 201). Simpson explains that abstraction refers to "shifting the relationality to change meaning or to illuminate a different meaning" (202). While Johnston Schoolcraft's references to the Sistine Chapel, Keats, and Shelley may at first appear to favour settler colonialism because they seem to code Indigenous peoples and their lands in Euro-Western signifiers, Johnston Schoolcraft uses abstraction to alter their meaning. For instance, Keats's Grecian urn stills life, describing a series of actions frozen in time: the "Bold Lover" that "never, never canst ... kiss" (17), the piper who plays

“ditties of no tone” (14), the trees “that cannot shed / [Their] ... leaves, nor ever bid the spring adieu” (21-22), and the “little town” whose “streets for evermore / Will silent be” (38-39). While Keats remarks on the beauty of the urn, and perhaps even considers longingly its (and its subjects’) immortality, poised as they are forever in moments of anticipation, he nevertheless calls the urn a “Cold Pastoral,” a lifeless thing (45). Instead of using the urn to still Indigenous life, though, Johnston Schoolcraft appears to take up Keats’s invitation when he writes of the urn that it “shalt remain, in midst of other woe / Than ours” (47-48). Drawing out resonances between the urn and Doric Rock, Johnston Schoolcraft hints at the “woe” caused by settler colonialism while refusing to acquiesce to Indigenous disappearance. For instance, she points out that, unlike Keats’s urn or Shelley’s statue, Doric Rock’s “fair design” has no other “architect” than nature: “’Twas nature’s wildest flower, that graved the Rock, / The waves’ loud fury, and the tempest’s shock” (17, 18, 19-20).

Indigenous peoples and their lands cannot, therefore, be stilled because Doric Rock is a natural artwork that “is *still* in progress” (Schneider 131), never to be completed, and continues to be appreciated by the poem’s Indigenous man, George Johnston in Woolsey’s letter, and Johnston Schoolcraft herself. Rather than stilling life, Doric Rock becomes a symbol of Indigenous resilience against the “stilling” influence of settler colonialism and the “cold pastoral” of settler accounts like Woolsey’s. Furthermore, instead of moments of anticipation never realized and therefore lost, Doric Rock represents what Anishinaabe author and theorist Gerald Vizenor calls Indigenous “survivance,” meaning “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories” (vii) as nature continues to “engrave” Doric Rock, carrying forward the stories of Indigenous peoples and their lands. Alan R. Velie and A. Robert Lee describe survivance as an “emphasis on Native self-creativity ... as a hedge against the stasis of stereotype” (7). Johnston Schoolcraft’s reference to the Sistine Chapel, then, does not suggest Euro-Western “re-creation” of Indigenous peoples, but Indigenous self-creativity in order to refuse “the stasis of stereotype.” Johnston Schoolcraft refuses to be stilled in Euro-Western representation, instead deliberately taking up an iconic Euro-Western example of stillness in Keats’s urn and, through abstraction, using it to represent the dynamic

realities of Indigenous peoples or, as Audra Simpson writes, their “persistent and insistent ‘survivals’” (211).

Importantly, in “On the Doric Rock,” Johnston Schoolcraft’s artist—nature—has no plan. Johnston Schoolcraft specifically writes that the Great Lakes region is “far more wondrous,—for the fair design / No architect drew out, with measured line” (17-18). Similarly, while there are “traces” of a divine creator’s “fingers here,” this divinity is not actively manipulating the land (32). There is no preordained vision of a settler future here, no inherent settler right to sovereignty. Johnston Schoolcraft’s reference to “nature’s God” is not a prophecy of the future, but it parallels the prophetic because it signals a vision of transformed relationships, a desire for a revolution in *settler* manners<sup>77</sup> to support the practice of ethical engagements.

Johnston Schoolcraft makes a similar divine allusion in her poem “Lines to a Friend Asleep,” which was published by Henry in the *Literary Voyager* (Parker 105). Parker explains that the poem can be found in “four manuscripts,” three of which are located in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers at the Library of Congress while another comprises part of the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Papers at the Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library (105). In his anthology of Johnston Schoolcraft’s works, Parker decided to include *LC65* from the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers “[b]ecause *LC65* was probably prepared for readers with JJS’s approval, even though it may include changes suggested or imposed by ... [Henry] or introduced by the *Literary Voyager* copyist” (105). In Henry’s condescendingly-named “Dawn of Literary Composition by Educated Natives of the aboriginal tribes” (manuscript undated), he explains his understanding that the poem was “addressed to a female friend, who yet coveted the downy pillow of repose, on a summer’s morning” (qtd. in Parker 105). While “Lines to a Friend Asleep” teases a friend for sleeping in on a beautiful day, it also invites this friend to join Johnston Schoolcraft in enjoying the natural world, a world she perceives as being imbued with the divine. Johnston Schoolcraft calls on her friend to “[a]wake” because “the sweet refreshing scene, / Invites us forth to tread the green” (17-18). Johnston Schoolcraft suggests that

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<sup>77</sup> Here I allude to Wollstonecraft’s “revolution in female manners” in *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (qtd. in Orianne Smith 18).

this “scene” also invites them, “[w]ith joyful hearts, and pious lays, / To join the glorious Maker’s praise” (19-20). As in “On the Doric Rock,” God is a “Maker” or creator who can be “traced” through His creations, but “Nature” possesses her own corresponding sense of artistry because Johnston Schoolcraft personifies Nature as being “clad in best array” or, in other words, as dressing herself in her finest attire (3).

This connection between God’s creation and Nature’s artistry is similarly attended by a trace of the prophetic. Johnston Schoolcraft closes the poem by calling God “[t]he holy, high, and just I Am” (22), a reference to the Book of Exodus in the Old Testament when God speaks to Moses from a burning bush and tells Moses, “I AM WHO I AM.... Say this to the people of Israel, ‘I AM has sent me to you’” (3.14). Johnston Schoolcraft’s reference seems to connect the beautiful day she witnesses with a sense of hopefulness for her Ojibwe community on their traditional lands because, as God tells Moses, “I have seen the affliction of my people” “and I have come down to deliver them” (3.7, 3.8). Like Johnston Schoolcraft’s reference to “Nature’s God” in “On the Doric Rock,” her allusion to Exodus suggests the prophetic: that is, God tells Moses how events will unfold for the Jewish community in Egypt in the near future. As a devout Protestant, Johnston Schoolcraft thus also suggests a resonance between God’s acknowledgement of “the affliction of ... [His] people” (3.7) with the affliction of her own people under settler colonialism. Through her joy in Nature’s artistry and perception of divine traces in creation, Johnston Schoolcraft appears to experience a hopefulness for her interzone that manifests in her poem, especially in the way she uses this poem to model ethical engagements between Ojibwe and English communities. For instance, although “Lines to a Friend Asleep” is written in English and its message is scaffolded onto European, Romantic, and Christian language and images, the poem appears to nevertheless have a surprisingly Ojibwe imaginative centre.

In the poem, Johnston Schoolcraft uses particularly European references, most noticeably the words “cot” (for cottage) and “hall” in her description of the sun’s passage over “lake and river, cot and hall” (8). She also uses “fairy dream” when she writes that Nature that morning is “[m]ore pleasing than a fairy dream” (16), and she refers to a public “green” in the invitation to come “forth to tread the green” (18). The poem’s praise of Nature and

especially its description of Nature being personified and “clad in best array” evokes a Romantic atmosphere (3). Furthermore, Johnston Schoolcraft’s Christian faith is foregrounded in a number of pious references. She tracks the sun’s movement “[o]’er heaven’s high aërial arch” (6), and her perceived invitation “to tread the green” (18) is directed toward singing “pious lays, / To join the glorious Maker’s praise” (19-20). Johnston Schoolcraft’s depiction of a world organized around Western private (“cot and hall”) and public (“green”) structures further materializes her Romantic sense of place. However, Johnston Schoolcraft steers the poem away from becoming a vision of a settler future on Indigenous lands in part through a sketch she appears to have drawn on the original draft manuscript, *LC70-1* (located in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers), that complicates and refocuses the poem.

Parker directs attention to this image by writing that “slightly overlapping the last line of the poem, appears a rough sketch of a dancing woman wearing an animal pelt, with the words ‘Chippewa maiden,’ probably in HRS’s hand, next to the drawing” (105-06).<sup>78</sup> While the label may be in Henry’s hand, I argue that the image was likely drawn by Johnston Schoolcraft because the picture of the Ojibwe woman is not so much “overlapping the last line of the poem” as the words have been spaced carefully around it, suggesting that the image existed prior, at least, to the completion of the poem. At the heart of the original draft, then, the joy expressed in this seemingly overwhelmingly Western poem is embodied by an Ojibwe woman dressed in non-Western attire. Of course, it could be argued that this figure is “disappeared” from later versions of the poem since the Ojibwe centre becomes less apparent in these versions; however, I would argue that such an analysis would be reductive because the sketch is central to the original draft and, therefore, seems to play a formative role in Johnston Schoolcraft’s thought and writing processes. The original draft necessarily complicates the work the poem is doing and the way in which Johnston Schoolcraft imagines a shared, rather than colonized, landscape. The image refocuses the later completed poem around an Ojibwe centre and an Ojibwe woman’s apparent joy in the natural world. Considering Johnston Schoolcraft’s continued presence as the speaker within the poem, as an Ojibwe woman

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<sup>78</sup> In this draft of the poem, the last line appears to be “More charming than a fairy dream” (see Parker 106).

herself, and as the origin of this experience of joy, I suggest that it is impossible for the woman in the image to be “disappeared.” Rather, she is ever-present at the heart of the poem and this experience of joy in the same way that Johnston Schoolcraft depicts God as imbued throughout the natural world. The lines of the text wrap around her body but do not touch her so that the English words make room for her Ojibwe body.

By centering this Ojibwe woman, Johnston Schoolcraft proposes a multi-directional form of relationality. Not only does she see and express joy relative to the communities of both her parents, but rather than an eliminatory settler sympathy, she illustrates and writes of ethical engagements between Indigenous and Euro-Western peoples. For instance, the English words of the poem do not overwrite or colonize the Ojibwe woman’s body. Instead, the words enhance the experience of joy that Johnston Schoolcraft feels in her own body and enable her to express her experience to the Euro-Western audience of the *Literary Voyager*. Johnston Schoolcraft models ethical engagements between Ojibwe and Euro-Western peoples through her use of Romantic discourse to speak to this Euro-Western audience, but also through the use of this discourse to support the expression of Indigenous emotions on Indigenous lands. For instance, unlike Jameson’s scenes of pathos whereby the English language and Romantic discourse combine to propose a settler future through Indigenous disappearance, Johnston Schoolcraft animates—rather than stills—a moment of personal joy. Especially by ending on the line describing God as “[t]he holy, high, and just I Am,” Johnston Schoolcraft seems to gesture toward the future or what comes next in the interzone, suggesting the possibility of ethical engagements instead of elimination.

Whereas Johnston Schoolcraft proposes an ethical revolution, Jameson builds on contemporary Euro-Western revolutions and the prophetic discourse arising out of them in an attempt to materialize, not the millennium, but rather another sort of “New World”—settler colonial society in North America—according to revolutionary Romantic ideals. While this new world would be the practical result of the elimination of Indigenous peoples, Jameson defends this as God’s plan. Through her poems “On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior” and “Lines to a Friend Asleep,” Johnston Schoolcraft resists and reframes this Romantic revolutionary and prophetic discourse. Through a nuanced

critical interweaving of Romantic discourse, descriptions of Indigenous lands, biblical and prophetic references, Indigenous art, and textual allusions to Euro-Western art, Johnston Schoolcraft defies Romantic prophecy and Indigenous elimination while simultaneously reframing these discourses to model ethical engagements between Euro-Western and Indigenous peoples. She deconstructs Euro-Western accounts, like Jameson's, of "the world as God intended it to be" (Smith 31) on Indigenous lands, writing instead the world as it is: that is, she substitutes the settler innocence of Jameson's eliminatory vision with an understanding that the communities in her interzone are responsible for the future that they make.

## Métis Storytelling Resisting Osborne's Aesthetic Constraints

While Orienne Smith does not mention the War of 1812 alongside the French and American Revolutions in her work on Romantic prophecy, this later war is nevertheless a similar moment of political crisis that presented the opportunity for settler visions of the future in Upper Canada as well as new Métis social imaginaries. The dislocation of the Métis Drummond Islanders from their homeland—their migration across Lake Huron into uncertain circumstances—forced them to become stakeholders in a settler vision of the world. We see an example of this vision in A. C. Osborne's use of a sketch titled *Penetanguishene Bay* to preface the Métis interviewees' stories in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828*. *Penetanguishene Bay* was drawn by G. R. Dartnell<sup>79</sup> and dated 12 October 1836, less than a year before Jameson would arrive in Penetanguishene.<sup>80</sup> Dartnell drew the picture at the British naval base, now a historical site called Discovery Harbour, that was constructed in Penetanguishene near the end of the War of 1812. The picture focuses on the part of the bay where St. Ann's Church now stands. The image is of a rugged landscape and the artist seems isolated in the midst of lonely old growth pines. Just at the right-hand corner

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<sup>79</sup> According to Honor de Pencier, George Russell Dartnell was "a surgeon with the British army" and "sketched over 150 works between 1835 and 1844" (17).

<sup>80</sup> Dartnell's *Penetanguishene Bay* may be viewed with the text of Osborne's *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* here: <https://archive.org/details/papersrecordsontv3onta/page/n131/mode/2up>. Except for this link, I always quote from the print version of Osborne's text throughout this dissertation. Both sources are included in the Bibliography.

of the picture, Dartnell draws some of the land given to the Métis Drummond Islanders without depicting either them or their habitations. Dartnell made a number of sketches of Penetanguishene, some of them depicting Indigenous people, such as *Canot du Maître* (1836) and possibly *Pinery Point, Penetanguishene Bay* (1836).<sup>81</sup> However, Osborne, or perhaps his publisher, selected *Penetanguishene Bay*—with its colonial perspective and absence of Indigenous people—to frame his interviews, hinting at the tension within the text itself between the Drummond Islanders’ resilient narratives of community survivance and Osborne’s settler colonial lens that suggests Indigenous disappearance and British inheritance of Indigenous lands.

It might seem remarkable for this sketch to act as a prelude to the Métis interviews that followed since Osborne is ostensibly centering the Drummond Islanders and their stories in these interviews. However, this picture is one of the many stylistic and technical choices through which Osborne seeks to structure in his transcription the relationship between the Métis and the British/settlers: that is, Osborne’s use of *Penetanguishene Bay* reveals a settler vision of how these relationships look and would look in the future. When the Métis came to Penetanguishene, they were given lots predominantly in Tiny Township across the bay from the naval establishment (Travers 226). Although *Penetanguishene Bay* gazes out in the direction of Tiny Township, its incorporation into *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* helps Osborne to propose a British centre for the area’s inhabitants. Osborne’s use of this image emphasizes one of the arguments within his prefatory material: that the British take a “paternal” (124) interest in the Drummond Island Métis and this relationship proposes rightful British presence on Indigenous lands. For instance, in the introduction that Osborne provides for the interviews, where he tries to garner reader sympathy for the Métis community, he both excuses and authorizes the speech of the interviewees by introducing them to his readers as loyal to the British. He writes that “[t]heir fervent loyalty to the British Government is simple-hearted, genuine, unobtrusive and practical,”

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<sup>81</sup> *Canot du Maître* “pictures a large birch-bark” canoe “[m]anned by twelve paddlers and carrying two European travellers and cargo” as it “skim[s] through the sparkling waves of Georgian Bay” (de Pencier 41). *Pinery Point, Penetanguishene Bay* (1836) depicts two canoes whose paddlers are too indistinct to identify as they move along the shoreline of the harbour (42).

and notes that their ancestors “were in the front of battle during the stirring scenes at Mackinaw, St. Joseph Island, Sault Ste. Marie and other sanguinary points during the war of 1812-15” (124, 124-25). Osborne’s introduction looks outward from an imperial centre and casts a colonizing gaze on the Métis community, a gaze that is materialized in his use of Dartnell’s picture.

As I will demonstrate in this section, *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* poses an interesting case study in examining the tensions between settler sympathetic aesthetics and Indigenous understandings of ethical engagement as the interviewees implicitly contend with the constraints of Osborne’s paratextual apparatus, which frames and tries to limit their narratives. In addition to *Penetanguishene Bay*, this apparatus includes the introduction, footnotes that disrupt and contradict the interviewees’ stories, and unmarked alterations to their narratives. These interventions disrupt the telling of Métis lived experience and attempt to code the speakers according to Osborne’s colonial ideologies. However, through their stories, the Métis speakers evade Osborne’s paratextual constraints and desired social transformation. I will examine three of the rhetorical techniques found in the interviews of Solomon, Sylvestre, Rosette Boucher, and Michael Labatte: (1) self-articulations of identity, (2) stories that speak to each other rather than to Osborne, and (3) narratives that exceed the paratextual limits imposed upon them. I argue that while Osborne enacts a settler vision of the future under the guise of sympathetic aesthetics, the Drummond Island Métis interviewees ground themselves in their own history as a way of centering their community identity while proposing a more ethical form of engagement between Indigenous people and settlers. In so doing, they may not exactly engage in a prophetic act, but they embody an identity endangered in the aftermath of crisis and thereby offer that identity to the future as vibrant and viable rather than as diminished and disappeared.

Like Jameson fashioning a sympathetic persona in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Osborne uses his paratextual matter to express sympathy for the Drummond Island Métis. His role as their amanuensis implies his own sympathy because he is ostensibly expressing an affinity for them by helpfully collaborating with the interviewees to record their stories. These personal narratives are like textual portraits of the Drummond

Islanders, and Beth Fowkes Tobin argues that “portraits imply an empowered subject” because they “are of somebody: an individual with a name, a family, and a home” (17). Tobin’s argument suggests that there is an inherent sympathy in recognizing the individuality of a subject. However, Osborne’s collaborative practices, introduction, and rhetorical techniques belie his affinity, revealing that the sympathy he expresses in his aesthetic choices is eliminatory. For instance, while Osborne interviewed a number of the Drummond Island Métis, he selects only six of what he calls “the more interesting” (126) interviews for publication, relegating tidbits from other interviews to the “List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*” following the main text. Who was supposed to find these six interviews “more interesting” than the others? The interviews that Osborne chose not to record at length were interesting to the Métis people telling them, were surely interesting to their families and community, and would likely be helpful to the present-day work of the Métis Nation of Ontario. The loss of this archive of nineteenth-century Métis community narratives is upsetting—especially given that Osborne excluded it because he deemed it not entertaining enough for his settler readers. Osborne’s work was not really intended to be relevant to the Drummond Islanders: if it were, all their stories would have been seen as interesting. Rather, his work is intended to be relevant to the Ontario Historical Society, which published the collection. The Ontario Historical Society “initially operated as a federation of local groups and was primarily concerned with the promotion of British-Canadian nationalism through the study of history” (Ontario Historical Society). Although Osborne recorded these interviews around the time that the society instituted “an expanded mandate” comprehending physical and “archival” “preserv[ation]” and “scholarly ... publication” (Ontario Historical Society), his questions appear to have focused on events relevant to British-Canadian history,<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Osborne appears to have asked the Métis interviewees a series of questions that he then kept from his written account. I suggest this for several reasons, including that their narratives tend to begin by answering the same questions: the interviewees give their names, birth dates and locations, and the names and occupations of their parents. Also, an interviewee’s response occasionally seems to be a direct answer to a question—as though Osborne could not remove himself entirely smoothly from the conversation. For example, Solomon tells the story of Tom Landrigan, who was nearly sentenced to death because he “bought goods and naval supplies stolen by soldiers from the old Red Store” (137). In his narrative, Michael Labatte says, “I knew about the Tom Landrigan scrape—getting into trouble about stolen Government military supplies” (140). Because Labatte starts his story with “I knew,” it sounds as though he is responding to a question that has not been committed to the text.

which suggests that he published these interviews to bolster British-Canadian belonging on Indigenous land.

Moreover, Osborne uses his introduction to try to spark his readers' sympathy for the Drummond Island Métis. His reference to the Drummond Islanders' "fervent loyalty to the British" implies that his readers should reciprocate and establish a kind of sentimental fellow-feeling—however, it is a fellow-feeling based around inherently eliminatory terms. For example, Osborne locates the urgency of this work in his implication that the community is losing its authentic character—and is therefore vanishing—as the people are employed less often in their "characteristic[]" trades and are "gradually drifting into other and more permanent occupations" (126). This implication is materialized in full in Osborne's later *Old Penetanguishene: Sketches of its Pioneer, Naval and Military Days* (1912), which effectively forms a settler companion account to that of the Drummond Island Métis interviews. In *Old Penetanguishene*, Osborne claims that the name "Penetanguishene" "perpetuat[es] the memory of long extinct nations" (5). In it, according to Osborne, "savage tradition and modern enlightenment salute one another across remote centuries of time, as now discovery, development, the arts, and sciences, clasp hands with each another" (5). While Osborne can see that the Drummond Island Métis are not literally dying away, he nevertheless structures his accounts of Penetanguishene in a way that eclipses them along with the other Indigenous nations to whose traditional land they had been relocated. He invokes "a stream of Time" (Fabian 17) to assert the rightful British inheritance of this land. Osborne's publisher appears to have written the preface for *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* and similarly attempts to still the Drummond Islanders as ethnographic specimens that serious researchers can examine by constraining them within the language of scientific study, thereby staking a claim for the importance of this material within the field of ethnography. Specifically, he argues that this study is "a useful supplement to Joseph Tasse's 'Les Canadiens de l'Ouest'" (123), which reported historical and biographical information relating to early French Canadians.

Importantly, Osborne's pronouncement that the "descendants" of the Drummond Islanders "retain many of the characteristics of the early *voyageurs*," while "gradually

drifting into other and more permanent occupations” functions as a kind of prophecy (*Migration* 126). The “characteristics” to which Osborne is referring are not shared community traits or cultural practices, but rather “characteristic” Métis labour: the descendants of the Drummond Islanders “[t]ake naturally to hunting, fishing, guiding tourists and campers and kindred adventure” (126). As their means of subsistence changes with the fluctuating circumstances of the economy (the fur trade giving way to the lumber trade and then manufacturing), Osborne avers that their community becomes diminished and threatened with disappearance because he interprets their community as the result of “characteristic” labour rather than more comprehensive conditions of peoplehood. For instance, in discussing the Drummond Island Métis, Karen J. Travers employs Catherine Bell’s “definition of what constitutes ‘a people,’” such as “a common history, racial or ethnic ties, cultural or linguistic ties, religious or ideological ties, a common territory or geographical location, a common economic base and a sufficient number of people” (221, 222). This is a much broader definition of what is characteristic about a community than the loyalty and labour emphasized by Osborne, and all of these traits are evident in the narratives of the six Drummond Island interviewees. Osborne’s “simple story” in his introduction fails to grapple with the complex articulations of community identity and belonging found in the Drummond Islanders’ stories. The stories of these Métis interviewees demonstrate that they have an oral record that emphasizes their agency and adaptability. As Travers attests, “identities may vary by locale and shift over periods of time,” and “[i]t is precisely this ability to transform and adapt that has enabled Métis communities in Canada to emerge with a unique sense of themselves as a distinct people. This is particularly true of the Drummond Island Métis” (219).

In addition to the framing work of his introduction, Osborne disrupts the stories of the Drummond Island Métis and disputes their knowledge through his use of footnotes and parenthetical interruptions as well as unmarked alterations between his record and their stories. For example, when describing the sinking of the *Alice Hackett*—which “had been chartered by the government [of Upper Canada] to move the military garrison stationed on Drummond Island to the Naval Establishments at Penetanguishene” in November 1828 (Richmond and Villemaire 103)—Solomon explains that the ship foundered on Horse Island (128). Osborne, however, inserts “(Fitzwilliam)” into the record after

“Horse Island” to indicate the colonial name given to the place (128). Also, in describing a government trip to Manitoulin Island, Solomon says that “[t]wo of the birch-bark canoes were about twenty feet long, while the iron canoe and one bark canoe were of equal length” (134). Osborne inserts a footnote here, rudely proclaiming that “Louie’s idea of dimensions is evidently astray. Competent authorities say the ‘Iron Canoe’ was about twenty-four feet in length” (134). Osborne misspells Solomon’s name—after Solomon spells it out for him letter-by-letter as “L-e-w-i-s” (127)—and claims that his interviewee is not a “competent authority.” Similarly, Osborne adds a footnote to Rosette Boucher’s narrative that contests the series of sites where she says her group camped on route between Drummond Island and Penetanguishene to once again privilege “competent [settler] authorities.” Boucher explains that her group “came by the North Shore, and were one month on the way. We camped at Mississauga Point, McBean’s Post, La Cloche, She-bon-an-ning, Moose Point and Minniekaignashene” (141). Osborne contests this account with a footnote explaining that “Mrs. Jameson, writing in 1837 ... places McBean’s Post at La Cloche” (141). Osborne’s interruptions are problematic because he not only positions settler texts as more authoritative than Indigenous people’s oral descriptions of their own experiences, but he also positions himself as an adjudicator of the Drummond Islanders’ narratives by treating differences in memory as failures in accuracy. They are generously volunteering to share their childhood memories from approximately seventy years earlier with him—and Osborne uses any possibility of discrepancy, however insignificant, to assert settler authority via colonial records to which he has access. For instance, Solomon does not mention his extended family in his narrative, but Osborne adds that he is related “by marriage” to Reverend McMurray and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft (126), once again invoking settler “authorities” to strengthen Solomon’s account. Rather than offer his own assessment of the Métis narratives, Osborne could have simply let the Drummond Islanders’ memories speak for themselves. However, instead of disinterestedly recording the stories of the Drummond Islanders as an act of solidarity, his method of evaluating their memories in relation to the colonial archive suggests that he is attempting to fashion a history that is useful to him and his settler readers.

Osborne also interferes in the interviewees' narration by inserting unmarked alterations into the text, implying that, because most of them were not what he considered to be fluent in English (which was their second or third language), he records the interviews only "as nearly as possible, in their own words" (126). He mostly excepts Solomon's interview from this practice because of his fluency as well as Angelique Longlade's<sup>83</sup> interview because of what he calls her "picturesque" dialect (147). In the foreword to Métis author Maria Campbell's *Stories of the Road Allowance People*—stories that were told to her by members of her Red River Métis community—Ron Marken writes, "Degrade or silence the voices, and you kill cultures. Take away a people's language, insult its ways of expression, and you rub out their singularity and character" (7). This is what Osborne tries to do with his unmarked alterations and his attempt at "dialect literature" in the case of Longlade (147). Through his alterations, he tries to occupy the role of an authority figure in the narrative, and his self-conscious assumption of this role is made clear when he explains that "[a]s Louie's command of English is somewhat above the average ... *he is permitted* to present his narrative, with few exceptions, in his own words" (127, emphasis added). Rather than modelling a respectful relationship with the interviewees, Osborne's interview format demonstrates the disingenuous nature of the sympathy being offered to them. Not only does Osborne predict their disappearance through the change in their "characteristic" labour, but his alterations of their speech attempt to enact this disappearance through, as Marken says, the "[d]egrad[ing]" and "silenc[ing]" of their voices and, subsequently, the "kill[ing]" of their culture.

While Osborne uses the Drummond Islanders' narratives to develop an encyclopedic resource of settler history for an audience outside the Métis community, the Métis interviewees evade the constraints imposed upon them through their use of the interview format as an art form—a type of storytelling. In a discussion of Jameson and biographical writing, literary scholar Judith Johnston explains that in "the writing of another life," "[t]he characteristics which are valorized ... are those which the narrator chooses and are therefore a reflection of the narrator's own beliefs and mores; the facts which are ignored,

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<sup>83</sup> Osborne spells her surname as "Langlade" but, within the community, this name is spelled "Longlade," which is the version I will be using.

the silences, are decided on similar grounds” (*Anna* 20). In his record of the Métis interviews, Osborne is writing about other lives, and his choices for the representation of those lives create his impression of the community. However, if he has a choice in what to record or omit, so too do the Drummond Islanders. While it is possible to see the constraints of Osborne’s interview format, it is also possible to see the Métis exercising agency in ways that exceed these constraints by defining their own identities, their relation to each other and their community, and their relation to the colonial texts trying to encode them within self-serving narratives.

Since I am discussing my own community, I am going to ground my interpretation of interviews as a conscious act of storytelling on the part of the speaker primarily in my experiences at home rather than in academia. That is, I seek to develop this interpretation organically by first considering my family’s own storytelling practices since it is these experiences that have encouraged me to read the interviews as stories about us rather than as an encyclopedic resource. I have come to realize that my interpretation of these interviews as stories has been framed by the family stories told by my Père (my grandfather). My Père has always told me stories: stories about his parents and siblings, about what life was like in town when he was younger, about falling in love, about work and fun experiences, and about his service in World War II. We would visit him and my Mère at least once every week, and at some point during the visit, he would entertain us all by starting to tell one of these stories. Over time, we got to know his repertoire, and when he would start a story, we would ask for other details we had heard before, for other stories we had heard connected to this one.

As I think about the interview format, I think about visits with my Père and asking him for stories of his life and the lives of his family. I think, too, of when I was in high school and the history teacher suggested that, for one of our projects, we could interview World War II veterans. I asked my Père to interview him, but some of the stories he told then were different from the stories he had told before. Until then, he had only told funny or inspiring stories about his experiences during the war, as strange as that may seem. These taught us that being brave often means being kind, and that, as bad as things get, there are a lot of good people in the world and sometimes you just have to believe that. When I

interviewed him, though, we sat at the kitchen table, not (as we usually did) in his living room, and some of the stories he told me then were more painful ones about suffering and loss. At the time, I wondered why he had chosen to tell different stories in a different way, but eventually I understood that it was because he was telling them to a different audience. I had thought he was telling them to me, but he knew that he was telling them through me to a wider group of people and the message that he was trying to convey was a different one about not forgetting what war had been like.

Like my Père, Osborne's Métis interviewees knew they were talking to someone outside their circle. While it appears that they were answering questions asked by Osborne, they nevertheless find ways to tell their individual and community stories by evading and exceeding the constraints of Osborne's interview format. Audra Simpson explains that "anthropology has imagined itself to be a voice, and in some disciplinary iterations, *the* voice of the colonized" (*Mohawk* 95); however, she argues that "[w]ithin Indigenous contexts, when the people we speak of speak for themselves, their sovereignty interrupts anthropological portraits" (97). For instance, Michael Labatte defies Osborne's characterization of him as "a typical French-Canadian *voyageur*" (137). Osborne does not explain what he means by this ethnographic type, but from his introduction, readers can surmise that he means Labatte guided government officials and tourists and fought for the British. He did do all of these things. However, he was also a mail carrier (139), a fur trader, a fireman, and a contractor who cleared land for the government (140). None of these occupations appear to fit within Osborne's ethnographic type. Moreover, while Osborne positions this type as outward-facing, by which I mean focused on assisting settlers by fighting for them or guiding them in places away from the Drummond Island community, Labatte's narrative demonstrates a quiet but keen closeness to his family that is both physical and emotional. He spoke Anishinaabemowin with his mother (138), remembers travelling with his family to Penetanguishene (138), and mentions how long it has been since his mother passed away and where his parents are buried (139). He closes his narrative by stating that he has "had a family of fifteen children" (140). Through his narrative, Labatte gestures toward the existence of an inward-facing family and community dynamic, independent of the labour that the Drummond Islanders performed for settlers, especially when he mentions that he had never even heard the English

language before he was twelve years old. According to Labatte, “Nothing but French and Indian was spoken at Drummond Island. I learned English at Penetanguishene, where I first heard it spoken” (138). Labatte builds on this family history to indicate that the Drummond Islanders have their own Métis history independent of the settler history that Osborne wishes to record. Their “linguistic ties” (Travers 222) united them on Drummond Island, and they have their own geographic ties and knowledge of Métis community development in their new home. For instance, he says, “There was no house at Lafontaine when I first saw it. It was first called Ste. Croix. The nearest house was my father’s, at Thunder Bay, about seven miles distant” (139).

Such decolonial, inward-facing family and community dynamics are also apparent in Rosette Boucher’s narrative. In an analysis of Indigenous stories, Rifkin suggests “[c]onceptualizing time as ... an expression of affective orientations” (*Beyond* 40), and Boucher’s narrative consists of a series of such decolonial “affective orientations.” For instance, she reframes settler colonialism and its attendant understanding of time through her own body when she begins her narrative by saying, “My maiden name was Rosette Larammee, born on Drummond Island December 12th, 1815, the year after the war” (140). While, as Orienne Smith demonstrates, wars like the French and American revolutions presented Romantic writers with the opportunity “to bring about a social or religious transformation” (2), and while the War of 1812 was likewise mobilized by authors like Osborne to assert a vision of the settler future on Indigenous lands, Boucher begins her narrative by contextualizing the war in relation to her own birth—her Indigenous presence and a symbol of her community’s continuance. Boucher also contextualizes the community’s relocation in relation to their traditional practices when she tells Osborne that her family “were in the sugar camp when some of the others started” on the migration to Penetanguishene Bay, thereby demonstrating that her family and other community members refused to let the relocation disrupt their traditional cultural practices (141). By these means, Boucher reframes Osborne’s questions about the migration into an articulation of Métis identity that centres her own community while describing its relationship to settlers.

Furthermore, her account of the development of the Métis community in Penetanguishene is offered as a series of stories about Métis people, illustrating not only an inward-facing community dynamic but also how these stories speak to community members differently than to Osborne's settler audience. For example, she reframes Osborne's interest in Bishop McDonnell's visit to Penetanguishene as the day her parents were married. Few marriages were performed on Mackinaw, St. Joseph, and Drummond Islands due to the general absence of "[a] priest or missionary at ... [these] distant posts" (Osborne 125). Osborne writes that "[t]his ... explains the apparent anomaly of numerous couples, with large families, being married after their arrival at Penetanguishene, notably on the visit of Bishop McDonnell there in 1832" (125). While Osborne calls the "marriage customs" on Drummond Island "most primitive [in] character" (125) before "normalizing" the Métis community's pre-existing marriages within the context of settler colonialism through Bishop McDonnell's visit, Boucher does not depict her community's marriage customs as abnormal. She says, "My father and mother were married in Penetanguishene by Bishop McDonnell, who married several couples during his visit to Penetanguishene shortly after we moved from Drummond Island" (141). Since she prefaces this account of the ceremony by stating, "I remember a bishop, named Thombeau, and Father Crevier, once visited Drummond Island" (141), she implies that there were some opportunities for members of the Métis community on Drummond Island to be married without suggesting it was strange, problematic, or "primitive" (Osborne 125) if they did not. What Osborne perceives as the Métis community's "primitive" "marriage customs" (125) were not primitive but rather counter-patriarchal. That is, the marriages consisted of only "a mutual agreement" between a couple "witness[e]d" by "one or two" friends (125). These marriages, therefore, existed outside the Euro-Western patriarchal norms which positioned only God and priests as capable of sanctioning such unions. Moreover, they forced the church to compromise and retroactively acknowledge the validity of these pre-existing marriages that Bishop McDonnell merely confirmed on his visit to Penetanguishene. Because Boucher remembers the names of multiple couples who "were married at the same time" as her parents (141), her account has an attitude of community celebration as opposed to Osborne's attitude of moral and temporal rectification.

Through self-articulations of identity such as these, the Drummond Islanders show that they are not merely resources to be mined for their memories on behalf of settler history. By illustrating their “affective orientations,” they transform the interview format into self-conscious acts of storytelling in which they centre themselves and their community. Their collaboration with Osborne suggests an understanding of Indigenous-settler relationships that exceeds that of settler sympathy (in which Indigenous memory needs to be harvested to enable a settler futurity). Rather, their willingness to create a public record with Osborne while being attentive to their families and community is an act of ethical engagement, a meeting of what Ermine calls “mental worlds” (202). While the Drummond Island Métis speak, in their narratives, to an interplay of Métis and settler interests, histories, knowledges, and languages, Osborne’s eliminatory frame precludes this sense of equality, “shared Time,” and inclusivity. Ermine notes that “[t]he ethical space ... disperses claims to the human order” by respectfully engaging “issues like language, distinct histories, knowledge traditions, values, interests, and social, economic and political realities and how these impact and influence an agreement to interact” (202). Osborne’s paratextual apparatus foregoes the possibility of establishing an “agreement to interact” through his belief in Indigenous disappearance, his limited characterization of peoplehood as based on labour, and his explicit interest in supporting settler nationalism. In avoiding these constraints through their storytelling techniques, the Drummond Island Métis interviewees position themselves in respectful relation to settlers and model what an ethical engagement between these two communities might look like.

Another way in which the Drummond Islanders’ stories unsettle Osborne’s paratextual apparatus is by speaking to each other across the interview frame. Although Osborne seems to ask for their knowledge of specific events (e.g., their migration, the sinking of the *Alice Hackett*, the visit of Bishop McDonnell), the Métis interviewees answer these questions while speaking to each other across their limits. For instance, Sylvestre builds a sense of the interconnectedness of the community by referring to Solomon in his narrative not just by name but as his “brother-in-law” (143). Antoine Labatte does the same by noting his relationship with his step-brother Michael (145). All of the interviewees fashion these community bonds more generally because in describing their travelling companions during the migration, and the diasporic locations of their

community members after their migration, they create through remembrance a web of community relations. Although Osborne attempts to generate an eliminatory encyclopaedic resource of settler history for the Ontario Historical Society that supports a British-Canadian nation, the Métis interviewees quietly construct a complementary resource of community belonging across their interviews. This network of community members is created in response to Osborne's questions, yet it evades the sympathetic aesthetics of his interview frame. That is, even as Osborne writes of the disappearance of this Métis community, the Drummond Islanders materialize that community in all its resilience to relocation and diaspora through a combination of oral story and written record. As they tell their stories, they recreate and concretize the community threatened with vanishing. While this act of community-building is not prophetic, it allows the Métis to offer their endangered identity to future community members. Gwen Reimer and Jean-Philippe Chartrand explain that the Métis narratives in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* are "[o]f particular importance" for "positively identify[ing] Métis individuals and families" in the "Georgian Bay region" (576). While they cite Osborne, writing that "*his* list of names of individuals and families is a key document for determining the identity of Métis persons" (576, emphasis added), it was the Métis interviewees who provided Osborne with this information and thereby enabled community survivance and present-day belonging in the Georgian Bay Métis Community.<sup>84</sup> Like prophecy, the narratives of the Drummond Island Métis "exceed their original contexts, creating new contexts" (Smith 27). Each story fashions a Métis future that the interview attempted to extinguish. The Métis interviewees speak not only to Osborne and the Ontario Historical Society, but also to their future community members, thereby exceeding the eliminatory sympathetic aesthetics of Osborne's paratextual frame to refashion *The Migration* from within as a form of ethical engagement that speaks to settler communities while supporting their own Métis community.

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<sup>84</sup> Reimer and Chartrand explain that, in the absence of "fur trade company ... records" (576), "careful triangulation" of other records, such as *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828*, "published letters, diaries, biographies, and other historical accounts can lead to the positive identification of Métis individuals and families at Penetanguishene in the early to mid-1800s" (577).

Perhaps the clearest examples of the narratives of the Drummond Island Métis being resistant and artistic acts of storytelling occur when they occasionally engage in a long narrative arc. While a lot of the information that the Drummond Islanders provide offers a brief, interview-like snapshot of historical events, a speaker will occasionally offer a longer narrative arc, and these arcs are more difficult for Osborne to constrain within an interview format celebrating British-Canadian nationalism. Although Osborne appears to have chosen how to group the answers to his questions together in the form of paragraphs, it is this very clustering of fairly unconnected facts within the text that emphasizes the moments when a complete story is revealed. For instance, in the same paragraph (138-39), Michael Labatte discusses Bishop McDonnell's visit to Penetanguishene, the use of Norway pine in the barracks, who built "[o]ld Ste. Anne's ... church" (139), the burial place of his mother and father, who built the first mill, and many other things. Similarly, Rosette Boucher's narrative is only one paragraph and it covers a multitude of events, including her family's move from Drummond Island, the death of Pierre Rondeau, the visit of Bishop McDonnell, her family's lot number, the doctor in Penetanguishene, and Joseph Giroux's amputation (140-41). The brevity of these responses could suggest variously that the interviewees were giving shortened stories, that Osborne only wanted/recorded superficial explanations, or that Osborne cut some of the material (as he did in the "List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*"). In any case, the paragraph format and the brevity of response indicate shortened, "factual" versions of longer stories. They reveal, through omission, a community life that is inaccessible to Osborne and readers, regardless of facts gleaned.

The paragraph format and typical brevity of response inadvertently emphasize the occasional longer narrative arc within the text and the ways in which these stories work against Osborne's encyclopedic interpretation of the Métis, even exceeding the bounds of his narrative frame. As stories, the longer narrative arcs of the Drummond Island Métis are less controllable: they upend Osborne's sympathetic aesthetic by suggesting a significantly less paternal relationship between the Métis and the British. If Osborne attempts to characterize the Métis as loyal, he tries to portray the British as reciprocating this feeling with a sympathetic paternalism that establishes an unequal relationship between the communities. For instance, he writes that when the Métis moved to

Penetanguishene, they were given “liberal” “twenty-acre and forty-acre lots” of land “[i]n the wise provision of a paternal government” to compensate for “their abandoned homes” (124). While their employment by the British, and in some cases even their loyalty, may be entirely factual, Osborne’s frame lacks awareness of the resistance of the Métis speakers to his portrayal of welcome British paternalism.

One of the most resistant of the longer narrative arcs is Solomon’s story of the sinking of the *Alice Hackett*, which works against Osborne’s efforts to substantiate British authority in their relationship with the Métis. While many of the Drummond Islanders moved to Penetanguishene by canoe with their families or in small groups, the Upper Canadian government, as previously mentioned, hired the *Alice Hackett* to transport the garrison, along with some civilians, to Penetanguishene in November of 1828 (Richmond and Villemaire 103). According to Randy Richmond and Tom Villemaire, the *Alice Hackett* set out from Drummond Island in a snowstorm and then encountered a “gale” that “drove the ship towards Fitzwilliam Island, which lies between Tobermory and Manitoulin Island[,]” and it was here that “shoals ... ripped away at the boat” (104). The sinking of the *Alice Hackett* is “the first known [ship]wreck in Georgian Bay” and was the first of five shipwrecks under Captain Hackett’s command (103). In his introduction to the Drummond Islanders’ interviews, Osborne uses the passive voice to describe the wreck in factual terms only: “The schooner, with its cargo, was wrecked on Fitzwilliam (Horse) Island, in Lake Huron” (124). Solomon’s narrative, however, contains a story arc in which he describes the wreck of the *Alice Hackett* with a great deal more humour and accountability. In the story Solomon tells, the captain, crew, and soldiers became drunk before the ship was wrecked, abandoning a woman and child on board in their stupor: “The captain and his crew and many of the soldiers became intoxicated, and during the following night a storm arose, during which the vessel was driven on a rock” (128). Although the passengers and crew saved the whiskey and brought it to shore with them, they left a woman—Angelique (Cadotte) Lepine—and her child on board (128). She, however, tied herself and her child “to the mast, and there clung all night long through a furious storm of wind and drenching rain” (128). Because the Lepines survive the wreck—and Angelique lives to an impressive 95 years (152)—the story humorously holds the captain, crew, and soldiers accountable for their role in the near-tragedy. While

I have been unable to learn whether any of the soldiers were Métis, the *Alice Hackett* was representing the British government when the captain and crew became intoxicated during the storm. Moreover, the British government thought it wise to embark from Drummond Island for Penetanguishene in November, a season known for storms. As Richmond and Villemaire put it in *Colossal Canadian Failures: A Short History of Things that Seemed Like a Good Idea at the Time*, it “was not so sensible, it turns out, ... to decommission the fort in November, with all the fall storms that go with it” (103). In gently poking fun at the British government, Solomon’s extended story undermines Osborne’s frame of wise British paternalism.

In his narrative, Sylvestre similarly offers another example of a longer story arc that humorously undermines Osborne’s account of British paternalism by questioning their authority. Sylvestre describes how, after the Rebellion of 1837, he and Solomon were hired to guide British officials, including Colonels Jarvis and Sparks, on a search for the rebel leader William Lyon Mackenzie (143):<sup>85</sup>

We went up to Manitoulin and the Sault, around by Mackinaw and down to Sarnia, Detroit and Malden, then down Lake Erie to Buffalo.... We went down the Niagara, portaged round the falls, and went round the head of Lake Ontario, Hamilton, then down to the Credit to see the Indians, and so on to Toronto. One of the Government officials expressed himself very strongly, saying, “They had no business spending money on such a trip.” (143-44)

The numerous places that Sylvestre lists make the search sound like an aimless odyssey and the rebuke given to Jarvis and Sparks by the government official suggests that this trip was afterwards seen in that light. Sylvestre undermines Osborne’s sympathetic vision of colonial paternalism by implicitly questioning British authority in his portrayal of both

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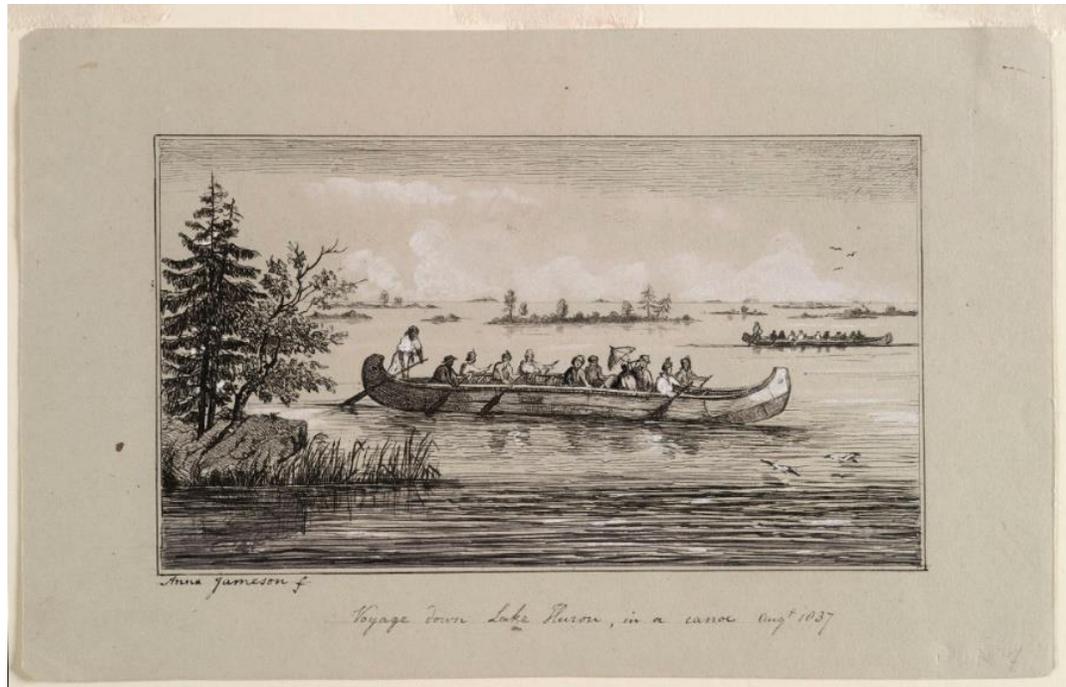
<sup>85</sup> William Lyon Mackenzie, “the first mayor of the newly incorporated city of Toronto,” was elected “to the Upper Canada Legislative Assembly for the county of York” in 1828, and served in this capacity off-and-on until 1836 when, through the interventions of Sir Francis Bond Head, he “lost his seat” (“William Lyon Mackenzie”). Generally, Mackenzie and Head were at odds because Head was the Lieutenant-Governor and representative of the British Crown, and Mackenzie was an advocate for the establishment of responsible government in Canada. Mackenzie declared “a provisional government” in 1837, but was attacked “by the loyal Tory forces” under the direction of Head; Mackenzie “fled to the United States” and the rebellion in Upper Canada was cut short (“William Lyon Mackenzie”).

the fractious nature of the pre-Confederation British administration in Upper Canada and the ineffectiveness of British responses to the rebellion. His story also suggests the necessity of the Métis in guiding the search for Mackenzie, contrasting their knowledge and abilities with the problematic choices of colonial administrators. While Sylvestre undermines British paternalism by centering the knowledge and agency of the Métis, he also demonstrates their willingness to assist the British. Sylvestre's story thereby deconstructs Osborne's notion of Métis loyalty as a "prefer[ence] to follow the fortunes of the British flag"—after all, in Sylvestre's narrative, the British follow the Drummond Islanders (123).

In Sylvestre's story about the Rebellion, as in Solomon's story about the *Alice Hackett*, humour is an attitude whereby the Métis speakers dispel what Ermine calls the West's "singular world consciousness" or "God's eye view on humanity" (198). They replace Osborne's tropes of Indigenous disappearance and British paternalism with the return of what Ermine calls an Indigenous "'gaze' upon the Western world" that "projects from the memory of a people and is, in essence, the continuum of a story and a history" (199). According to Ermine, this gaze represents "the social, political and historical consciousness about existence, and a place in the universe that is valid and imbued with purpose" (199). The humour in Sylvestre's and Solomon's stories enables the "[s]hifting" of "perspectives" to open space in Osborne's singular narrative and demonstrate that their stories represent not British history but "Indigenous—West[ern] encounter[s]" (201). Moreover, the humour in their narratives helps "to create a level playing field" and establish a sense of "the equality of nations" (202). While their stories do not fully materialize an ethical space of engagement, they do gesture toward how "shifting the status quo of an asymmetrical social order" may lead to an understanding of the past—and a possibility for a future—based on "a partnership model between world communities" that will dispel simple stories or "overrun the old ways of thinking" (203).

## Dissolving Jameson's Imperial Visions with the Drummond Island Métis

While Osborne's paratextual apparatus functions as an immediate internal constraint for the Drummond Island Métis interviewees in the sense that the text itself becomes a site of tension associated with settler sympathetic aesthetics, one of Jameson's etchings titled *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* (see Figure 1) is an external constraint that attempts similar work. As Osborne's textual interventions try to structure the relationship between settlers and the Drummond Islanders according to a colonial dynamic so too does Jameson's etching. *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* depicts Jameson being conveyed along the north shore between Manitoulin Island and Penetanguishene by Drummond Island Métis voyageurs including Lewis Solomon and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre. The image seems designed to commemorate the camaraderie or fellow-feeling between Jameson and the Métis that she describes in her text. For instance, she writes that "nothing could exceed the politeness of Mr. Jarvis and his people;—it *began* with politeness,—but it ended with something more and better—real and zealous kindness" (521-22). However, *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* is informed by a failed visionary moment late in Jameson's travel narrative; speaking to this visionary moment, the image belies Jameson's sympathetic aesthetic through its setting and Jameson's placement in the picture.



**Figure 1: *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Aug. 1837* by Anna Jameson.**

**Courtesy of the Royal Ontario Museum, © ROM.**

The numerous islands on Lake Huron, visible in the background of this picture, caused Jameson considerable anxiety that she attempted to quell through prophecy. While she protests that she was “overpower[ed]” by her enjoyment of the lake’s “ineffable loveliness,” the imagery she uses in her description of a sunset reveals an edge of alarm and disorientation (527). In praising the sunset, Jameson writes that “the rocky islands which studded its [the lake’s] surface were of a dense purple, except where their edges seemed fringed with fire” (527). Although possibly beautiful, the sense that the numerous islands were circled in flame is disquieting. Furthermore, Jameson describes how in the light of the setting sun, the multitude of islands “assumed, to the visionary eye, strange forms; some were like great horned beetles, and some like turtles, and some like crocodiles, and some like sleeping whales, and winged fishes” (527). In representing Indigenous land through reference to animals that are (except for turtles) not found on the land itself, Jameson’s show of admiration doubles as an anxious settler disorientation to place. Her reference to horned beetles, crocodiles, whales, and winged fishes reflects a global British knowledge of nature acquired through imperialism. That this moment is characterized as “visionary” suggests her desire to transform Indigenous land—and, in

particular, this land considered to be the frontier—into an image of global empire. Yet this vision fails her in that her description of the islands ends abruptly and leaves her in a state of discomposure. Jameson professes that she was “overcome by such an intense feeling of *the beautiful*—such a deep adoration for the power that had created it,—I must have suffocated if—” (527). Her text breaks off. Jameson claims to be absorbed in the natural beauty around her, but her feeling of suffocation hints at her anxiety caused by a natural dearth of Western signifiers. It may have been possible for Jameson to have a successful vision of a colonial future near an established settler locale like St. Thomas, but Jameson’s almost hallucinatory reading of the islands on Lake Huron reveals her anxiety about her lack of knowledge of the land and her dependency<sup>86</sup> upon the Métis voyageurs now and Indigenous people generally over the previous several weeks. Although she purports to be overwhelmed by the combination of the sunset and her “visionary eye,” she is rather overwhelmed by the failure of this vision to quell her anxiety by offering reassurance about settler ownership of Indigenous land.

Making *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* provides Jameson with the opportunity to mend this failed vision. For instance, Roy notes the class dynamic of this picture in which high-ranking settlers—Jameson and Colonel Jarvis—are being conveyed to their destination (26). Since these British occupants are individually identifiable (69-70), nearly centred in the image,<sup>87</sup> and at rest while the Métis are anonymous, off to the side of the settlers, and labouring,<sup>88</sup> *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* implies the transference of power and sovereignty from Indigenous people to settlers. This reading aligns with Jameson’s implicit advocacy for settler regulation of the Métis in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*. At the time, such advocacy was typical for

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<sup>86</sup> My analysis of Jameson’s *Voyage Down Lake Huron, in a Canoe, Augt. 1837* is indebted to Métis scholar Gloria Jane Bell’s work on Frances Anne Hopkins. Not only did Bell’s work provide a helpful model for learning how to “read” a painting, but she influenced my understanding of Jameson’s dependency on the Drummond Island Métis in her discussion of how “Hopkins was dependent for her life on ... [the] voyageur men” conveying her (109).

<sup>87</sup> While Roy discusses the placement of the people in the canoe (69), I focus on their placement in the overall image.

<sup>88</sup> Of course, William Solomon, whom Jameson calls “old Solomon” (522), is also centred in the image. William was the interpreter for Colonel Jarvis on this trip. Although he is Lewis’s father, Jameson notes neither his relationship to his son nor his Métis identity, thereby making him seem like another settler government official.

women of Jameson's class because, as Jennifer Henderson explains, Euro-Western women advocated for their "right to participate fully in political life" through their contributions "to the moralization of the unruly classes," including Indigenous peoples (9). Although Jameson's anxiety on Lake Huron may have been based on her dependency upon the voyageurs, in her travel narrative she re-envisioned their relationship to invert this sense of dependency. For example, Jameson plays upon stereotypes of uncivilized voyageurs by writing that the morning after their return home to Penetanguishene, they "were still half tipsy, lazy, and out of spirits" (538). Jameson's portrayal of the men when left to themselves contrasts the social cohesion she depicts in their labour under the command of male British officials and implies that the voyageurs would also benefit morally from the instruction of British women. In masking the regulation of the Métis as social care, Jameson creates space for settlers on Indigenous land.

The day after the failure of her vision on Lake Huron, Jameson engaged in the act of grave-robbing on Head Island with which I began this chapter. In this context, her theft also seems like a response to her anxiety about Indigenous sovereignty and naturalizing a place for settlers on Indigenous land. After all, Jameson portrays Head Island as though it is a spectacle of pathos, calling it "desolate," providing an account of the opened grave, and employing pathetic fallacy by writing that there were "a few blasted gray pines here and there, round which several pair of hawks were wheeling and uttering their shrill cry" (528). Her depiction of Head Island seems almost like the result of Indigenous disappearance. However, this spectacle of pathos is destroyed by the resistance to her theft offered by Sylvestre and Solomon. Sylvestre tells us that there was an attempt to put a skull "near ... [his] feet, and ... [he] told them to take it away. Mrs. Jameson kept it in the canoe with her" (143). Solomon says that he later "persuaded her to throw ... [the skulls] out, as ... [he] did not fancy their company" (136). While the language Solomon uses is disrespectful in terms of his plea to "throw ... out" the skulls, both he and Sylvestre hold Jameson accountable for a wrongful action, refuse to be complicit in her theft, and destroy her representation of this scene of pathos by re-directing her gaze onto herself. Through their resistance, Jameson is forced to recognize herself not as the sympathetic protagonist in a spectacle of pathos, but rather as the person committing a wrongful action and instigating such a scene. It would then be difficult for her to keep the

skulls and maintain her sympathetic persona or pretend that Indigenous disappearance is a natural phenomenon divorced from settler colonialism.

It should be noted that Sylvestre explains how Jameson acquired a skull as follows: she “asked someone to get a skull for her, and Thomas Leduc went down and got one” (143). Like Sylvestre and Solomon, Leduc was one of the Drummond Island Métis voyageurs transporting Jameson. I do not address Leduc at length because this dissertation focuses on the systemic ways that Jameson and other settlers benefit from literary and scientific endeavours that promote Indigenous disappearance and theft of Indigenous lands. There is reason to think about why Leduc might have participated in the theft and whether this participation was voluntary or coerced. For instance, Hutchings and Bouchard note that, prior to her theft on Head Island, Jameson writes, “I landed to examine” two Indigenous graves, thereby “highlight[ing] not only her personal interest in these sepulchres but also the agency enabling her to take a closer look at them” (Jameson 526-27, Hutchings and Bouchard 177). In other words, Jameson appears to have had the authority to direct the voyageurs. While Sylvestre’s naming of Leduc might suggest that he was upset by his colleague’s participation, Solomon’s focus on only Jameson might suggest her authority over Leduc. Regardless of motive, Leduc’s involvement is as a person who is further disenfranchised by the act and not as a person who benefits in substantive or systemic ways.

Solomon’s and Sylvestre’s narratives not only reveal the disingenuousness of Jameson’s settler sympathy but also exceed the constraints of her prophecy by undermining settler authority. For instance, Jameson portrays the voyageurs as being under the direction of settler officials, particularly when she characterizes them as Jarvis’s “people” (521).<sup>89</sup> However, Solomon relates a significant Métis disruption to settler government on a trip in 1836 when a handful of settler officials required an interpreter and fifty-seven “French *voyageurs* from Penetanguishene” to move them, feed them, set up their camps, and interpret for them (133-34). During this trip, they were approaching Sarnia in the dark, and the sentinel “demanded the countersign,” meaning that he asked them to identify

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<sup>89</sup> Similarly, Judith Johnston argues that Jameson introduces the men in a way that “constructs a white hierarchy” because she lists the British and settler travellers first (*Anna* 114).

themselves (134). Solomon says that “Colonel Jarvis refused to answer or allow any other person to do so. The guard gave the second and third challenge, declaring, at the same time, that if we did not answer he would be compelled to fire. Still Mr. Jarvis would not answer” and the company was only “saved” by one of the Métis voyageurs defying Jarvis’s orders and identifying them instead (134, 135). Solomon’s story undermines Jameson’s account of beneficial settler influence on Métis social cohesion in her representation of Colonel Jarvis, demonstrating instead this powerful settler official’s divisive engagements with the Métis (and other settlers) as well as his callous indifference to their well-being. Solomon’s narrative also suggests that he perceives the structural inequalities at work in the developing relationship between the Drummond Islanders and the Upper Canadian government. For instance, on this same trip, Solomon saved Lord Morpeth from drowning and Colonel Jarvis helped him out of the water once they reached shore. Solomon says, “Morpeth ... thanked me kindly, saying he would remember me. I thought I would get some office or title, but I never heard anything further about it. Mr. Jarvis afterwards got to be colonel, and I suspect he got the reward that should have been mine by merit” (134). In articulating his own merit, Solomon implicitly indicates his awareness that his interzone is dependent upon Métis presence and intervention even as it is developing through structural oppression and Indigenous exclusion.

As Solomon unravels the myth of necessary settler influence underlying Jameson’s travel narrative, he and Sylvestre show the glaring holes in Jameson’s idea that British women are needed to regulate the morality of Indigenous people. While both men hold her accountable for stealing Indigenous skulls, their narratives diverge in their accounts of her character. Sylvestre’s discussion of Jameson only notes his disapproval of her theft. Solomon, conversely, found that in her interpersonal interactions, she was “agreeable” and “considerate of others” (136). She also listened to him and relinquished the skulls. Between their narratives, Solomon and Sylvestre undermine Jameson’s understanding of the superiority of British women’s morality, showing how she engages unethically in her interzone. In listening to the men and changing her behaviour, however, Jameson becomes an example of how Indigenous peoples’ interventions are necessary to the moral improvement of settlers in this interzone. Similarly, when Solomon calls Jameson

“extremely kind-hearted,” he appears to be referring to her protests against their hunting (136). In so doing, he reframes her attempts at the moral regulation of Indigenous people into a character trait not only unreflective of their morality but also suggesting the necessity of the voyageurs compensating for her “extreme” sentiment with their physical care (i.e., providing her with food) and respect for her feelings. While the sentimental tradition provides the structure for Jameson’s travel narrative, and it is through this form that Jameson attempts to offer an alibi for settlers’ occupation of Indigenous lands, Solomon swiftly overturns such sentiment as an unrealistic and inaccurate method of accounting for the travellers’ lived experiences and cross-cultural interactions.

Sylvestre’s and Solomon’s narratives, therefore, mediate Jameson’s vision on Lake Huron. Her “visionary eye” seeks to transform the land and make it representative of empire, including re-fashioning it as a legitimate space of occupation by settlers. In seeking to “determine[] who belongs and does not belong” (Goeman, *Mark* 36), Jameson’s travel narrative also tries to structure Indigenous lands as places of settler authority. Sylvestre’s and Solomon’s stories, however, speak to more nuanced and respectful forms of ethical engagement between Indigenous people and settlers. In showing Jameson her unethical conduct and in reframing her account to critique its sentiment, they demonstrate the work of “renegotiat[ing]” the “communal cultural frames” of their interzone (Foster 272) to work towards an ethical space that, as Ermine writes, “engag[es] diversity and disperses claims to the human order” (202).

## Conclusion: Francis Bond Head, Sentimental Hero?

While Sylvestre’s and Solomon’s stories provide evidence for Sir Francis Bond Head’s accusation that Jameson stole Indigenous relics during her travels in Upper Canada, their testimony should in no way make us think of Head as somehow more sympathetic than Jameson or more interested in redress for settlers’ wrongful actions toward Indigenous peoples. As Hutchings and Bouchard have explained, Sir Francis Bond Head twice accuses Jameson of stealing Indigenous relics—once in a private letter to John Murray and once publicly in a long essay he wrote for the *Quarterly Review* titled “The Red Man.” I would like to briefly examine this essay because its public nature not only has

the potential to undermine Jameson's sympathetic persona in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, but also presents Head with an opportunity to further establish his own sympathetic persona by contrast.

As Hutchings and Bouchard have pointed out, the passage where Head accuses Jameson of stealing Indigenous relics reflects his "disdain for women's intellectual capabilities" (175). However, I also find this passage interesting for its theatrical form and intentional misconstruction of the Drummond Island Métis. Head writes:

About a year or two ago, an English female tourist, whose name—though it does not deserve our protection—we are not disposed to mention, happening to pass some of these graves, uncovered one, and in the presence of two or three Indians, very coolly carried off the sleeping tenant's skull, as if it had been a specimen of quartz or granite. The Red witnesses during the act looked at each other in solemn silence, but on imparting the extraordinary scene they had witnessed to their chief, councils were held,—the greatest possible excitement was created,—and to this day, these simple people (or 'savages,' as we term them) speak with horror and repugnance of what they consider an uncalled-for and an unaccountable violation of the respect which *they* think is religiously due to the dead. (331-32)

By describing the voyageurs as "two or three Indians" stunned into "solemn silence," Head suggests that the voyageurs were from a First Nations community when he knew they were Métis except, perhaps, for Martin, who may have been a member of a First Nations community in the region. We also know from Solomon's and Sylvestre's stories that Jameson was in the company of seven Indigenous voyageurs and a Métis interpreter, at least two of whom verbally resisted her act of theft. Rather than "the greatest possible excitement ... [being] created," Solomon and Sylvestre were firm in their refusals but calm in the telling of their stories with Solomon even reflecting that Jameson was "agreeable" and "extremely kind-hearted" (136). If Head had been told about Jameson's theft by his son, who was present on the trip, or Colonel Jarvis, surely he had been told as well about the voyageurs' response to the act. At the very least, he had the means to find

out and record the facts rather than frame Jameson's theft according to his own imaginative portrayal.

Like Jameson's representation of Head Island, Sir Francis's account artistically transforms her theft into a scene of pathos, a tableau of silent Indigenous suffering. In so doing, Head undermines her sympathy for Indigenous peoples while comparatively valorizing his own. Through her scenes of pathos in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson puts herself forward as a model of ethical behaviour toward Indigenous peoples, thereby normalizing the eliminatory drive of her travel narrative. Through his accusation in "The Red Man," Head implicitly deconstructs Jameson's account, replacing her with himself as an ethical model for readers while similarly striving to effect settler colonial elimination since "The Red Man" ultimately advocates for Head's Upper Canadian removal policies, which I will discuss at length in the next chapter. More than sentimentalism, though, Head appeals to readers' interest in the sensational when he calls Jameson's theft an "extraordinary scene" of "excitement" and "horror" (332) and claims that these Indigenous men are likely to be revenged upon settlers: "The headless skeleton we have mentioned may yet be revenged," and if a settler were killed in this area of Upper Canada, "it might reasonably be noted down, that he had, most probably, been made to pay the penalty of the deed of a thoughtless Englishwoman" (332). Ironically, as Head criticizes Jameson for her lack of sympathy toward Indigenous peoples, his allegation betrays the theatrical nature of his own sympathy. That is, the sensationalism of Head's accusation in "The Red Man" suggests that he portrays and experiences "the sentiment of pain" or horror "as pleasure," which is possible because, according to David Marshall, "[t]he theater provides the frame that translates suffering into pleasure" (21, 21, 22).

Jameson and Head each point to the other's wrongful actions as a way of claiming to individually possess exceptional sympathy and thereby legitimate their own vision of a settler future on Indigenous lands. In "The Red Man," as in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, settler sympathy is a set-up for Indigenous elimination, such as when Head writes, "[Y]et, in spite of all our regard for this noble and injured race, we cannot but admit that, to a certain degree, the Government ... ought to effect their removal" (362).

Ultimately, Head's allegation against Jameson is a simple story, and like Jameson's simple story, it offers a simplistic model for settler-Indigenous relationships in the form of eliminatory sympathetic aesthetics. Expanding this story into a more nuanced one by attending to the voices of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis offers us the chance to explore a substantially more complex representation of early Canada as well as the opportunity to consider what might constitute ethical engagements between settlers and Indigenous peoples.

Given that Head characterizes himself as singularly sympathetic to Indigenous peoples, and especially given that literary scholars portray Jameson's sympathy for Indigenous peoples as exceptional amongst settlers, Solomon's and Sylvestre's stories should prompt us to take a second look at sympathy. It is especially important to do so because this language of exceptional sympathy persists today in settler discourses regarding truth and reconciliation. For instance, as Pauline Wakeham points out, in nearly identical statements on National Indigenous Peoples Day in 2016 and 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau expressed the sentiment that "[n]o relationship is more important to Canada than the relationship with Indigenous Peoples" ("Statement 2017"); yet, "[t]hree years later, ... his administration has ... implemented only a handful of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's 94 Calls to Action, despite his campaign promise to deliver on the full suite" ("Outsourcing" 1).<sup>90</sup> Deconstructing how sympathy has been used on behalf of settler colonialism is integral to the contemporary work of moving beyond what has historically been eliminatory sentiment to practice ethical engagements with Indigenous peoples in the present. Greater awareness of the problematic role sympathy has played in the development of Canada will hopefully enable this decolonial work. Because as Solomon's and Sylvestre's stories make clear, settler sympathy has a long history of being mobilized not as a precursor to redress, but rather as a means of avoiding it.

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<sup>90</sup> According to the *CBC News* "Beyond 94" update in September 2020, Trudeau's government had completed only ten of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Calls to Action.

## Chapter 2

# Defying Affective Invasion: Indigenous Voices “(Re)mapping” Settler Sympathetic Geographies in the Great Lakes Interzone

Aristotle notes in Book II of *Rhetoric* that emotions are not predictable, but can nonetheless be appealed to because they have rationales and, most of all, *ground*. He describes affect’s ground through the idiomatic metaphor of *pedon* for foot or what is “underfoot.”

—Naomi Greyser, *On Sympathetic Grounds*

### Introduction

“Borders are lived experiences,” writes Anishinaabe scholar Karl S. Hele (Introduction xv). Although Hele is considering how “[t]he simple experience of transiting the border will not be the same for all” (xv), his statement could also aptly describe the effects of the imposition (and re-impositions) of the international border between the United States and Upper Canada on the lives of the Drummond Island Métis and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft. Over a period of thirty-three years, the British and American governments repeatedly altered the placement of their international border. Each time, certain lands were exchanged (and re-exchanged) over an invisible, imaginary line—yet each exchange resulted in the very real displacements and divisions of the area’s Métis and Anishinaabe communities.

For instance, with each shift of the border, the Drummond Island Métis moved from one new home to another. When Mackinaw Island “was transferred” by the British to the Americans “in 1796,” the Métis were moved “to St. Joseph Island” (Osborne, *Migration* 123). During the War of 1812, they helped retake Mackinaw, but the island was given back to the Americans after the war ended (123). The Métis were then moved “to

Drummond Island” (123) until it too was given to the Americans and they were relocated far across Lake Huron to Penetanguishene and Tiny Township (124).

Borders are lived experiences.

For instance, as Hele notes, the “international boundary ... irrevocably and artificially divided the Sault Ste. Marie Anishinabeg and Métis communities” (“Anishinabeg” 65). Although Jane Johnston Schoolcraft had been born in a British-allied home and community in Sault Ste. Marie, she eventually found her childhood home under United States’ control.<sup>91</sup> Just across the river, her sister Charlotte’s home stood in Upper Canada. Although Jane helped fight against the Americans on Mackinaw Island, Upper Canada, during the War of 1812,<sup>92</sup> she lived on Mackinaw Island, United States, after she married.

Borders are lived experiences.

The imposition of this international border is, more broadly, part of settler mapping, which impacts the lived experiences of Indigenous people by imposing colonial understandings and living arrangements on the land. In this period, possibly the most infamous example of settler colonial mapping in Upper Canada was Lieutenant-Governor Sir Francis Bond Head’s attempted removal of Anishinaabe people “from those parts of Upper Canada settled by Europeans” to Manitoulin Island based on the Romantic argument that Indigenous disappearance would occur “more slowly” here “than ... in colonized areas” (Binnema and Hutchings 125). As Theodore Binnema and Kevin Hutchings point out, Head’s predecessor, John Colborne, “had previously approved the

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<sup>91</sup> While Johnston Schoolcraft was born in what the United States considered to be its territory, the Americans only attained gradual control over the region. As Hele explains, “[t]he end of the American Revolution and the signing of the 1783 Treaty of Paris divided the region with a border demarcating areas of US and British jurisdiction,” but “[t]he British refus[ed] to abandon ... [their] posts in the American Northwest, which were south of the Upper Great Lakes” and “made a mockery of these early efforts to define a border” (“Anishinabeg” 68). “Britain agreed to cede control of its interior posts” only “in 1794 with the Jay Treaty,” so that “[b]y 1820, the Sault Ste. Marie area was theoretically divided between the” competing settler powers; however, “[b]oundary definitions were [only] finalized by the 1840s” and “the American and British authorities remained unable to exert effective control over the entire region’s population until after the 1870s” (68, 68, 67, 67, 67).

<sup>92</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft went to Mackinaw Island with her father during the War of 1812. She “made linen shirts for two [captured] Americans” (Parker 12-13). Maureen Konkle also reasons that “[s]ince there were plenty of other girls on the island to sew shirts, it seems fairly likely that ... [fourteen-year-old Jane] was with her father to interpret” (“Recovering” 86).

establishment of a Mississauga settlement on Manitoulin [Island]” because “he hoped that such a settlement would aid in the civilization of Mississauga communities” (125). While Colborne’s assimilationist views oppose Head’s Romantic admiration for Indigenous people (125-26), the practical outcome of both political paradigms was a policy of Indigenous removal that facilitated Euro-Western settlement. Although “British policy debates” such as these contested which route to settlement was the most ostensibly sympathetic to Indigenous peoples, they were simultaneously influenced by the unapologetically unsympathetic American removal policy, which took effect in 1830 and “remained the official policy ... until the end of the 1840s” (118). For instance, “the Indian Removal Act of 1830,” signed by President Andrew Jackson, required “the removal or acculturation of the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek, and Seminole” nations, and resulted in forced relocations to what was then called “Indian Territory,” located far west in what is now Oklahoma (Hartman).<sup>93</sup> Although Colborne’s, Head’s, and, more generally, the British Colonial Office’s imperial paradigms may seem more sympathetic to Indigenous peoples than America’s removal policy, all of these approaches to settler relationships with Indigenous peoples rely on racist beliefs in Indigenous disappearance, Euro-Western cultural superiority, and inherent—even God-given—settler rights to Indigenous land.

This contrast of approaches to colonial policy plays out in Head’s travel narrative, *The Emigrant* (1846). Head admits that he was originally “much averse to” removal, and because he does so in a paragraph that critiques American colonization and policies regarding Indigenous peoples, it seems that his aversion is a response to the mistreatment of Indigenous peoples that characterized their approach (77). For instance, Head writes scornfully that “it has been roughly estimated that in the opposite hemisphere of America the population of the United States, like a great wave, is constantly rolling toward the westward, over the lands of the Indians, at the rate of about twenty miles per annum” (77). By contrast, he claims that, unlike the Americans, “[t]he British sovereign and

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<sup>93</sup> The Trail of Tears, which occurred “during the Martin Van Buren administration,” is perhaps the most well-known of these forced relocations: the American army made 15,000 Cherokee people “walk over 1,000 miles” from their traditional lands “to Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Four thousand Cherokee died during the trip from disease, exhaustion, starvation, dehydration, and accidents” (Hartman).

British parliament have faithfully respected” Indigenous peoples and therefore “have never found any difficulty in maintaining the title of ‘*Father*’” (77). Head suggests that the ostensibly more sympathetic and ethical British approach has enabled good relationships with Indigenous people living in Upper Canada. Despite his moral outrage against America’s unsympathetic and eliminatory policies, however, he proceeds to explain that after travelling to various Indigenous communities and finding the people affected by settler diseases and an absence of game, he put a plan for removal in Upper Canada into action “without any hesitation” (78). He offers a sympathetic justification for his paternalistic plan:

Having ascertained that in one or two parts of Upper Canada, there existed a few Indians in the unfortunate state I have described, and having found them in a condition highly demoralized, and almost starving on a large block of rich, valuable land, which in their possession was remaining roadless and stagnant, I determined to carry into effect the project of my predecessors, by endeavouring to prevail on these people to remove to the British islands in Lake Huron. (79)

Head reiterates stereotypical colonial narratives about Indigenous peoples’ failure to use the land in what he presumes to be proper ways while at the same time emphasizing his sympathy towards Indigenous people for the impacts that colonialism has had on their communities and arguing that removal would slow their disappearance. By contextualizing his removal scheme against the backdrop of American policies, Head attempts to defend his self-serving ethics and substantiate his own sympathetic persona in his travel narrative.

In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* (1838), British writer Anna Jameson similarly uses America’s treatment of Indigenous people as a foil to support British imperialism in North America. For instance, while at a gathering on Mackinaw Island, she critiques what she calls “[t]he mean, petty-trader style in which the American officials make (and *break*) their treaties with the Indians” (432-33). By contrast, Jameson shortly afterwards attends a gathering on Manitoulin Island where she approves of Head’s controversial removal scheme, specifically touting the plan’s sympathy by calling “the intentions of the

government ... benevolent and *justifiable*” as well as “very *reasonable* and politic” (497). For both Jameson and Head, then, sympathy is crucial to legitimizing settler presence on—and expropriation of—Indigenous lands. Binnema and Hutchings even suggest that Lord Glenelg, the British Colonial Secretary, may initially have been so “receptive” to Head’s Manitoulin Island plan “because Head consistently defended his removal policy on humanitarian grounds” (122).

This insidious function of sympathy in colonial mapping may seem counterintuitive but, as I discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, Vivasvan Soni has traced a shift in the meaning “of sympathy” from “pity” to “identification” in the eighteenth century (305). David Marshall further proposes that in interpreting others by imagining their feelings, “one risks ... being placed in the position of distance, difference, and isolation that sympathy is supposed to deny” (181). However, in this chapter, I ask: What if the intention of an author’s sympathy is to create this distance, difference, and isolation? I interrogate how Head’s and Jameson’s sympathy is intertwined with settler territorial control: their sympathy fuels their travel narratives’ central arguments regarding removal and Indigenous disappearance respectively, thereby textually mapping the land in ways that seek to physically distance Indigenous peoples and settlers. As Naomi Greyser points out in *On Sympathetic Grounds*, “[s]ympathy has served as an embodied form of knowledge for determining what arrangements of life on the North American continent looked and felt like, including who had the space to flourish and who was displaced, exiled, or oppressed” (13). Sympathy thus materializes affective invasions of Indigenous lands: the “embodied” feeling of sympathy manifests individually, collectively, and nationally in settler colonies in different forms of incursion and “oppress[ion]” related to territorial control—both in terms of who is living in a place and how they are living there. While Marshall aptly critiques the ineffectiveness of sympathy as a form of establishing connection between people, Greyser demonstrates that sympathy has long been used as a means of establishing division between people precisely because it invites interpretation of others.

While in *The Emigrant Head* occasionally participates in a form of sympathy that echoes Renato Rosaldo’s concept of “imperialist nostalgia,” the process by which “agents of

colonialism” “mourn” what “they intentionally altered or destroyed” (69), his mourning is principally not for an altered reality or any reality at all. Rather, Head brought to Upper Canada a Romantic image of Indigenous people fabricated in the writings of authors like William Wordsworth (Binnema and Hutchings 119-21). When Indigenous realities did not correspond with this image, he determined that it was because of the detrimental effects of colonialism. His efforts to alter Upper Canadian geographies through Indigenous removal, then, are attempts to materialize British Romantic ideology on Indigenous land. At the same time, Head’s sympathy anticipates colonial “progress” by imagining a future settler state in Upper Canada that his text simultaneously attempts to produce by influencing emigration and colonial policy. Head’s sympathy is, therefore, “eliminat[ory]” in that it “strives for the dissolution of native societies” (Wolfe 388).<sup>94</sup> Jameson similarly attempts in her travel narrative to re-create Upper Canada in her own image; specifically, she seeks to code Indigenous land within British feminist understandings of place that legitimize these women’s presence. In this chapter, I thus examine how, through their literary descriptions of place, both Head and Jameson invest Upper Canada with a settler geography and attendant history that aims to influence settlement and colonial policies in ways they find especially desirable. Their avowals of sympathy for Indigenous peoples demonstrate that in displacing Indigenous people from their imagined Upper Canadian geographies, Head and Jameson are also trying to “indigeniz[e]” settlers, meaning that they are attempting to establish settler “belong[ing]” on the land (Goldie 194). In turn, I consider how, by incorporating their experiences of the land into their stories and poems, the Drummond Island Métis interviewees and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft unsettle Head’s and Jameson’s narratives and, to borrow Mishuana Goeman’s term, “(re)map[.]” (*Mark 3*) the Great Lakes region, reclaiming Indigenous territories, histories, and futures through their geographic understandings. In centering their communities, they refuse the sympathetic geographies of colonial governments and

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<sup>94</sup> As I mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, though they do not discuss sympathy or elimination, Binnema and Hutchings similarly note that Head mobilized the “philosophy of cultural [Romantic] primitivism ... in *The Emigrant* ... in order to rationalize his proposal to remove them [Indigenous peoples] from their traditional lands in Upper Canada” (129). While, in this chapter, I also address Head’s Romantic primitivism, I consider how it is consistent with and promotes elimination, and I read this Romantic primitivism more broadly in relation to Anglo-Saxon racial nativism, the Romantic sublime, and climatic theory. I also suggest that Head was attempting to materialize a Romantic primitivist reality in Upper Canada.

representatives, asserting instead that these lands are vibrant and thriving Indigenous places.

## Slipping by Settler Borders: Sympathetic and Embodied Geographies in Upper Canada

As I write this in London, Ontario, I look forward to the summer months ahead of me. Summer means more visits home to my Métis community, the descendants of the Drummond Islanders, in Penetanguishene. Travelling home requires two buses and a car ride from the station in Barrie, and this last leg of the journey is particularly dangerous and unpredictable in winter. Several years ago, pine trees were planted along some of the farmers' fields to act as a windbreak and prevent snowdrifts and whiteouts. In a few more years, the pines might be big enough to help. Even then, though, summer will mean better roads. I could tell you a lot about these roads, but I'm only going to tell you two more things. My first bus out of London brings me past Jameson Avenue on the waterfront in Toronto—named, of course, after Anna Jameson's husband, Robert (Mutrie). My second bus, into Barrie, carries me past Bond Head, a village named after Sir Francis ("Bond Head").

Settlers in Canada often gave places repetitive, colonial names—such as how London, Ontario, is meant to refer one's thoughts to London, England—in a way that attempted to extricate colonial Canada from Indigenous sovereignty and Indigenous ways of identifying and relating to land and place.<sup>95</sup> While names like Ottawa and Toronto were, in their appropriative but altered forms, meant as memorials to the *past* presence of Indigenous peoples,<sup>96</sup> names such as Talbotville, Port Colborne, and Simcoe (and Simcoe County and Lake Simcoe) acted like anchors of colonization, foundations of this *present*

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<sup>95</sup> Mary Louise Pratt makes a similar observation with regard to settler names in *Imperial Eyes*: "Redundancy, discontinuity, and unreality. These are some of the chief coordinates of the text of Euroimperialism, the stuff of its power to constitute the everyday with neutrality, spontaneity, numbing repetition" (2).

<sup>96</sup> Ottawa recalls "the Algonquin word 'adawe', which means 'to trade'" (Government of Canada). The origin of the name Toronto is Tkaronto, which "comes from a Kanyen'keha word meaning where the trees stand in water" (NAISA). This land was also called Gichi Kiiwenging in Anishinaabemowin (Ogimaa Mikana Project).

Canada.<sup>97</sup> In addition to creating a settler colonial geography on Indigenous land, these names carried with them the weight of a settler history.

On my bus route, then, I regularly encounter what I am calling in this chapter settler sympathetic geographies. Sympathetic geographies refer to the interconnected affective, rhetorical, and physical processes by which settlers attempt to establish a lasting connection to the land. It would be natural to think first of physical mapping as the method by which the settler state implemented its reality, but literature also played a key role. Whereas physical mapping imposed new borders and power structures on the land, literature excused and even invited these impositions in the biased narratives it addressed to settler and European audiences. For instance, as Cynthia Sugars and Laura Moss note, exploration narratives sought “to legitimate European conquest” by portraying Indigenous peoples “as lawless and barbaric, and therefore in need of civilizing” (22). Sympathetic geographies resonate with Greyser’s concept of “*affective geograph[ies]*” in that both describe how people “evoked sympathy to express a desire for a *place* that was both territorial and emotional” (1). However, Greyser’s analysis focuses on how the “sentimentalism” of diverse writers, including Indigenous people, “mapped affective geographies by describing interior emotions in externalizing, spatial terms” as well as “geophysical space in intimate, emotional terms” (2). She explains that “[s]entimentalists cultivated affective geographies as they sensed the land emanating sympathy” (2).<sup>98</sup> While Greyser’s affective geographies have both colonial and decolonial potential, I formulate sympathetic geographies differently here as specifically an eliminatory settler colonial phenomenon based not on rhetorical descriptions of emotional connection to land or the land’s reciprocal sympathy but rather on the prolonged and continuous over-mapping of the land with Romantic tropes like the sublime and Indigenous disappearance. By “over-mapping,” I mean not only that Head and Jameson mapped over Indigenous lands in their travel narratives, but also that they mapped over earlier colonial

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<sup>97</sup> Cynthia Sugars and Laura Moss likewise note that Duncan Campbell “Scott’s poem ‘Indian Place-Names’ ... invokes the Aboriginal names of Canadian places as the only remnant of a once-vibrant people, and suggests that these names have now been inherited by the White settlers” (265).

<sup>98</sup> As an example, Greyser turns to Northern Paiute writer Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins’s account of “Washoe women crying over their husbands’ murders at the hands of Anglo settlers, turning to large-scale geography to describe that, ‘such weeping was enough to make the very mountains weep to see them’” (qtd. in Greyser 2).

accounts using rhetorical techniques designed to advance their own interests as, respectively, a Romantic and a British feminist. In fact, it is this very over-mapping of colonial maps with more expressive sympathy for Indigenous peoples that enables them to manufacture an affinity between themselves and the land: that is, they express an affinity for Indigenous peoples based on how these peoples are imagined within Euro-Western paradigms as a way of establishing their rightful belonging on Indigenous lands even as they promote removal, relocation, and vanishing. In this logic, if Indigenous peoples will no longer live on these lands, it makes sense for them to be inherited by Euro-Western peoples who identify with Indigenous peoples. This sense of rightful inheritance then lends credibility to Head's and Jameson's sociopolitical projects, reframing their travel narratives as plans for the kind of society (i.e., Romantic or settler feminist) that Upper Canada should become. This marketing of supposed credibility and rightful inheritance in the service of a Canadian future is not limited to the past either: the road signs I pass on my bus route home intensify the work of these early settlers' sympathetic geographies by further attesting to settler history and an ongoing Canadian national affinity for the land.

Although they certainly participate in the systemic settler colonialism that structures Canada, colonial place names like Bond Head and Jameson Avenue seem (from my bus window) easy to miss and representative of only a threadbare history of their namesakes. There's something notably deficient about these road signs in comparison with all the meaning of home. This critical interpretation of the land which resists the normative history- and place-making processes of settler sympathetic geographies is a form of what Seneca scholar Mishuana Goeman calls "(re)mapping." According to Goeman, (re)mapping refers to "the labor Native authors and the communities they write within and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map making, to generate new possibilities" (*Mark* 3). To be clear, mapping and (re)mapping are not binary acts: while (re)mapping may in some ways respond to settler colonial mapping, it primarily responds to and asserts Indigenous geographies. Goeman further states that (re)mapping "is not just about regaining that which was lost and returning to an original and pure point in history, but instead understanding the processes that have defined our current spatialities in order to sustain vibrant Native futures" (3). As I make

my way home, then, my reflections offer a decolonial reading of the land marked by settler namesakes, indicating that these are contested spaces.

Kaleigh Bradley explains that “[p]laces are ... always a product of social connections linking them to the outside world.... With colonialism, however, these interconnections between the outside world (world of settlers) and the local (Indigenous world) were unequal, and Indigenous ways of interacting with, knowing, and naming the land, were sometimes lost or made invisible.” Head’s and Jameson’s representations of Upper Canada as settler spaces “privilege” certain “histories” and “voice(s)” (Bradley) and in this way contribute to the colonial project of attempting to render “invisible” the Indigenous people they meet on their travels despite their supposed sympathy for these peoples. Of course, in their own ways, Head and Jameson add a limited texture to the “*interzone*[.]” (Foster 272): Head’s Romantic admiration for Indigenous people was not the typical ideology of the settler state’s officials with their interest in assimilation (Binnema and Hutchings 124; “Investigating”), and Jameson’s feminist rambles appreciated some aspects of the lives of Ojibwe women and threatened the patriarchal spaces of her own society both in Upper Canada and Britain. Yet Head’s and Jameson’s travel narratives mobilize Romantic ideology without attending to Indigenous voices in substantive ways, promote the Euro-Western belief in Indigenous disappearance, and claim rightful settler occupation of Indigenous lands.

Both Head and Jameson make the study of Indigenous people the special object of their travels, so the eliminatory drive of their narratives is supported, as I discussed in the previous chapter, by the development of anthropology in the nineteenth century as what Johann Fabian calls a discourse that intentionally “distanc[es] those who are observed from the Time of the observer” (25). Moreover, in a settler colonial context, purported temporal distance enables geographic distance. That is, Indigenous peoples’ perceived location in time enabled settler plans for their supposedly appropriate geographic location (away from settlements and their traditional lands), such as Head’s relocation scheme. Fabian explains that this is possible because “Physical Time is part of a system of ideas which include space, bodies, and motion,” and “such a time concept is easily transformed into a kind of political physics” (29). “After all,” he writes, “it is not difficult to transpose

from physics to politics one of the most ancient rules which states that it is impossible for two bodies to occupy the same space at the same time” (29).

As Head and Jameson map Upper Canada to create a colonial geography with which they sympathize or identify, the Drummond Island Métis interviewees and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft challenge this cartography through accounts of their respective movements over the land. Specifically, they resist settler sympathetic geographies with Indigenous geographic knowledges that not only reveal the rhetorical processes by which settlers attempt to colonize Indigenous lands, but also reaffirm continued Indigenous presence on these lands in ways that “sustain vibrant Native futures” (Goeman, *Mark* 3). They do this work, in part, through what Goeman calls “[e]mbodied geographies” (12). Goeman explains embodied geographies by stating that “[b]odies that are differently marked through the corporeal or through a performance—whether through gender, race, sexuality, or nationality—articulate differently in different spaces” (12). Although Goeman’s explanation of embodied geographies gestures in solidarity towards multiple forms of corporeal and performative difference, her focus is Indigenous embodied geographies, which strongly correspond with traditions of Indigenous geographic knowledges. By writing from perspectives informed by their embodied presence on Indigenous land, the Drummond Islanders and Johnston Schoolcraft, in their stories and poems, disrupt the trope of Indigenous disappearance that supports settler sympathetic geographies and assert the history of their long presence on the land.

### “[R]eturning [H]ome”: Elimination in Sir Francis Bond Head’s *The Emigrant*

In 1836, “Lord Glenelg, the Colonial Secretary” based in England, asked “the lieutenant-governors of Upper and Lower Canada” for advice about retaining the Indian Department because “many British officials” were suggesting, in the long peace “following the War of 1812,” that the department was no longer needed and the alliances it maintained were an unnecessary expense (Binnema and Hutchings 121). While Lord Gosford, Lieutenant-Governor of Lower Canada, was “not personally concerned with issues of Aboriginal governance” and “delegated the task to the Executive Council of Lower Canada,”

Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Sir Francis Bond “Head was much more interested” in Indigenous people and used this request as an opportunity to travel to Indigenous communities and to make ethnographic observations (121).<sup>99</sup> By documenting his journey in his travel narrative, Head created a textual colonial map, meaning that his narrative plots settler places and geographies while at the same time incorporating them within colonial ideologies and histories. The narrative aspect of Head’s textual map is integral to its function because, as Bradley states, “[w]e know places through their histories, how we tell these histories, and especially through the voice(s) we privilege in telling us about their pasts.”

Head spent two summers travelling throughout Upper Canada visiting both Indigenous people and settlers. While he does not record having regularly spoken with Indigenous people in *The Emigrant*, he notes that he went out of his way to listen to his male, Euro-Western constituents.<sup>100</sup> As he rode through “each district,” he travelled and spoke with a retinue of “people of all conditions, who ... had determined to accompany ... [him] through their respective townships” (53). By contrast, Head did not announce his arrival before entering Indigenous communities, choosing instead to sneak into their homes and make silent observations. He describes his typical “course” of action in this way: “I requested our party to halt, and then, dismounting, I walked quietly by myself into every single habitation of the disjointed street.... By this means I managed to pay my red children a visit without being known to them” (70, 70-1). Head’s racist and paternal

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<sup>99</sup> Ironically, despite Gosford’s disinterest in Glenelg’s request, the Committee of the Executive Council of Lower Canada denounced the removal scheme that was the result of Head’s sympathetic travels (Binnema and Hutchings 131). This committee took the opposite view to that of Head and advocated for assimilation: in their “final report, submitted in June 1837,” they dismissed “the Belief that in the Order of Providence any Race of Men are doomed to an Exclusion from those Advantages of social Improvement and Advancement which the Light of Knowledge and Religion has uniformly bestowed on the rest of Mankind” (qtd. in Binnema and Hutchings 131).

<sup>100</sup> Of course, at Manitoulin Island in 1836, Head does generally indicate the observations of one Indigenous man. However, this man’s ideas suspiciously correspond with Head’s eliminatory views: apparently, this man discussed “how continuously the race of red men had melted, and were still melting, like snow before the sun” (92). Even if Head did not invent this man, he acknowledges that this is not a direct quote. He claims that at the gathering he “was ready to consider whatever observations any of” the Indigenous attendees “might desire to offer” before failing to “take notes” so that he “could only very inaccurately repeat” what he had heard (92). Evidently, Head was not interested in Indigenous observations about settler relationships with Indigenous communities. He merely wanted to corroborate his own pre-existing ideas by constructing an affinity between himself and the Indigenous people at the gathering that would support his characterization of his removal plan as being sympathetic.

characterization of Indigenous people as his “red children” epitomizes his belief that these communities held a status unequal to the settler communities that he visited. His comment that he “was well enough disposed to take a favorable view of the condition of” the Anishinaabe community at Rice Lake because he “was kindly received in all” of their homes suggests that he believed he had a right to assess their individual, family, community, and cultural well-being based on how Indigenous people responded when he snuck into their homes (71). In other words, these Indigenous communities were incorporated into Head’s textual colonial map and attendant governance policies based on how he *felt* when he was physically standing among them. In some ways, Head’s emphasis on feeling and Jameson’s emphasis on scientific observation in their accounts of Indigenous peoples in their travel narratives subvert the Euro-Western gendered paradigms of male logic and female feeling and irrationality. In other ways, this subversion seems calculated to address what might be perceived as the incongruity of their subject positions with their socio-political projects: as a woman, Jameson needed to establish her authority in her travel narrative, hence her appeal to science; and as the man inflicting colonial governance policies like removal on Indigenous communities, Head needed to mask the eliminatory intentions of his office by appealing to feeling alongside logic.

In particular, Head’s appeal to feeling masks the Euro-Western laws that were reframing Indigenous relationships to land and settlers in this period. As Lenape scholar Joanne Barker explains, treaties signalled that “indigenous peoples were recognized by England, France, Canada, New Zealand, and the United States as constituting nations that possessed rights to sovereignty” (5). Of course, in practice, treaty-making was “less about the recognition and provision for the *sovereignty* of indigenous peoples than ... about the assertion” of territorial control “against other European powers and over indigenous peoples” (5). Similarly, Maureen Konkle notes that “[t]he problem” with Indigenous sovereignty is that it conflicts with colonial “control,” which means that colonial governments needed “to assert colonial authority ... while not appearing to” (*Writing* 17). Chief Justice John Marshall of the United States Supreme Court found a way: “Marshall could not quite deny Native political autonomy by means of the idea of racial difference because that would imperil the treaty as a means of legitimating U.S. control of territory”

so he claimed that such autonomy was “momentary, lasting only long enough for Indians to enter into willing treaty agreements... [a]fter which, Native peoples would surely die off” (17). While Konkle’s analysis of Marshall’s narrative points to the racist belief that Indigenous peoples would vanish because they were supposedly incapable of entering into Euro-Western civilization, Barker considers how Marshall’s doctrine of discovery denied Indigenous peoples the status of civility because of their purported relationship to their lands. Specifically, Marshall rejected Indigenous sovereignty by arguing “that American Indians were not the full sovereigns of the lands that they possessed but were rather the users of the lands that they roamed and wandered over for purposes of shelter and sustenance” (7). This doctrine “was informed by European worldviews, particularly the theories of English philosopher John Locke, who argued that hunter-gatherer societies ‘might have property in what they found or captured ... but not in the land over which they traveled in its pursuit’” (7). Accordingly, “the exclusive rights of property in the land belonged to the nation who discovered the lands” (7-8). Also, although some Indigenous communities did farm, the supposed hunter-gatherer state of Indigenous peoples within the law and popular colonial consciousness suggested that they did not have a proper agricultural relationship to the land like that of supposedly more advanced societies, meaning that because Indigenous peoples ostensibly did not cultivate the land, they therefore did not own it as property. Locke’s and Marshall’s formulations, in which Indigenous peoples were stuck in a hunter-gatherer state, correspond with stadial theory, which was a racist European method of “ranking” “modes of subsistence” to determine a society’s stage of development: “Adam Smith ... conjectured that mankind had progressed through the successive stages of hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and commerce,” and relegated Indigenous peoples “to the lowest stage of social development” (Smits 286).

Barker notes that although Marshall’s rulings on Indigenous sovereignty, known as “the ‘Marshall trilogy’—*Johnson v. McIntosh* (1823), *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia* (1831), and *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832)” (6)—were American legal decisions, they “were taken up by England’s Colonial Office to justify the usurpation of indigenous territorial rights in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand” (14). Consequently, these decisions formed the legal backdrop to Head’s tenure as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada.

While Marshall may seem blatantly unsympathetic to Indigenous peoples, Konkle demonstrates that he does in fact rely on the “dominant discourse” of sympathy: “In order to retain the legitimacy conferred on the United States by the treaties,” Marshall “posited that the representative new Americans who made treaties with Native peoples acted ethically, in the best interests of the Indians. These U.S. citizens *sympathized* with the inevitable plight of the savage,” meaning their supposed vanishing and inability to practice agriculture (*Writing* 18). Via this logic, the colonial argument that agriculture was the proper, civilized relation to land implies that farmland is a settler geography paradoxically characterized by sympathy for Indigenous peoples, which thus legitimates settler occupancy. Head does not fail to reiterate such language and paradigms: for instance, in “The Red Man,” he defends his removal plan by claiming that there is “nothing ... more miserable, and more affecting than” seeing Indigenous communities “almost starving” on a “large expanse of rich land” (364). Head supports his recommendation for removal and the appropriation of these lands for settler farms by hinting, like Marshall, that he is “act[ing] ethically, in the best interests of” Indigenous peoples.

Yet at several points throughout *The Emigrant*, Head critiques the United States for their unethical treatment of Indigenous peoples. Not content merely to deploy the paltry sympathetic logic in Marshall’s ruling, Head surpasses this sympathy with his incorporation of Romantic discourses and tropes such as Romantic primitivism and the sublime into his travel narrative. Popularized by famous “writers [such] as ... Wordsworth and Samuel Taylor Coleridge” (Binnema and Hutchings 117), Romantic primitivism is a Euro-Western “philosophy” which argued that “Native Americans were morally pure as a result of their close connection to the natural world, a connection that overly cultured Europeans had lost” (Hutchings, *Romantic* 156). With respect to “a feature of nature or art,” the sublime refers to anything “that fills the mind with a sense of overwhelming grandeur or irresistible power; that inspires awe, great reverence, or other high emotion, by reason of its beauty, vastness, or grandeur” (“Sublime,” def. A.9). More specifically, as Laura Doyle notes, within Romantic writing, the sublime was associated with the “noble” and “masculine” (27), “the conqueror figure,” “the visionary poet” (33),

and the “humble shepherd” (31).<sup>101</sup> In this section, I will argue that rather than simple appeals to stadial theory and agriculture as the proper relation to land, Head textually maps over the colonial logics already at work in North America by invoking characteristically British literary discourses. He thus not only creates a sympathetic geography that disarticulates Indigenous peoples from their lands, but also avers the rightfulness of British—rather than American—inheritance, an argument that bolsters his scorn for republicanism and his defense of his own tactics during the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837. In support of this argument, I will first show how Head formulates a version of the Romantic sublime intertwined with racial nativism that is specific to Upper Canada, and then how he mobilizes this Upper Canadian sublime to indigenize settlers—and especially to indigenize them at the expense of the United States.

Racial nativism is perhaps more commonly understood in relation to contemporary racist policies and attitudes in former colonies like Canada and America that, as Julianne Newmark explains in a discussion of Sioux author Zitkala-Ša, try to preserve “traditions and practices associated with Anglo-American whiteness” (321). Newmark notes that “xenophobic nativism” is another name for “Anglo-Saxon nativism” (318), and states that “[t]hroughout America’s history as a nation ... Americans of many ethnicities, including Native American people, living within the confines of the nation have been dramatically influenced and affected by attitudes driven by nostalgia for a simulacral previous America, one defined by homogeneity (rather than by the heterogeneity of the present and, in fact, the *real* past)” (320-21). In other words, the American past is imagined as Anglo-American and white, and policies are put in place to privilege this identity (321). According to Newmark, “[r]ace—in effect, skin color—became the factor of exclusion or admission to the province of ‘the native,’ meaning the imagined version of the American people who ‘belong’ to the nation incontrovertibly” (322).

In this chapter, I want to focus Newmark’s point on Anglo-Saxon racial nativism during the earlier colonial period, which is less about imagining a white, English past than

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<sup>101</sup> Doyle shows how, through German philosopher Immanuel “Kant’s *Observations on the Feeling of the Beautiful and Sublime* (1763),” the beautiful and sublime became “gender[ed]”: “the ‘fair sex’” was associated with “the beautiful and the ‘noble sex’ ... attuned to the sublime” (27).

formulating and exporting a colonial identity in Britain. According to Doyle, beginning in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, British writers began build on the political image of Saxonism generated in the previous century when British “lawyers and ministers ... merchants, peasants, and some nobles” had sought to “rehabilitat[e]” the Saxon image as a “noble” referent (19) and, in so doing, “shift ... power away from the king and toward Parliament and the merchant classes” (19-20). While this earlier iteration reflected an attempt to delegate power to more democratic factions (such as the Puritans) within the English state, by the eighteenth century, the goal was to attain power for an amalgamated British empire. Doyle writes,

It may seem odd that at the moment when England became an empire following the Seven Year’s War and the defeat of France in various corners of the globe, the English literati apparently turned inward and became preoccupied with local races; but in fact this coincidence of events indicates that the mythology of locally-rooted races was crucial to the imagining of an imperial Englishness. Early Romantic, intra-European racial narratives gave ballast to the ship of empire on its voyage out. (16)

The “domestic racial discourse” of Anglo-Saxon nativism was now employed by Romantic writers for “power-conserving work,” particularly by mobilizing the sublime “to transform a revolutionary racial discourse into a hegemonic one” (26). German philosopher Immanuel Kant calls this a “subreption” or a “dynamical reversal of the values of feeling and reason so as to subdue the power of an alien racial other” (29). Or in Doyle’s words, “Romantic poets and philosophers aligned themselves with the brooding, wild, once-conquered, ‘Gothic’ races of their own lands and then, in an inversion or ‘subreption’ itself figured as sublime, refashioned this savage figure into the imperial, metaphysical, civilized European, fit to conquer and uplift the savages of other lands” (16). Essentially, this “race myth” (22) is a highly effective imperial marketing technique that enabled the English to see themselves as embodying paradoxical qualities: reimagining Saxon values allowed writers to “figure forth the English as both humble and heroic, sensitive yet superior, an ancient, soil-rooted folk fit to become modern, global conquerors” (22).

In *The Emigrant*, Head uses the word “Anglo-Saxon” at least four times when discussing race (4, 10, 22, 47). He therefore appears to be mobilizing the “racial nativism” that Doyle describes (16), but he also modifies this practice to suit his colonial context. For instance, in an assessment of Wordsworth, Doyle explains that his “sublime ego does not simply radiate out into the cosmos; it first gathers energy by humbly appropriating to itself, as the voice of a nation, the voices of the ‘folk’ who work the soil” (31). In *The Emigrant*, Head follows a similar method but with a distinct twist—that is, on Indigenous lands, he must appropriate from Indigenous peoples in order to materialize the voice of a *new* settler colony. While Wordsworth’s racial nativism “gathers energy” from its relation to cultivation or “the ‘folk’ who work the soil,” Head surpasses this agricultural association: his concept of racial nativism gathers energy from Indigenous peoples, who he depicts as hunter-gatherers. For instance, Head claims that prior to colonization, Indigenous peoples had “no fixed abodes” and “were occasionally desperately engaged in single combat” with “beast[s]” (55). They might “st[and] for a moment gazing at the splendid interminable ocean of fresh water” or “ramble[] through the trees as freely as the wind,” trees that were so dense the ground was “almost hidden from the rays of the sun” (55). Here, Head creates a revised version of Marshall’s doctrine of discovery specific to Upper Canada: he undermines Indigenous sovereignty by claiming, like Marshall, that Indigenous peoples had “no fixed abodes” and “rambled” over the land. He praises settlers for their “cultivati[on]” of the colony when he contrasts the “unaltered and even untouched” lands of Indigenous peoples prior to contact with “the golden harvests of ... [settlers’] industry” (56, 55, 56). However, while Head praises settlers’ agricultural efforts, he does not rely upon them to prove rightful inheritance, as Marshall does in his doctrine. Head’s Upper Canadian doctrine of discovery characterizes Indigenous lands as sublime (i.e., trees so dense they block “the rays of the sun,” “interminable ocean”) and Indigenous peoples as possessing traits that correspond with British self-representation in Anglo-Saxon racial nativist discourses as noble, heroic, martial, and moral. Head’s doctrine of discovery is designed to indigenize settlers and claim their rightful inheritance of Indigenous lands because it gathers energy by constructing an image of Indigenous peoples that reflects back onto his readers their image of themselves as Anglo-Saxons. Head’s version of Anglo-Saxon racial nativism is, then, one method by which he seeks to

exceed and map over the appropriative agricultural discourses being mobilized by the United States and the English Colonial Office. Again, this is not to say that Head never touches this agricultural discourse himself, only that he masks this discourse in his travel narrative by aggressively foregrounding this racial nativist trend. Unlike more contemporary racial nativism that intentionally forgets the past “heterogeneity” of the population (Newmark 321), Head’s affinity for Indigenous peoples and their centrality to his textual project are integral to his image of the developing colony. *The Emigrant* is poised between Doyle’s and Newmark’s Anglo-Saxon nativist discourses in that it shows Head’s literary attempts to materialize a sympathetic geography by convincing readers that British institutions are native to the soil of Upper Canada.

Throughout his travel narrative, Head persistently advocates for British institutions, which are monarchical, patriarchal, conservative, and opposed to both American republicanism and the idea of “responsible government” that was behind the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837.<sup>102</sup> British institutions are invested in the establishment of a settler colonial society in Upper Canada that will enable British power and commerce through the expropriation of Indigenous peoples’ lands and subsequent resource extraction. Of course, it might seem paradoxical for Head to advocate for British institutions while his travel narrative is notable for being steeped in Romantic primitivism, and at times these two aspects of Head’s travel narrative do conflict. For example, while travelling to Manitoulin Island via Georgian Bay and Lake Huron, Head makes a typically Romantic primitivist declaration: “Whatever may be said in favor of the ‘blessings of civilization,’ yet certainly in the life of a red Indian there is much for which he is fully justified in the daily thanksgivings he is in the habit of offering to ‘the Great Spirit.’ He breathes pure air, beholds splendid scenery, [and] traverses unsullied water” (88). On this trip, Head’s Romantic primitivist philosophy leads him to attribute

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<sup>102</sup> The main proponents of self-government were “William Lyon Mackenzie of Upper Canada, Joseph Howe in Nova Scotia, and Louis-Joseph Papineau in Lower Canada” (Sugars and Moss 121). The reasons settlers might have supported self-government include “crop failure” “[i]n Lower Canada,” “economic crisis in Upper Canada,” and the fact that the “elect[ed] representatives to the ... Houses of Assembly ... adopted laws but had little political power” in comparison to England’s “appointed councillors” (121). The leader of the Upper Canada Rebellion was Mackenzie, who was “in favour of a republican state” (121). The rebellion took place in December 1837 with the key attack happening against the rebel base at Montgomery’s Tavern.

sovereignty to Indigenous peoples when he calls Indigenous peoples “the red lords of creation” (86) and when he recollects standing by an Indigenous person’s grave on Lake Huron and writes, “I felt . . . that in the chancery of Heaven his title to the bare rock on which he lay was better than mine to the soil on which I stood” (85). However, on Manitoulin Island, Head tells the Indigenous gathering that settlers “had an equal right to occupy and cultivate the forest that surrounded them” (94), and at various times throughout *The Emigrant*, he explicitly attributes sovereignty to the British, upholds British institutions, and raises British flags. The resolution to this seeming incongruity lies in Head’s creation of a distinctly Upper Canadian sublime that nourishes the British and their institutions.

Head’s use of the sublime in his travel narrative has a distinctly Canadian texture in that he extends the proportions of the Canadian sublime, depicting it as even more vast, more awesome, and more terrific than the British sublime. For instance, he introduces his readers to the Upper Canadian scene of his travel narrative by stating that despite the appreciation “an Englishman” may have for home, it must be acknowledged that “Nature has not only outlined her works on a larger scale, but has painted the whole picture with brighter and more costly colors than she used in delineating and beautifying the old world” (1). He continues:

The heavens of America appear infinitely higher—the sky is bluer—the clouds are whiter—the air is fresher—the cold is intenser—the moon looks larger—the stars are brighter—the thunder is louder—the lightning is vivider—the wind is stronger—the rain is heavier—the mountains are higher—the rivers larger—the forests bigger—the plains broader; in short, the gigantic and beautiful features of the new world seem to correspond very wonderfully with the increased locomotive powers and other brilliant discoveries which, under the blessing of an almighty power, have lately been developed to mankind. (1-2)

Head almost implies that the Canadian sublime is the by-product of British ingenuity: their scientific innovations, “locomotive powers,” and “brilliant discoveries” have been “bless[ed]” and divinely rewarded with a wider, grander land on which they can build.

Whereas Doyle explains that Romantic writers refigure the Anglo-Saxon image for the purposes of imperialism, Head takes this fully-formed imperial Anglo-Saxon and transports him into a sublime “frontier” fit for his latest discoveries. Head directly compares the sublimity of England and Upper Canada a second time when he asserts that “although the climate of England is said to be the most uncertain on the surface of the globe, that of North America is infinitely more variable, as well as exposed to greater vicissitudes” (19). However, because of the sublimity of the Upper Canadian landscape, Head argues “that the climate of Canada is more healthy and invigorating than that of England” (19). Not only, then, is the sublimity of Canada tied to the progress of British imperialism, but it is also tied to the health of the British nation. For Head, Upper Canada offers the English more than an opportunity to acquire resources—it is a chance for the nation to renew itself and prosper elsewhere.

Head specifically uses the term “Anglo-Saxon” in describing how the English can withstand the Canadian sublime. He employs the heroic, martial language typically associated with the masculine sublime when he writes that although “the birds of the air and the beasts of the field, one after another, are seen retreating before the approaching winter like women and children before an advancing army, the Anglo-Saxon race stand firm!” (10). More than this, they thrive because “winter ... turns out to be a season of hilarity and of healthy enjoyment” (10). Head portrays the English as more suited to the sublime Canadian landscape than the animals whose specific adaptations enable them to already live there. Furthermore, he describes the sublimity of Canada as actually purifying the character of emigrants to make it more tenaciously English. He traces a pattern in which he claims that emigrants typically begin their lives in Upper Canada by enjoying the freedom they can seize in distancing themselves from “church and state” as well as social class norms (25). Eventually, though, “[s]olitude” sparks “more serious reflections,” and “[t]he thunder and the lightning of heaven, the sudden storms, the intense cold, the magnificent coloring of the sky, the buoyant air, the gorgeous sunsets” remind emigrants of their dependence upon God (26). They build a church nearby and “[a]mong the various good feelings that subsequently vegetate in ... [the emigrant’s] mind, is that of filial attachment to Old England” (27). According to Head, Upper Canadian emigrants reject the temptation of republicanism because of the sublimity of

their new home. Doyle writes that the “dissimilitude between passion and restraint” (as seen in Head’s representation of the life of a typical British emigrant) “carries out exactly the contemporary idea of the sublime, in which the sublime provides (in Kant’s words) a ‘negative pleasure’ because it puts a ‘momentary check’ on the ‘vital forces’” (qtd. in Doyle 33). If the sublime enabled British writers to create the image of the imperial Anglo-Saxon, Head takes this process further by arguing that Upper Canadian sublimity distills and perfects Britishness as well as strengthens British hegemonic power. Moreover, Head suggests that re-adherence to British institutions like the church actually modifies the sublimity of the landscape, making it more congenial to settler occupation. He writes that after the establishment of a church, “[t]he thunder and the hurricane have now lost all their terrors, the sunshine has suddenly become a source of legitimate enjoyment” (27). The Canadian sublime works on the British, and British institutions in turn work on the Canadian sublime to make space for settlers through the modification of Indigenous lands.

While the Upper Canadian sublime thus serves an eliminatory function by perfecting a characteristically British settlement, Head attempts to naturalize this eliminatory work at the very beginning of *The Emigrant* through the pseudo-scientific justification of climatic theory, implying that a change in climate facilitates—*perhaps even necessitates*—a change in sovereignty. According to Doyle, “climatic theory” was “[t]he predominant, lay-scientific explanation for racial difference in this period,” meaning “that racial features were shaped, or birthed, by the soil and climate of a country” (32). Wordsworth went so far as to claim that a country’s environmental character is “felt powerfully in forming the character of the people, so as to produce a uniformity or national character” (qtd. in Doyle 32). Head suggests that a change in the Upper Canadian environment, and subsequently in the climate of the country, will make the climate European. Hinted at here is the idea that if the land and climate are European, the people ought to be as well. Understanding climate in these expansive terms, Head believes that “every tree” that is removed from the forests in Upper Canada “admits a patch of sunshine to the earth” that “in an infinitesimal degree softens and ameliorates the climate of the vast continent” (4), but given the immensity of the woods, “the ax” used by settlers was “too weak an instrument to produce any important change” in the harsh climate (4). Head claims that

Indigenous peoples are conveniently clearing their own lands “by setting fire” to “many millions of acres” in order to direct game to them, and that while this practice may result in short-term gains, it eventually reduces the animal population and leads to the deaths of Indigenous people (5). While, in Head’s erroneous and racist account, the sublime immensity of the forest appears to inspire this method of hunting, it ultimately provokes vanishing by taking away Indigenous peoples’ means of subsistence and producing a cleared landscape that is not only beneficial to settler farms but that also allows more sunlight to reach the earth, thereby “effect[ing] ... the thermometer” and “materially changing the climate of North America” to make it more tolerable to settlers (5). Head gloats that “*the Indians themselves* are clearing and preparing their own country for the reception of another race” and that this practice “will assimilate ... [Upper Canada’s] climate to that of Europe” (6). He suggests that the British should rightfully inherit this cleared Indigenous land because, with its changing climate, it matches the pre-existing British character. Although Head again gestures toward stadial theory and agriculture as the appropriate, civilized relation to land, he surpasses this logic through his representation of the Upper Canadian sublime and the Romantic discourse of climatic theory. He thereby not only posits (like Marshall in the doctrine of discovery) the ethical sympathy of settlers for Indigenous peoples, but also a sympathy between Upper Canada and the British that indicates their rightful inheritance of Indigenous lands.

Head’s insistence that Upper Canada makes the British more British speaks to this particular moment in colonial history surrounding the Rebellions of 1837. Part of Head’s justification for his political decisions during the rebellion is his argument that the British government “rewarded the rebels” with the Act of Union (1840),<sup>103</sup> which he perceives as a “severance” between Britain and the new Province of Canada (251, 260).<sup>104</sup> Head recommended a more gradual transition of power, one that “would forever nourish sentiments of veneration for the British sovereign, of affection for the British people, and

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<sup>103</sup> In response to the Durham Report, the British Parliament passed “the Act of Union” which “united Upper and Lower Canada into one Province of Canada. It enabled a single legislative council to govern with crown assent” (“Union Act 1840”).

<sup>104</sup> Of course, the Act of Union did not really sever the Province of Canada from Britain: “responsible government” was instituted “in 1848” and Confederation occurred in 1867 (“Union Act 1840”). However, in *The Emigrant*, Head writes that “the Duke of Wellington and other competent authorities” believed this Act “would dismember from the empire the queen’s North American colonies” (246).

of admiration of the magnanimity of British institutions” (264). Such a course would hardly constitute a severance since “the colony would be converted into one of her majesty’s most faithful and most natural allies” (264). This recommendation is the culmination of Head’s claim that Upper Canada strengthens Britishness: his vision of a settler identity balances between a connection to British empire and the eventual development of a characteristically British settler consciousness. While Head’s vision bears some resemblance to the present (for instance, British Queen Elizabeth is Canada’s Head of State in 2020), it is also particular to the pre-Confederation and especially the pre-World War One periods when a sense of Canadian character, identity, and consciousness became more distinct.

Although Head’s use of Romantic primitivism, the sublime, and climatic theory creates a settler sympathetic geography through elimination, *The Emigrant* oddly exceeds “the logic of elimination,” even what Wolfe calls this logic’s “contradictory reappropriation of a foundationally disavowed Aboriginality” (387, 389). Wolfe means that, “[o]n the one hand, settler society required the practical elimination of the natives in order to establish itself on their territory. On the symbolic level, however, settler society subsequently sought to recuperate indigeneity in order to express its difference” (389). (Think again of city names like Toronto and Ottawa.) While Wolfe explains that, according to settlers, “[t]he ideological justification for” elimination “was that ‘we’ could use the land better than ... [Indigenous peoples] could, not that we had been on the land primordially,” Head’s travel narrative actually *does* try to fully indigenize settlers by arguing that they “were merely returning home” (Wolfe 389). It does so by incrementally performing a transaction wherein Head trades his image of Indigenous peoples for Anglo-Saxons. We have already seen this transaction occurring in more subtle ways when Head characterizes Indigenous peoples and Anglo-Saxons with the same heroic, noble, and moral terms; when he invokes climatic theory to suggest that the changing climate of Upper Canada matches the pre-existing British character; and when he argues that Upper Canada perfects this British character.

However, Head brings his argument for rightful British belonging on Indigenous lands to its culmination when he describes the British standoff with the Americans at Navy Island

after the rebellion in 1837.<sup>105</sup> He explains that a number of Indigenous men asked to join the fight against the Americans: they “had heard that the big knives (the Americans) had invaded the land of their great mother; that, for reasons which they very clearly explained, they did not like the big knives; that they did not desire to leave their great mother: and that they had therefore come to fight the big knives” (139). Head uses Indigenous support of British institutions at this critical moment to suggest the rightfulness of British sovereignty in Upper Canada—and the wrongfulness of American or even Upper Canadian reformer attempts to infringe upon that sovereignty. It may seem as though Head upholds Indigenous sovereignty when he instructs the Americans to “learn in future to leave them in the placid enjoyment of peace” rather than “rob[bing] them of their lands,” and when he argues that “there could be nothing more just” than his accepting an alliance with Indigenous people and “allow[ing] them” to “defend[] their own territory” (140). However, through his claim that Indigenous people refer to the land as belonging to “their great mother,” Head suggests their transference of sovereignty to the British and thereby the legitimacy of British inheritance and institutions. Ultimately, Head uses the response of Indigenous people and the militia to claim that faithfulness to the British not only “pervaded the whole province,” but was also “indigenous to British soil” (144). Head thereby appropriates Indigenous peoples’ voices as what Doyle calls “the voices of the ‘folk’ who work the soil,” transfiguring them into “the voice of a nation” (31), specifically the British nation. Through this transformation, the British and their institutions are portrayed as “indigenous” to Upper Canada, and Upper Canada itself is figured as “British soil” rather than what it actually is: a British colony on Indigenous lands. Head’s travel narrative thus enables British settlers to see themselves as more than rightful inheritors—as actually already belonging to Indigenous lands.

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<sup>105</sup> After the defeat at Montgomery’s Tavern, “the majority of the leaders of the rebellions ... ma[de] their way by various means out of the country” to the United States (Read and Stagg lxxxiv). Once there, “[m]any of the [rebel] leaders and a substantial number of participants in the rebellion in Upper and Lower Canada ... stirr[ed] up the border states with tales of Canadian oppression” which “result[ed]” in “Mackenzie’s takeover of Navy Island, where a republic of Upper Canada was proclaimed and an armed force, at one time amounting to several hundred, established” (lxxxv). However, this republic was short-lived: “[t]he Navy Island invasion force withdrew on 14 January, after Canadian volunteers burned its American supply boat, the *Caroline*, causing an international incident in the process” (lxxxv).

In *The Emigrant*, then, Head creates a settler sympathetic geography by articulating a series of affinities between the British and Indigenous peoples and their lands. Using specifically Romantic discourses and tropes, Head fashions a new doctrine of discovery based on the Upper Canadian sublime that not only disarticulates Indigenous peoples from their lands but also maps over earlier settler geographies, such as Marshall's original doctrine with its emphasis on stadial theory and agriculture, with more expressive sympathy for Indigenous peoples. He thereby avers the rightfulness of British inheritance, especially as opposed to American colonization, and advances his own interests in a public policy characterized by Romantic primitivism and in a defense of his own tactics against Upper Canadian rebellion and American assistance.

While Head's sympathetic geography focuses on Upper Canada, he also contends that the Upper Canadian sublime could be exported to renew England itself—if only England would let it. For instance, Head spent some time relaxing on Georgian Bay on his return trip from the gathering on Manitoulin Island in the summer of 1836. Describing the sublimity of Georgian Bay, he writes that “we proceeded under a splendid sky, through pure, exhilarating air, and over the surface of one of the most noble of those inland seas which in the western hemisphere diversify the interminable dominions of the British crown” (80). He compares the thousands of islands dotting the bay to “skirmishers thrown out in front of an army, guard[ing] the northern shore of Lake Huron,” and asserts that “[t]he waters through which we steered our course appeared, if possible, to be bluer than ever; and the coloring was so strong,” but after scooping the water into a glass to drink, it “was bright, sparkling, and clear as crystal” (82, 86, 87). The overlaps with the Anglo-Saxon sublime are again evident: the land is noble, heroic, and pure (moral). He claims that he returned to Toronto “considerably stronger than when ... [he] had left it” (97). His personal renewal is later mirrored by the renewal he perceives in England after his return from Upper Canada. He rhapsodizes: “Every thing looked new! The grass in the meadows was new—the leaves on the trees and hedges were new—the flowers were new—the blossoms of the orchards were new—the lambs were new—the young birds were new—the crops were new—the railway was new” (182-83). As Head leaves Manitoulin Island, he feels personally renewed. As he returns from Upper Canada, he perceives England to be renewed as well.

However, this sense of renewal is short-lived and exists in pointed contrast to Head's critique of English politics. Immediately after describing the renewal of the countryside, he writes, "[I]t was not until I reached Downing-street [near Parliament] I could believe that I really was once again in 'The OLD Country;' but there I found every thing old: old men, old women, old notions, old prejudices, old stuff, and old nonsense, and, what was infinitely worse, old principles" (183). *The Emigrant* thus reflects critically upon Parliament's decision to form the United Province of Canada (1841-1867), suggesting that a stronger affinity for the colony would enable the renewal of the British imperial centre as well. He describes his return to England via a harangue not of the Anglo-Saxon people, whom he perceives as capable of establishing sympathetic geographies in Upper Canada, but rather of their government for its failure to materialize the map of empire that Head had envisioned.

## Home Away from Home: (Re)mapping and the Drummond Island Métis

In mobilizing Romantic discourses to map a sympathetic geography onto Indigenous lands, *The Emigrant* engages in a settler place-making practice that Goeman calls "violent erasure[]" (*Mark 2*). According to Goeman, "the 'real' of settler colonial society is built on the violent erasures of alternative modes of mapping and geographic understandings" (2). These violent erasures preclude "healthy relationship[s] to land and place" for Indigenous people (12). When Head promotes Indigenous disappearance while writing the British and their institutions as being "indigenous" (*Emigrant* 144) to Upper Canada, he creates a national myth of rightful British belonging that is harmful to Indigenous well-being and that actively seeks to erase Indigenous "geographic understandings." However, the interactions of the Drummond Island Métis with the settler government, and their responses to that government's sympathetic geographies, disrupt Head's national mythology. As Goeman explains, "[n]ational mythmaking is key to the organization of space: it determines who belongs and does not belong" (*Mark 36*). The interventions of the Drummond Islanders reframe the place-making practices of Head's travel narrative and the British colonial government more broadly to question

settler belonging and assert their community “survivance” (Vizenor vii). According to Anishinaabe author Gerald Vizenor, survivance refers to “an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction... Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy, and victimry” (vii).

While Head’s travel narrative constructs a sympathetic geography, the settler government he led relied upon Indigenous embodied geographic knowledges that he disappears within his account. For instance, the Upper Canada Rebellion of 1837 and particularly the confrontation at Navy Island are integral to the settler myth that Head fabricates because it is through Indigenous participation in these events that Head rejects American republicanism and proclaims British sovereignty. Head’s only mention of Indigenous people during the rebellion is at Navy Island (139), and he never discusses the Drummond Islanders. However, the geographic knowledges of the Drummond Island Métis were essential to the government during the rebellion. Not only were Drummond Island Métis present at Navy Island (Labatte 140),<sup>106</sup> but they may also have been part of the militia from Penetanguishene at Montgomery’s Tavern: according to Canadian archaeologist Elsie M. Jury, after the battle at Montgomery’s Tavern, “a group of Indians and the French-Canadians [possibly meaning or including the Métis] from Penetang were retained to search the woods, (now in the centre of Toronto) for escaping rebels” (6). Furthermore, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, Jean Baptiste Sylvestre says that he and Lewis Solomon “went with Colonel Sparks, Colonel Jarvis and several Government officers on a trip round the lakes hunting for the rebel Mackenzie” (143). By erasing these Indigenous geographic knowledges within his account, Head sustains a myth of rightful British inheritance, authority, and paternalism that simultaneously erases Indigenous people and reframes settler-Indigenous relationships in ways favourable to the settler state. The embodied knowledges evident in the interviews of the Drummond Islanders, then, (re)map the textual colonial map in Head’s travel narrative, revealing the intertwined cartographic, imperial, and discursive processes that were materializing settler spatialities.

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<sup>106</sup> In his interview with Osborne, Michael Labatte says that he “went with the volunteers to Chippawa and Navy Island to clear out the Mackenzie rebels” (140).

Moreover, while *The Emigrant* suggests that settlers generously made space for Indigenous people to participate in British history, the rebellion of 1837 was important to the Drummond Island Métis and other Indigenous peoples on their own terms. Although the rebellion and subsequent threat of American invasion momentarily alarmed the British and settler colony, the result was ultimately “farcical” for them (Binnema and Hutchings 133). For Indigenous peoples, on the other hand, it was, as Binnema and Hutchings point out, “an occasion to rise again to the defense of the British Crown, thus gaining the goodwill of colonial officials” and making it “more difficult for the government” to disregard their allyship and concerns (133). In other words, while settlers were tempted to treat Indigenous peoples as “once again an inconvenience and an embarrassment” (Bentley, *Mimic* 7), they were compelled to continue (at least temporarily) to think of them as allies.

In addition to their discursive interventions in Head’s travel narrative, the work of these Métis (hi)stories is evident in the Drummond Islanders’ socio-political interactions with the settler government in response to their relocation. According to Karen J. Travers, one result of the relocation was a fracturing of the Drummond Island community into multiple diasporic sites: “Several went to Métis towns in Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie, others went to Michigan and Wisconsin, Red River, and Quebec. A few claimed Indian status and settled on the Ojibway reserve on Beausoleil and Christian Islands” (225).<sup>107</sup> Once most of the Métis Drummond Islanders reached Penetanguishene, “[t]hey received lots of land as compensation for their losses on Drummond Island” (226). A. C. Osborne, the Drummond Islanders’ interviewer, rewrites this history of colonial dislocation and loss, transforming it into a settler sympathetic geography when he claims in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* that “[i]n the wise provision of a paternal government they were granted, in lieu of their abandoned homes, liberal” “twenty-acre and forty-acre” “allotments of lands on the borders of Penetanguishene Bay” (124). In Osborne’s account, the paternal British

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<sup>107</sup> Although Travers is discussing “voyageur traders” who could be both “Métis ... married [to] Ojibwa and Cree women” or “French Canadian,” she notes that “[b]oth groups are ancestors of the present Métis community in Lafontaine” (224). I suggest that those individuals and families who moved “to Métis towns in Garden River and Sault Ste. Marie” or “Beausoleil and Christian Islands” (225) were likely Indigenous.

government that provides the Drummond Islanders with homes implicitly contrasts the American government that now occupies their old homes and lands. However, the lands to which the Drummond Islanders were moved are not British lands but rather the traditional lands of the Anishinaabe and Huron-Wendat peoples.<sup>108</sup> Rather than construct a Métis map of these lands in this section, I seek to show how the embodied geographic knowledges of the Drummond Island Métis enabled them to sustain their community despite their relocation. In other words, their embodied geographies exceed the terms of colonial spatialization.

This colonial spatialization is especially evident in the settler government's attempts to disrupt the Drummond Islanders' own "healthy relationship[s]" (Goeman, *Mark* 12) with the land by retroactively altering the conditions of their relocation. According to Métis historian Micheline Marchand, while "[l]es voyageurs croient que ces terres leur ont été données gratuitement pour compenser leurs pertes dans l'île Drummond" ("the voyageurs believed that the lands were given freely to them to compensate their losses on Drummond Island"; 38),<sup>109</sup> within a year of their move, the government attempted to impose after-the-fact conditions for the relocation—conditions that emulated those applicable to settlers. These rules included that the voyageurs "construisent une maison et déboisent quatre acres lors de la première année, et ensuite quatre acres par an pour les trois années suivantes" ("construct a house and clear four acres during the first year, and another four acres per year for the following three years"; 38). They were also required to make "un paiement de huit livres chacun avant" receiving "le titre de leurs lots" ("a payment of eight pounds each before" receiving "the title of their lots"; 38). The state's emphasis on the voyageurs clearing their land not only suggests a settler bias toward farming as "proper" use of the land, but also a desire to save on expenses by reconsidering the Métis voyageurs as settlers. That is, the government's "paternal"

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<sup>108</sup> "The Town of Midland," which neighbours Penetanguishene, recently worked "in consultation with Beausoleil First Nation" to create "a new territorial land acknowledgement": "The acknowledgement recognizes that Midland is 'located on land which is the traditional and treaty territory of the Anishinabek people, now known as the Chippewa Tri-Council comprised of Beausoleil First Nation, Rama First Nation and the Georgina Island First Nation'" (Mendler). Moreover, the acknowledgement "recognizes the fact that the town is located on the traditional territory of the Huron-Wendat and the historic homelands of the Métis" (Mendler).

<sup>109</sup> I have provided all the English translations of Marchand's text in this chapter.

“provision” of land (Osborne, *Migration* 124), or the sympathetic geography being materialized by the settler state, not only sought to indigenize settlers but also to reposition the Métis as settlers of sorts.

They try to do so, however, in ways that speak to their reading of the voyageurs’ bodies as “abnormal” (Goeman, *Mark* 33). For instance, as Lillian F. Gates explains in her historical study *Land Policies of Upper Canada*, in the final “years of the so-called land-granting system” in Upper Canada (about 1820 and 1826), just prior to the time when Osborne claims that the Drummond Island Métis were generously compensated for their losses, it was “the opinion of experienced farmers” that “200 acres was the least an industrious man with a family could accept” (154).<sup>110</sup> This was problematic because, “after 1820,” “[o]ne hundred acres was all that the ordinary settler could obtain, and only 50 if he represented himself as a pauper unable to pay fees” (154) unless he was willing to settle remotely “on a new line of road from Kempenfeldt Bay ... to Penetanguishene,” in which case “200-acre grants ... were offered for a brief period at the old fees of 1796” (155). This difference between the “liberal” (Osborne, *Migration* 124) 20- and 40-acre lots granted to the Drummond Islanders and the 200-acre lots that were recently being sold cheaply to settlers between what is now Barrie and Penetanguishene suggests an attempt to constrain Métis bodies into an “appropriate” farming profession at minimal cost to the government, a planned impoverishment of the Métis community (at their own expense) away from “desirable” settlers and their locales, and a determined disregard for the health of the Métis community and its people. After all, the “wise” and “paternal” (Osborne 124) state granted some Métis community members, as compensation, 180 acres less than settler farmers believed necessary to sustain a family and 30 acres less than “paupers” had received.

While, as Travers explains, the settler state in the nineteenth century sought “to ‘make’ and ‘unmake’ Indians for legislative purposes” (J.R. Miller qtd. in Travers 221) and their “policies ... directly contributed to their [the Métis’s] perceived ‘invisibility’ in society

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<sup>110</sup> Marchand also cites Gates to contrast the lots granted to the Drummond Islanders with the 200 acres received by some settlers (37), though I refer to different years and incorporate more of Gates’s research, interpreting it through Goeman’s theory.

and worked against the continuity of healthy Métis communities” (221), the Drummond Islanders insisted on their community identity and worked to make the government remember it as well. Such remembrance is significant because, as Goeman argues, “[r]emembering important connections to land and community is instrumental in mapping a decolonized Native presence” (*Mark* 29). For instance, in 1830 and 1832, Drummond Island community members sent two letters to the settler government advocating for their rights and contesting the revised conditions they now had to fulfill to retain their lots (Marchand 38). Marchand notes that after not receiving a reply to their first letter, they “répéteront essentiellement la même demande” (“repeated essentially the same inquiry”) in their second (38). In these letters, the Drummond Islanders “refusent de payer ... puisqu’ils avaient reçu l’assurance que les terrains étaient gratuits” (“refuse to pay ... since they had received the assurance that the lands were free”; 38). They did not intend to “déboiser seize des vingt acres de leurs lots” (“clear sixteen of the twenty acres of their lots”) because that would “épuiserait leur provision de bois de chauffage” (“exhaust their provision of firewood”; 38). Also, “puisque beaucoup de leurs terres sont infertiles, les déboiser ne servirait à rien” (“since a lot of their lands are infertile, clearing them served no purpose”; 38). Finally, this extensive clearing project would be a practical impossibility given the demands of their work away from home (38). Moreover, according to Marchand, the voyageurs sent “une autre requête ... demande à Colborne une plus grande récompense” because “vingt acres ne suffisent pas à la subsistance de leurs grosses familles” (“another request ... asking Colborne for a larger compensation” because “twenty acres did not suffice for the subsistence of their large families”; 39).

There is also “[a] petition ... dated January 27, 1840” from a group of Drummond Island Métis men, including several Longlades and a Michel Labatte,<sup>111</sup> “to the Governor General,” Lord Sydenham (Marchand and Marchildon 61), wherein the Drummond Islanders at Penetanguishene inform the settler government that they “are generally speaking, in poor circumstances, and that they do not share in any advantage in presents issued to the Indians as a number of the half breeds, from the Sault St. Marie (sic) and other places on the shores of Lake Huron” (Petition qtd. in Marchand and Marchildon

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<sup>111</sup> This is possibly the same Michael Labatte who Osborne interviews.

61). Binnema and Hutchings explain that “[s]hortly after the conquest of New France, the British decided to accept Aboriginal demands for an annual distribution of gifts,” adding that Anishinaabe peoples “tended to understand the distribution of ‘presents’” “as a respectful paying of ‘tributes’” (135n5, 124, 124). However, while “many Aboriginal peoples claimed that this practice was an obligation on the part of the British government, the British never accepted it as such,” considering it instead as “a ritualized act of colonial charity performed by a benevolent colonizer” on behalf of “the Crown’s ... subjects” (135n5, 124, 124). While this practice “persist[ed] until the 1850s” (135n5), the petition of the Drummond Islanders illustrates that some Métis communities (such as the community at Sault Ste. Marie) were included in the practice and others (such as the Drummond Island Métis at Penetanguishene) were not. This petition also demonstrates the tension between British and Indigenous understandings of the government’s “presents”: although the Drummond Islanders once cite their “poor circumstances” in the middle of the petition, they begin their letter by reminding the Governor General of their allyship and how “a number of them when Call’d upon, have served in the Militia” (Petition qtd. in Marchand and Marchildon 61).<sup>112</sup> They thereby reconceptualize the government’s understanding of the act of giving “presents” as charitable, reframing it as a right they are owed for the allyship they have given as Indigenous people to the government.

The Drummond Islanders’ petitions regarding their relocation and community rights ultimately reframe Head’s and Osborne’s characterizations of that government as sympathetic and paternal, and in so doing, suggest the need for more “ethical engagements” that do not attempt to render invisible the community or their history. Cree scholar Willie Ermine describes “the ethical space of engagement” as one in which settler and Indigenous communities come to “an agreement to interact” following “affirmation of human diversity created by philosophical and cultural differences” (202). According to Ermine, in the ethical space, “distinct histories, knowledge traditions ... and social,

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<sup>112</sup> Micheline Marchand and Daniel Marchildon also note that “the petition” cites the “poor circumstances” of “the Métis” community as well as “their ... proven loyalty to the Crown as part of the Militia” (61). However, I read these aspects of the petition specifically in relation to Binnema and Hutchings’s analysis.

economic and political realities” are respectfully engaged (202). By relocating the Drummond Island Métis and trying to limit their obligations to this community, the settler government enacted a disrespectful relationship that ignored the Drummond Islanders’ “distinct histor[y]” and the specifics of their “social ... and political realities” (202). However, in repeatedly refuting the government’s understanding of their relocation agreement and asserting their right to “presents” like those received by other Métis communities, the Drummond Island Métis simultaneously refuted the government’s singular and self-serving version of their history and identity. Remembering their own community history, they insisted that the government also remember and respect it, thereby envisioning the possibility of a radical ethical space of engagement that acknowledged the interplay of multiple “distinct histories, knowledge traditions ... and social ... and political realities” in the Great Lakes interzone. This ethical space of engagement reframes their relationship with the settler state: instead of the government’s paternalism, the Métis considered themselves allies of the government. Their petition for “presents” even informs the Governor General that they “will always be ready to any Call when their services may again be required” (Petition qtd. in Marchand and Marchildon 61). Moreover, their petition to Colborne regarding their relocation agreement refused to materialize the government’s image of a proper settler colonial geography, instead defining what would be “a healthy relationship to land and place” (Goeman, *Mark* 12) for them. Goeman describes “place” as “a ‘way of being-in-the world’” (Heidegger qtd. in Goeman, *Mark* 9), and in seeking to maintain their understandings of themselves, their history, and the land, the Drummond Islanders affirmed the geography of their relocation as a healthy, distinct, and vibrant Métis place.

In addition to their petitions, the Drummond Island Métis defy the spatialization of their bodies through settler sympathetic geographies with their own embodied geographies. While the government allocated the lots that the Drummond Islanders received, early twentieth-century historian A. F. Hunter believes that “the Métis Drummond Islanders chose concessions and lot numbers along adjacent concessions so that their properties were together” (Travers 226). According to Travers, “[i]n their living arrangements, then, and their choice of lots there appears to be a significant effort made by these residents to form some kind of community. As the census of 1901 demonstrates, this was still the

case over seventy years after the original migration” since the Métis community remained “in much the same location as the allocations of the first lots” (227, 226).<sup>113</sup> Regardless, then, of whether the Métis chose their own lots on the available land, the 1901 census shows that they established and retained the centre of their own community independent from that of the British administration. Furthermore, while Osborne focuses on providing a record of the Drummond Islanders’ lot numbers to the extent that this is sometimes the only information he has for some community members in the “List of the Drummond Island Voyageurs” following the interviews in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828*, the Métis interviewees demonstrate their embodied understanding of the land when they refer to lots by the names of their occupants or former occupants. For instance, Rosette Boucher tells Osborne that her family lived “on the lot now owned by Quesnelle, and afterwards moved to our present home on lot 17, con. 17, Tiny” (141). Antoine Labatte says that when his family moved to Penetanguishene, they “first lived on the lot on the corner next Shannahan’s blacksmith shop ... now owned by Mrs. Mundy, then on the lot now owned by Charles McGibbon” (145). While travelling to live on the land granted to them, inclement weather forced the family into Thunder Bay where they have “lived ... ever since” (145).

The Drummond Island Métis also engage in embodied acts of (re)mapping Lake Huron when they describe their journeys to Penetanguishene. This does not mean, to borrow Goeman’s words in her explanation of (re)mapping, that the Drummond Islanders attempt to “regain[]” their former homes or lands, but rather that their interviews seek to “understand[] the processes that have” resulted in their “current spatialities” in Penetanguishene and Lafontaine and to foster a new relationship to place in their locations of migration (*Mark 3*). For instance, all six of the Métis people interviewed by Osborne tell related stories of their families’ relocation. Osborne likely provided the interviewees with the prompt to discuss their migration; however, it is significant that

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<sup>113</sup> Gwen Reimer and Jean-Philippe Chartrand make a similar argument to that of Travers. They explain that the Drummond Island Métis were allocated lots in “the Military Reserve, a strip of land along the western shoreline of Penetanguishene Bay ... as part of a strategy to secure and defend the bay in case of attack” (592). Reimer and Chartrand note that “[a]lthough it appears that the voyageurs did not initiate the development of a distinct geographic locale within the greater Penetanguishene settlement, it appears that this civilian settlement soon became associated with a French Canadian voyageur/Métis community in social, cultural, linguistic, and occupational terms” (592).

over seventy years after their relocation, these men and women remember the names of the consecutive places where they camped and the community members with whom they travelled, creating a network of Métis people and places that surpasses Osborne's prompts. Lewis Solomon states that he travelled along the safer North Shore of Lake Huron with his "mother, brother Henry and his wife and eight children ... Joseph Gurneau and his wife, and two men hired to assist" (129). Two other interviewees—Michael Labatte and Rosette Boucher—flesh out this route in greater detail by adding the names of community members and the places where they camped to a story of expanding community and cultural memory. Labatte, who moved with his mother, siblings, and the Oge-nier family, says they "camped at Thessalon River, Mississaga River, Serpent River, LaCloche, She-bon-aw-ning, Moose Point and other places on the way" (138). Boucher, travelling with her family and the Lepine and Fortin families, echoes Labatte's account of the Drummond Islanders' route while adding McBean's Post and Minniekaignashene (141). While I quoted Boucher in the previous chapter to demonstrate how Osborne mobilizes supposed settler "authorities" (*Migration* 134) against the Drummond Islanders, here I wish to note how her account of her family's migration corroborates and builds upon the stories of other Drummond Islanders to piece together a map of Lake Huron and Georgian Bay based on their communal experiences. Through their remembrance of people and place, their stories become a kind of embodied map of familiar land marked as proper and healthy places for Métis bodies. In this way, they enact Goeman's argument that "[r]emembering important connections to land and community is instrumental in mapping a decolonized Native presence" (*Mark* 29). While their relocated community and its diasporic sites are certainly marked by colonialism, the Drummond Islanders' memories show how their community nevertheless defied settler sympathetic geographies in favour of their own embodied Métis geographic knowledges.

Lewis Solomon's interview demonstrates a similar embodied Métis understanding of Penetanguishene Bay by explaining that the consecutive points around the bay were named after the families who had moved there: "Highland Point (now Davidson's Point), was called Lavallee's Point; the next point east was called Trudeaux Point, after the blacksmith; the next point east, now called 'Wait a Bit,' was named Giroux Point, formerly called Beausoleil Point; next was Mischeau's Point; next, Corbiere's Point—all

named after Drummond Islanders” (131). Furthermore, through his remembrance, Solomon connects to the central Penetanguishene group of Drummond Islanders those community members who chose to live elsewhere after their relocation. He notes that “Fortin, Thibault, Quebec, Rondeau and St. Amand, all French-Canadians from Red River and Drummond Island, settled at the old fort on the Wye” (131). Solomon demonstrates that the Drummond Islanders are not subsumed within the British government’s colonial map. Their understanding of community relies on story and remembrance and thus not only exceeds the demarcations on such maps, but also reveals an alternative understanding of the land—one in which embodied knowledge brings the Drummond Islanders’ relationships with each other to the foreground. His remembrance of community members who lived outside the community centre also demonstrates how their relationships with each other could be maintained over considerable distance and defies both their relocation and the British administration’s efforts at spatialization. Although the migration from Drummond Island threatened to break apart the community through diasporic fracturing, remembrance in storytelling refuses to allow relationships to be forgotten or broken. It asserts community continuity in the face of colonial mapping and displacement—that is, how community was carried to all the places where the Drummond Islanders moved.

These geographic locations around Lake Huron and Penetanguishene Bay are not previously unknown points on a settler map that were passed and never visited again. Rather, they are examples of embodied Métis knowledge of the land that enabled not only the migration but also further Métis travel in the future. For instance, Michael Labatte regularly “carried the mail” as far as Sault Ste. Marie (139). Sylvestre describes how voyageurs connected to their community transported Anna Jameson “to Manitoulin Island” (144). Sylvestre and Solomon also guided the British through this area in their “hunt[] for ... Mackenzie” (Sylvestre 143). As opposed to the place-making processes by which settlers like Head sought to identify with the land and materialize a colonial society that spoke to their particular ideologies, the persistent mobility of the Drummond Islanders—as well as the way their words travel across place and time—speak to the continuation of Indigenous geographic knowledges and create the possibility of a place-

based ethical relationality that asserts, as Goeman says, “new possibilities” through (re)mapping (*Mark 3*).

While Head’s national mythmaking attempts to transform Indigenous lands into settler space through violent erasure, and while government policies were at the same time working to render the Drummond Islanders invisible, their interviews textually materialize their embodied geographic knowledges as well as the connections between their community members. They not only contest the rightfulness of settler inheritance that Head claims in *The Emigrant*, but they also insist on their own community survivance. Head’s account of his time in Upper Canada culminates with his argument that settlers are, to borrow a phrase from Wolfe, “returning home” (389). However, this national mythology is undermined by the home-making work of the Drummond Island Métis after their relocation because this work illustrates the social, political, mental, material, and physical labour that went in to sustaining their community. Moreover, in asserting a community-centred form of “mapping and geographic understanding[,]” the Drummond Islanders’ interviews juxtapose the violent erasure of Head’s national mythmaking with the possibility of an ethical space of engagement between themselves and settlers (Goeman, *Mark 2*). Ermine notes that “encounter[s]” between Indigenous and Western peoples are “superficial” when they “acknowledge each other but there is a clear lack of substance or depth to the encounter” (195). Head’s *The Emigrant*, for instance, mobilizes stereotypes to limit settlers’ relationships with Indigenous peoples within the frame of paternal guardianship in a settler sympathetic geography. The interviews of the Drummond Island Métis counter the deficiency of substance and depth in Head’s travel narrative, and government policies more broadly, by textually materializing an embodied geography, community network, and unique history that are not only intimate but also invite intimacy. That is, while these interviews establish the Drummond Islanders’ own boundaries of community belonging independent of settler accounts, policies, and geographies, they also publicly assert their own Métis “thought worlds,” which propose the terms of engagement through which “dialogue” with the settler state can occur (194, 202). By maintaining their knowledge of themselves and insisting on being understood and treated on these terms, the Drummond Islanders reframe Head’s settler sympathetic

geography as merely one “thought world” existing in the Great Lakes interzone and therefore an opportunity for dialogue rather than a factual and final reality.

## “[A]lone in a new-born world”: Jane Johnston Schoolcraft’s Resistance to Anna Jameson’s Sympathetic Geographies

The violent erasure of Indigenous geographies occurs not only through the patriarchal imperial and colonial policies enacted by powerful settler officials, but is also perpetrated within the domestic sphere. Goeman explains that “[f]eminist geographers have broken down the dichotomy of public/private and assert that the public often constructs the politics found in the private sphere of the home. The home, in fact, becomes an interior colonial sphere” (“Notes,” 173). However, in this section, I will analyze how Jameson mobilizes the domestic sphere in her Canadian travel narrative *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* to impact public policies regarding settler and British women’s social roles, showing how violent erasures can be integrated into even liberal Euro-Western social paradigms that appear to challenge colonial initiatives while seeming to engage ethically with Indigenous peoples. I will then demonstrate how Johnston Schoolcraft’s poetry and letters deconstruct Jameson’s account and thereby (re)map the Ojibwe domestic sphere and Ojibwe traditional lands more broadly. As will become apparent in the following discussion, Jameson generalizes the social roles of women in Indigenous societies across national and cultural distinctions. Johnston Schoolcraft may appear to do the same in her letters to Jameson and William Hull Clarke; however, it should be noted that Johnston Schoolcraft’s arguments in these letters were influenced by her knowledge of women’s roles in her Ojibwe community and perhaps more specifically by her experiences in the home of her uncle Waishkey. The cultural specificity of her Ojibwe domestic sphere becomes more apparent in her poetry. Despite the general terms used by Jameson and by Johnston Schoolcraft in her letters, I do not wish to generalize in this dissertation Indigenous “women’s traditional roles,” which as Shari M. Huhndorf and Cheryl Suzack (Batchewana First Nation) explain, “vary widely” across Indigenous cultures (5). Rather, the goal of this discussion is to reconstruct the conversation about Indigenous women between Jameson and Johnston Schoolcraft in

order to analyze how Indigenous women and their homes became incorporated within Euro-Western textual mapping projects. This attention to the domestic within a discussion of colonial mapping and decolonization is important because, as Goeman asserts, “[i]n the decolonization of space it is necessary to address the gendered sets of spatial practices ... in order to create communities that will make change” (178).

Near the outset of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson laments the deficiency of earlier travel and exploration narratives because “the very different aspect under which it [“the Indian character”] has been represented by various travellers, as well as writers of fiction, adds to the difficulty of forming a correct estimate of the people, and more particularly of the true position of their women” (28). Her interest in representing “the true position” of women in Indigenous communities hints at the feminist dimensions of her research, and a letter to her father from 21 June 1837 foregrounds this feminist focus: Jameson wrote that she “wish[ed] to see, with my own eyes, the condition of women in savage life” (qtd. in Ernststrom 287). Adele Ernststrom argues that this letter “partly intimate[s]” “[a] carefully planned feminist project,” adding that Jameson “intended to make the situation of native women the crux in a critique of the position of women in ‘civilized’ society” (287). As I mentioned in my introduction, Jameson has almost always been something of a feminist icon. Before coming to Canada at the end of 1836, Jameson had achieved notable success in Europe with the publication of her feminist critical works titled *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (1831) and *Characteristics of Women* (1832). After returning to Europe, Jameson advocated for women through sociopolitical writing and activism: for instance, according to Ernststrom, “Jameson’s anonymously published review of the Commissioners’ Report on the Condition of Women and Female Children in Mines and Factories [(1843)] and ... her 1846 pamphlet, *On the Relative Position of Mothers and Governesses*,” “contributed to place the question of women and work at the centre of the social agenda in Britain in the 1850s” (291). In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson’s interrogation of British and settler women’s labour and social roles exists alongside and is informed by her investigation of previous male travellers’ descriptions of Indigenous women as “drudges” and “slaves” to their

Indigenous husbands (Jameson 513).<sup>114</sup> These claims were, of course, falsehoods and ignorant cultural misconstructions, but more than this, they were published and read by Euro-Western people as evidence to support the settler belief in stadial theory.

While *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, like *The Emigrant*, considers stadial theory in relation to Indigenous societies as a whole, Jameson (unlike Head) is especially attentive to the lives of Indigenous women and the domestic sphere. Jennifer Henderson explains stadial theory in a way that is very helpful when considering its impacts on Indigenous women: she writes that this theory “posited developmental stages of human society ... dispensing the benefits of this passage from one stage to the next on the woman progressively removed from a condition of drudgery” (90). When European and settler writers made claims about the “drudgery” of Indigenous women, then, they were really fabricating a narrative about Indigenous domestic space that enabled colonialism and the theft of Indigenous land. They constructed their accounts of Indigenous communities in the image of pre-existing, racist settler fantasies about progress while also appealing to their European and settler audience’s sympathies by encouraging them to believe that colonialism was good for Indigenous women because it would help to elevate these women from their conditions of “drudgery” as Indigenous society was generally assimilated into Euro-Western ways of life. Stadial theory gave some of these writers (though not Jameson) an excuse to overlook the problems of patriarchy within their own nations: as Kevin Hutchings points out, stadial theory demonstrates “a self-congratulatory aggrandizement of white society that ignored women’s marginalization and oppression under the constructs of European patriarchy” (*Romantic* 60).

Of course, prior to colonization, “traditional [Indigenous] societies” were, as Kim Anderson (Cree Métis) points out, “sustained by strong kin relations in which women had significant authority” (83), and some societies were matrilineal or matriarchal. Not only were women in matrilineal communities “considered the head of the household because

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<sup>114</sup> Although Jameson makes this claim in her travel narrative, she does not name any writers specifically. However, David Smits explains that this false and racist claim was ubiquitous in early Euro-Western writing: “From the earliest contacts between Europeans and Indians in North America, White commentators censured Indian men for subjugating and overworking native women” as a way to “rationalize dispossession” in the form of settler colonial elimination (281, 301).

they were primarily responsible for the work involved in child rearing and in managing the home and home community,” but “[i]n a number of Indigenous societies, it was older women who made decisions that set the direction for all of the people, which they did as clan mothers, through women’s councils, and as head women of their own extended families” (83, 84). Huhndorf and Suzack explain that “colonization has reordered gender relations to subordinate women, regardless of their pre-contact status” in their distinct nations and cultures (5). In particular, “colonization has involved ... [Indigenous women’s] removal from positions of power, the replacement of traditional gender roles with Western patriarchal practices, the exertion of colonial control over Indigenous communities through the management of women’s bodies, and sexual violence” (1). While Euro-Western writers like Jameson promoted stadial theory and “civilization” as a progressive intervention in Indigenous communities, colonialism actually undermined the influence of Indigenous women in their communities and caused great harm to their persons. Moreover, in *When Did Indians Become Straight?*, Mark Rifkin examines how Euro-Western notions of “heterosexuality” imposed on traditional “native social formations” are “a key part of breaking up indigenous landholdings” (6).<sup>115</sup> While Rifkin focuses on the United States, Canada’s Indian Act forms a related example of this process. Through the Indian Act, Indigenous women would lose their status if they married a non-Indigenous man or a non-status Indigenous man. As Goeman points out, this was an intentional method of “reduc[ing]” the “membership[s]” and, subsequently, the “land bases” of Indigenous communities because Sir John A. Macdonald, the first prime minister of Canada, specifically intended “[t]hese colonial gender logics ... ‘to do away with the tribal system and assimilate the Indian people in all respects with the

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<sup>115</sup> Additionally, while Euro-Western heteropatriarchy involves only two genders, Indigenous societies have many different “traditional forms of gender diversity” (Rifkin, *When* 6). Similarly, in describing the origin of the word “Two-Spirit” as “a way to talk about our [Indigenous] sexualities and genders from within tribal contexts” and to differentiate these from “white GLBT movements,” Qwo-Li Driskill (Cherokee) notes that “[t]he coinage of the word was never meant to create a monolithic understanding of the array of Native traditions regarding what dominant European and Euroamerican traditions call ‘alternative’ genders and sexualities” (52). While, in this chapter, I focus on how colonialism impacted Indigenous women, colonialism and heteropatriarchy also impacted Indigenous people’s embodiment of gender and sexuality. Driskill explains that “in many of our tribal realities[,]” “homophobia, transphobia, and sexism ... are the result of colonization and genocide that cannot accept women as leaders, or people with extra-ordinary genders and sexualities. As Native people, our erotic lives and identities have been colonized along with our homelands” (52).

inhabitants of the domain” (Macdonald qtd. in Goeman, *Mark* 49). The policing of Indigenous women’s bodies and marriages is, then, one way in which settler colonial mapping has been officially enacted in Canada. Although the 1876 Indian Act was passed 39 years after Jameson’s trip, it nevertheless concretely exemplifies the self-serving nature of the care expressed for Indigenous women by settler men (in this case, a paternalistic government).

In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, then, Jameson’s desire to search out the truth about the lives of Indigenous women through actual interactions and friendships with Indigenous women and their families *seems* like a progressive act of female solidarity. Certainly, Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and her sister Charlotte McMurray thought so at first. As I have mentioned in earlier chapters, these sisters were two of the daughters of John Johnston, a British trader who lived at Sault Ste. Marie, and Ozhaguscodaywayquay, an Ojibwe woman with considerable familial and political influence. Konkle notes that “[a]t the beginning at least, the sisters appear to have been eager to help” Jameson with her project because “Jameson presented an opportunity to tell the truth about Indigenous women’s lives to an English-speaking readership” (“Recovering” 92). The sisters were so eager to promote Jameson’s project that they not only hosted her at their homes during her travels, but they also introduced her to some of their Ojibwe relatives.

However, Konkle explains that by the time of the publication of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, both sisters were “alarmed” with Jameson (“Recovering” 94). While Konkle does not note what specifically alarmed them, she suggests that the sisters were disturbed by the contents of the “requests” for information and stories in the letters with which “Jameson peppered” them after leaving Upper Canada (93). Johnston Schoolcraft responded to Jameson by strongly reprimanding her (94). Jameson received the reprimand in a letter from Jane’s husband, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, a white American settler ethnographer and “Indian agent.” However, Konkle claims that Henry sent this letter at the request of Johnston Schoolcraft and further argues that he had copied a letter “draft[ed]” by his wife into his own hand (94). She believes this for several reasons, including that copying Johnston Schoolcraft’s work was a typical practice of Henry’s,

and also that it seems unlikely that he would write a letter condemning what it called “mercenary and stupid white men” (qtd. in Konkle 94). In this letter’s defense of Indigenous women, Johnston Schoolcraft asks if such men

pronounce that ardent and daring help mate of her husband, without high sentiments—without strong affections? It is a gross and unjustifiable error! When the Indian mother hears her child’s cry, think you not that her bosom yearns for it. When she sees her family group without a morsel to eat, think you how she feels.... What is the courage, the sentiment, the devotion, the domestic worth of a Christiana, a Catherine, or an Elizabeth to this. (qtd. in Konkle 94)

Johnston Schoolcraft here cites three of the queens Jameson discusses in *Memoirs of Celebrated Female Sovereigns* (Konkle 94) in order to dispel the notion of Indigenous women’s “drudgery” by defending and even prioritizing the character of Indigenous women in relation to Euro-Western women. Not only does she recontextualize Indigenous couples as partners using language with Christian resonance (“help mate”), but she also characterizes Indigenous women as surpassing European queens in courage, sentiment, devotion, and domestic worth. In doing so, Johnston Schoolcraft’s slight of Jameson’s previous work indicates displeasure with how Jameson was repaying the assistance she had received and implies that there is something dangerously wrong with Jameson’s feminism. While it originally appeared to Johnston Schoolcraft, and may have appeared to readers of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, that Jameson’s interest in “the true position” of Indigenous women was an act of solidarity, Johnston Schoolcraft’s letter should prompt a re-evaluation of Jameson’s travel narrative.

After all, often even critical scholarship does not hold Jameson fully accountable for the views expressed in her text because of an appreciation for her interactions with Indigenous women. For instance, Wendy Roy’s *Maps of Difference* is an excellent and carefully-researched work that offers the most sustained critical account of Jameson that I have read. Yet it also employs the popular trope of suggesting that Jameson became more sympathetic to Indigenous peoples as her travels progressed. For example, Roy writes that “[w]hile ... [Jameson] is at first content to allow what she ... [has read in previous

travel narratives] to shape her approach to First Nations people, personal interactions and relationships eventually alter both her attitude toward indigenous people in general and her discussions of women, and allow her to make broader philosophical connections between the two” (13). While it is true that Jameson’s experience comes to take precedence as the main source of her knowledge, I would challenge any characterization of Jameson’s travels as being progressively sympathetic by recounting her active promotion of stadial theory from start to finish.<sup>116</sup> The instances in which Jameson has tapped into and supported some aspect of stadial theory in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* are too numerous to analyze in full, so instead I use the following map to display a few of the more obvious examples. This map connects quotations from Jameson’s travel narrative with the people and land referred to in each selection. Going in a circle from upper-right to upper-left, these quotations align with Jameson’s consecutive movements and demonstrate that her impression of Indigenous communities remains consistent throughout her travels, despite her experience and her friendships with Ojibwe people.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> It should be noted that Roy acknowledges that Jameson reiterates the stereotype of the “drudgery” of Indigenous women and “repeat[s] her earlier judgment on women, civilization, and moral progress” (62). However, she forgoes pursuing a more substantial discussion of stadial theory in favour of an analysis of Jameson’s “critique of ... gender relations” “in her own society” (63). My point in presenting the following map is that a focus on stadial theory demonstrates that Jameson’s opinions, however altered in particulars, remain consistent with the problematic overarching eliminatory goals of her travel narrative.

<sup>117</sup> This map only loosely outlines major land and water formations in the Great Lakes region. I have drawn this map by hand in order to avoid issues of copyright. As such, it is not to scale and does not include all land formations (e.g., nearly all the islands on Georgian Bay). Despite its cartographic inaccuracies, this map helpfully illustrates that Jameson creates a textual map of the land she travels over using stadial theory and that her use of stadial theory is consistent throughout her travels.

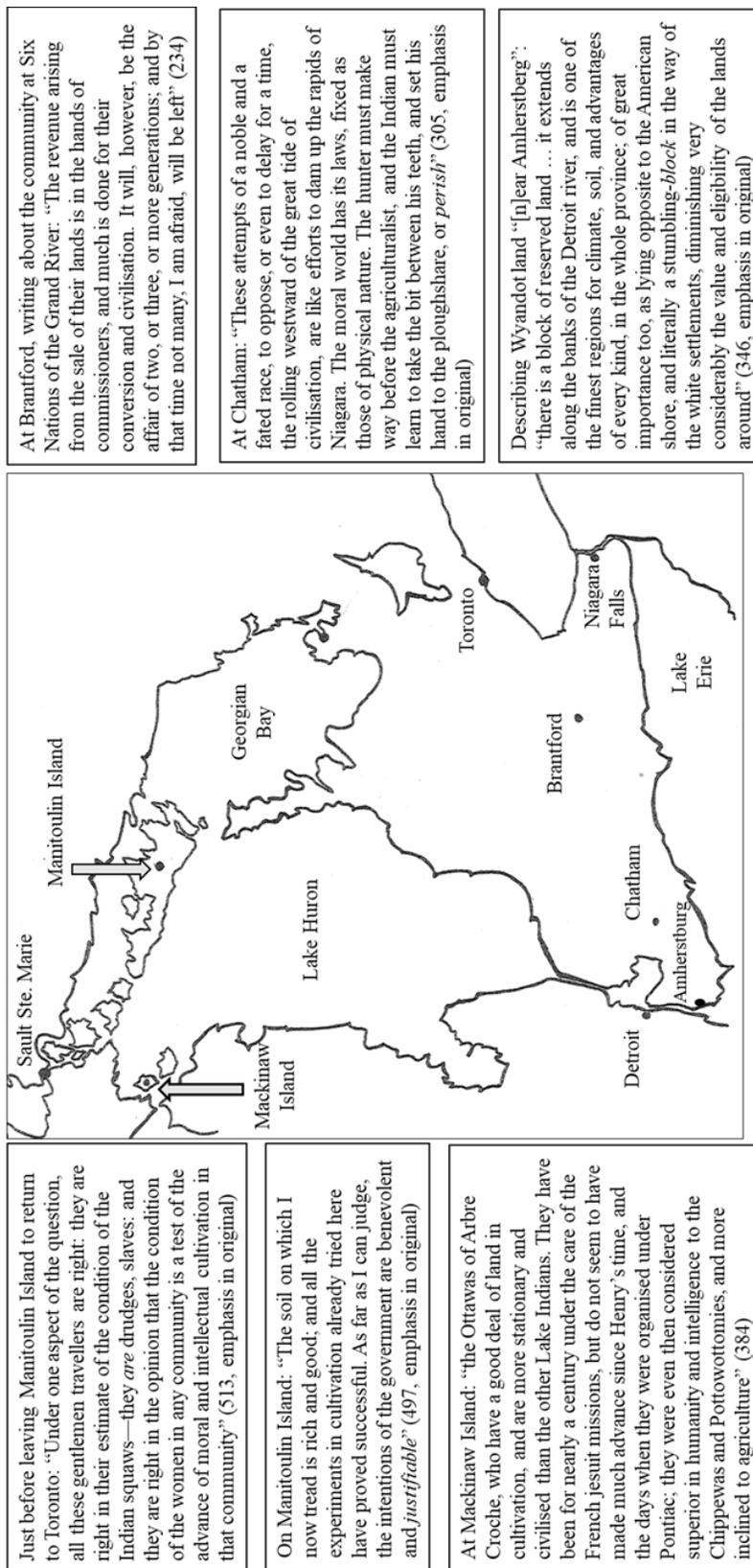


Figure 2: Jameson's Settler Colonial Mapping

These excerpts have in common an interest in the settler acquisition of Indigenous lands, the supposedly “civilizing” effects of agriculture, and the settler management of Indigenous communities and even the domestic spaces within those communities. To demonstrate and problematize Jameson’s consistent attitude, I would like to explore a few of these quotations in particular. For instance, at Chatham, just before describing the Lunaapeew community of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown,<sup>118</sup> Jameson launches into one of her more infamous opinions: she writes that

[t]hese attempts of a noble and a fated race, to oppose, or even to delay for a time, the rolling westward of the great tide of civilisation, are like efforts to dam up the rapids of Niagara. The moral world has its laws, fixed as those of physical nature. The hunter must make way before the agriculturalist, and the Indian must learn to take the bit between his teeth, and set his hand to the ploughshare, or *perish*. (305)

While stadial theory and praise for settler agriculture form more of a backdrop for Head’s ideologies in his travel narrative, Jameson here mobilizes stadial theory in typical colonial ways. Belying her concerns about Indigenous “oppress[ion]” and rejecting her own responsibility for the harms of settler colonialism, Jameson’s argument that it is impossible to delay the advance of civilization borrows from progress narratives, and her characterization of Indigenous people as “a noble and a fated race” invokes the settler discourse of vanishing Indigenous people (308, 305). Earlier in her travel narrative, Jameson actually suggests that settler colonialism is God’s plan (268), and we can see this religious inclination here in her reference to “the moral world” and its laws. The last sentence is especially interesting because not only does it reinforce stadial theory through its implicit claim that agriculture is a progressive advance from hunting, but it also undermines settlers’ expressed concern for Indigenous communities and the good settlers claimed agriculture could do. That is, agriculture was supposedly a great advance from hunting in the stages of civilization and, according to stadial theory, would have indicated improved intelligence, morality, and “domestic relationships” in Indigenous communities (Konkle, *Writing* 11). (As I mentioned in my discussion of Head, some Indigenous

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<sup>118</sup> I learned this name and more about the Lunaapeew People of the Delaware Nation at Moraviantown on their website: <http://delawarenation.on.ca/>.

nations did practice agriculture. The Euro-Western claim that they did not, like the claim that agriculture indicated an advanced stage of civilization, was a convenient method of justifying the expropriation of Indigenous lands through stadial theory.) However, Jameson's dehumanizing phrase "take the bit between his teeth" positions Indigenous peoples as animalized workhorses and not as agricultural subjects, showing that in her vision, Indigenous peoples do not actually gain equality with settlers through agriculture. In fact, Jameson adds, "I am inclined to think that the idea of the Indians becoming what we call a civilised people seems quite hopeless" (305). The imperative of agriculture exists alongside its hopelessness in Jameson's vision, a tension that resonates with the obstacle agriculture poses within the Marshall trilogy: as Justice William Johnson notes in his opinion in *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, "a more fixed state of society would amount to a permanent destruction of the hope of Indians disappearing to provide a clean slate for EuroAmerican settlement" (qtd. in Konkle, *Writing* 21). Agriculture, then, must exist as a Euro-Western-defined goal for Indigenous communities but a goal that is never in actuality intended to be realized (and if practiced, not acknowledged). As Jameson's emphasis on the word "perish" indicates, stadial theory—like discourses on disappearance, progress, temporal difference, and religious imperative—is a way of justifying the expropriation of Indigenous lands.

While one might claim that Jameson expressed such beliefs early in her travel narrative, Jameson's book was published after her travels had ended and after a period of revision in New York. According to Judith Johnston, Jameson sent a letter to her friend "Ottolie von Goethe writ[ten] from New York on 20 October 1837" in which "she explains" that "she has delayed her return to England because of 'the necessity of writing off my Indian notes where I can have authorities to refer to'" (Jameson qtd. in Judith Johnston, *Anna* 118). That Jameson's racist opinions on stadial theory remained in the text after her period of revision suggests that her travels did not, in fact, alter her opinions but rather that she incorporated what she saw within her own Eurocentric worldview. Moreover, as other examples on the above map indicate, the suggestion that her interactions and friendships with Indigenous people substantively changed this worldview is too generous. For instance, just before leaving Manitoulin Island at the end of her travels, she reflects on her impression of Indigenous women and claims that "[u]nder one aspect of the

question, all these gentlemen travellers are right: they are right in their estimate of the condition of the Indian squaws—they *are* drudges, slaves” (513). Very shortly afterwards, Jameson argues that “[t]he first step from the hunting to the agricultural state is the first step in the emancipation of the female” (515). Although Jameson claims to have set out to learn “the true position” of Indigenous women, she ultimately reiterates the racism of the earlier male travel writers whose depictions of Indigenous peoples she was supposedly investigating.

Jameson’s evaluation of Indigenous women’s social position illustrates how her textual map is meant to benefit British and settler women in particular. Despite reinforcing racist preconceptions, this section of Jameson’s text is often praised by critics because it considers British women’s social position in a way that comparatively problematizes her own society.<sup>119</sup> For instance, she writes: “But it does appear to me that the woman among these Indians holds her true natural position relatively to the state of the man and the state of society; and this cannot be said of all societies” (513). This statement corresponds with Jameson’s subsequent comments on British women’s labour, such as her contention that “[i]f [some] women are to be exempted from toil” because of their class “while the great primeval penalty is doubled on the rest, then I do not see where is the great gallantry” in British society (516). She believes that the “real dignity of women is everywhere ... regulated by her capacity of being useful,” arguing that the “idle and useless” women of British society are “as lamentable” as “the drudge” (519). Jameson formulates a feminist argument for her own society that questions the Euro-Western dichotomy between the Indigenous “drudge” and the white lady found in earlier travel narratives in order to advocate for the rights of British women; however, in so doing, she ultimately confirms rather than challenges Euro-Western beliefs about the social roles of Indigenous women, stadial theory, the dichotomy between savagery and civilization, and thereby the rationale for settler colonial elimination. Feminist scholarship has thus tended to consciously overlook Jameson’s mis-appropriation of Indigenous women’s identities in her campaign to improve the lives of white, British women. For instance, Ernstrom omits Jameson’s racist reiteration of the stereotype of the Indigenous “drudge,” stating only that Jameson

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<sup>119</sup> See Ernstrom (289), Fowler (168), and Vargo (64).

admits “[t]he lot of Indian women *is hard*” (289). Similarly, Lisa Vargo makes important connections between the Euro-Western domestic sphere and colonial nationalism, but claims Jameson’s discussion of “the progress of civilization” was a concession to “the nature of the audience to whom she is writing” (63) and does not note that Jameson repeats the stereotype “of indigenous woman as slave” that she purportedly “interrogates” (64).

Jameson’s “verification” of the racism of earlier male travel writers indicates that her vision of civilization is achieved through stadial progress wherein cultivating Indigenous land and reorganizing Indigenous homes go hand-in-hand. From this last quotation on the map, we can see that Jameson’s mapping is particularly dangerous because although she set out to learn the truth about Indigenous women’s domestic lives, she ended up reinforcing previous racist accounts in a way that argues for the necessity of colonizing the land, and she does this even after she has outgrown deferring to the opinions of earlier travellers. Since Jameson sets up her travel narrative in contrast with the misrepresentations found in earlier travel and exploration narratives, she not only positions her text as more sympathetic in her “truthful” account of Indigenous peoples but she also creates a sympathetic geography. That is, even though Jameson continuously maps Indigenous peoples and lands with the trope of Indigenous disappearance, her use of earlier travel accounts as a foil for her own alongside her expressive articulations of sympathy for Indigenous peoples manufactures an affinity between herself and the land that supports her particular mapping project. For instance, this expressive sympathy or concern for Indigenous communities is evident in and attempts to mask many of the instances in which Jameson invokes stadial theory. At Chatham, she critiques settler colonialism for its harmful impacts upon the Lunaapeew community (307, 309-11). On Manitoulin Island, she investigates whether Head’s removal plan is exploitative of Indigenous peoples or, as she ultimately decides, “benevolent and *justifiable*” (497). Jameson also mobilizes stadial theory to express concern for the social position of Indigenous women while on Manitoulin Island (513). In each of these instances, her sympathy becomes a means of recommending the removal of Indigenous peoples or settler colonial intervention in their communities even as she contends that Indigenous disappearance is inevitable. However, the consistent praise that Jameson has received

from many feminist critics suggests that these critics have been overly persuaded by Jameson's rhetorical expressions of sympathy despite the fact that such rhetoric is belied by the violent eliminatory erasures inscribed in her book, erasures that map over earlier patriarchal colonial geographies with her own feminist map. Within *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, then, Jameson's sympathy transforms the land, marking the places she visits not as vibrant Indigenous communities on traditional lands but rather as mournful sites of sympathetic settler invention in Upper Canada.

Moreover, while Jameson's description of Indigenous women's lives may, as Roy suggests, "paint a more well-rounded picture of the position of Ojibwa and Odawa women" (60) than the characterizations found in the writings of her contemporaries, I argue that Jameson has been misidentified as the artist of this picture, and that this misidentification has considerable consequences for the way we read Jameson's feminism. In her travel narrative *Summer on the Lakes* (1844), American transcendentalist Margaret Fuller printed a letter that Konkle identifies Johnston Schoolcraft as writing to William Hull Clarke ("Recovering" 91). Fuller, Clarke, Jameson, and Henry Rowe Schoolcraft travelled in shared literary circles. As you can see from the following comparative diagram (see Figure 3), a number of the ideas in Johnston Schoolcraft's letter to Clarke are remarkably similar in terms of content, word choice, and even order to the ideas expressed by Jameson in her evaluation of Indigenous women's social position.<sup>120</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> I learned about Johnston Schoolcraft's letter in Konkle's work ("Recovering" 91-92). However, Konkle's analysis focuses on Johnston Schoolcraft's stories about Indigenous women that Jameson retells ("Recovering" 93). I build on Konkle's work by comparing the exact wording of Jameson's evaluation of the lives of Indigenous women with the wording of Johnston Schoolcraft's letter.

Anna Jameson	Jane Johnston Schoolcraft
<i>Winter Studies and Summer Rambles</i>	Letter to Clarke (qtd. in Fuller 175-76)
<p>Under one aspect of the question, all these gentlemen travellers are right: they are right in their estimate of the condition of the Indian squaws—they <i>are</i> drudges, slaves.... <b><u>But it does appear to me that the woman among these Indians holds her true natural position relatively to the state of the man and the state of society; and this cannot be said of all societies.</u></b> (513)</p>	<p>Although ... on account of inevitable causes, the Indian woman is subjected to many hardships of a peculiar nature, <b><u>yet her position, compared with that of the man, is higher and freer than that of the white woman.</u></b> Why will people look only on one side? They either exalt the Red Man into a Demigod or degrade him into a beast. <b><u>They say that he compels his wife to do all the drudgery, while he does nothing but hunt and amuse himself; forgetting that, upon his activity and power of endurance as a hunter, depends the support of his family; that this is labor of the most fatiguing kind, and that it is absolutely necessary that he should keep his frame unbent by burdens and unworn by toil, that he may be able to obtain the means of subsistence.</u></b> I have witnessed scenes of conjugal and parental love in the Indian's wigwam from which I have often, often thought the educated white man, proud of his superior civilization, might learn an useful lesson. <b><u>When he returns from hunting, worn out with fatigue, having tasted nothing since dawn, his wife, if she is a good wife, will take off his moccasins and replace them with dry ones, and will prepare his game for their repast, while his children will climb upon him, and he will caress them with all the tenderness of a woman;</u></b> and in the evening the Indian wigwam is the scene of the purest domestic pleasures. The father will relate for the amusement of the wife, and for the instruction of the children, all the events of the day's hunt.</p>
<p><b><u>When it is said ... that the men do nothing but hunt all day, while the women are engaged in perpetual toil, I suppose this suggests to civilised readers the idea of a party of gentlemen at Melton.... But what is the life of an Indian hunter?—one of incessant, almost killing toil, and often danger. A hunter goes out at dawn, knowing that, if he returns empty, his wife and his little ones must starve—no uncommon predicament! He comes home at sunset, spent with fatigue, and unable even to speak.</u></b> (513-14)</p>	
<p><b><u>His wife takes off his moccasins, places before him what food she has.... When he is refreshed, the hunter caresses his wife and children, relates the events of his chase, smokes his pipe, and goes to sleep.</u></b> (514)</p>	

Figure 3: Comparison of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and Johnston Schoolcraft's Letter to Clarke

Consider, for example, the selection wherein Jameson compares the positions of Indigenous and Euro-Western women in their respective societies (513): this passage correlates very closely to Johnston Schoolcraft's contention that the "position" of Indigenous women "compared with that of the man, is higher and freer than that of the white woman" (qtd. in Fuller 175). Of course, when Johnston Schoolcraft makes this argument, she is pushing back against the stadial theory that Jameson supports overall. Johnston Schoolcraft asserts that the domestic space of Indigenous women is good; it does not need to be reorganized, and Indigenous women do not need to be saved by settlers, particularly because settler women are the ones with less equality in their domestic lives. According to the logic of stadial theory, Indigenous women's better position should mean that settlers stop trying to "civilize" them and colonize the land.

If we turn to the last excerpt in the above diagram, Jameson writes that when an Indigenous man returns from hunting, "[h]is wife takes off his moccasins, places before him what food she has.... When he is refreshed, the hunter caresses his wife and children" (514). Johnston Schoolcraft writes: "his wife, if she is a good wife, will take off his moccasins and replace them with dry ones, and will prepare his game for their repast, while his children will climb upon him, and he will caress them with all the tenderness of a woman" (qtd. in Fuller 176). Although these passages are similar, Jameson embeds hers in a sequence arguing that Indigenous women are "drudge[s]" (514). She defends the domestic role of Indigenous men by contrasting the "killing toil, and often danger" of their work with a satiric depiction of leisurely hunting parties in Britain (513-14). However, she then uses this comparison to claim that when "the whole duty and labour of providing the means of subsistence ... fall upon the man, the woman naturally sinks in importance, and is a dependent drudge" (514). Jameson may swipe at a trivial aspect of her own culture, but she does so in passing as she argues for reorganizing Indigenous domesticity through settler colonialism. Conversely, Johnston Schoolcraft's passage serves as evidence for her belief that the "white man, proud of his superior civilization, might learn an useful lesson" from the "conjugal and parental love" present in the domestic lives of Indigenous people (qtd. in Fuller 176, 175-76). Subverting settler colonial heteropatriarchy, gender norms, and claims of Indigenous women's "drudgery," Johnston Schoolcraft illustrates a balance in which the Indigenous mother's labour is also

necessary for subsistence and the Indigenous father engages in child care and education within the home. Konkle calls this balance “a complementarity between men and women, without the hierarchy and subordination of Anglo-American patriarchy” (“Recovering” 92). Johnston Schoolcraft suggests that the “moral and intellectual cultivation” (Jameson 513) of Indigenous communities eclipses that of Euro-Western ones.

Although *Summer on the Lakes* was published in 1844, Konkle dates Johnston Schoolcraft’s letter to Clarke as being from circa 1835, so up to three years before Jameson published her travel narrative (“Recovering” 91). While it is not impossible that Jameson saw this letter, it seems unlikely. What we know for certain is that Jameson spoke at length about this very issue with Johnston Schoolcraft, and Johnston Schoolcraft’s letter to Clarke uncannily resembles Jameson’s evaluation of Indigenous women’s social position. My suggestion, then, is that the section of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* that Jameson has so frequently been praised for writing may actually be the unattributed insights of Johnston Schoolcraft. Although Jameson does credit Johnston Schoolcraft for “new ideas of the Indian character” and “new sources of information” during her stay on Mackinaw Island, she notably omits mentioning Johnston Schoolcraft when expounding her assessment of gender roles in Indigenous society on Manitoulin Island (394). Similarly, Ernstrom acknowledges Jameson’s general debt to Johnston Schoolcraft, but attributes Jameson’s “polemic” entirely to the travel writer’s own intellectualism (289), as does Vargo, who calls this passage Jameson’s “most penetrating analysis” (64). While Jameson does add her own reflections in the travel narrative, Johnston Schoolcraft’s insights defend Indigenous women and their domestic lives to curious settlers. Perhaps this defense was designed as a general appeal to Romantic sensibilities, but it nevertheless strives to articulate across cultures why Indigenous women and their domestic lives should be respected. What is unique to Jameson’s account is that she frames these interventions with her own reassertion of stadial theory. It is no wonder that Johnston Schoolcraft reprimanded her: what Jameson wrote effectively said that she had heard what Johnston Schoolcraft was saying, but she had not listened.

By circumscribing Johnston Schoolcraft's teachings within her confirmation of stadial theory, Jameson was being appropriative: she wanted to acquire some of the equality and freedom Johnston Schoolcraft was talking about. Jameson was a liberal reformer, and according to Henderson, "nineteenth-century liberal reformer[s]" viewed Canada not "as a new home [but] as a testing ground for the political principles and practices of liberalism" (6, 5-6)—that is, "as an experimental counter-site through which the gaze of the British reformer was temporarily deflected" (7). For instance, Ernststrom notes that Jameson's "feminist argument ... was powerfully apposite at just those points where the situation of women was being, or was about to be, contested in Britain" (291). However, Henderson also explains the argument for women's right to self-government ultimately supported an entrenched social conservatism: it sought the power to make small improvements in the lives of a small number of marginalized women by reinforcing conservative paradigms in sociopolitical scenarios regarding race (13). Henderson asserts that "[t]he Anglo-Protestant settler woman was more than a marginal participant in the preparation of this constitutive ground of responsible government" because the granting of her sociopolitical agency "was predicated on her embodiment of certain norms of conduct" as well as her ability to "govern[] others" (13, 13, 8).

As the map of Jameson's use of stadial theory makes abundantly clear, Jameson too was in the business of governing, directing, and advising Indigenous peoples. In fact, Konkle notes that Jameson "pointedly observed" to Johnston Schoolcraft that Indigenous people "should be removed far away [from settlers] for their own good" ("Recovering" 93), so in comparing Indigenous, settler, and British women, Jameson is seeking to acquire land as well as certain Ojibwe social characteristics that she has identified for the benefit of white women. She embeds praise for these social characteristics within her discussion of Indigenous women, noting in particular an "equal division of labour" between classes (516), women's ownership of property in marriage (517-18), and a woman's right to her children (514). Her feminism, then, did not counter the settler colonial mapping of Upper Canada so much as add a new "sympathetic" dimension to it. While Jameson textually maps Indigenous lands with the official settler names and histories of Upper Canada, she does so with a twist: Jameson's sympathetic geography is one in which British and settler women are identified with Indigenous women, inheriting these women's social rights as

they, according to Jameson, “disappear.” Jameson’s use of stadial theory, then, becomes a way of inverting the typical flow of power in “the dichotomy of public/private” (Goeman, “Notes” 173) as she mobilizes the domestic sphere to impact patriarchal public policies. However, although she claims to help Indigenous women through this tactic, Jameson actually helps herself.

Given this sympathetic geography, I find that Jameson’s description of her trip with Johnston Schoolcraft between Mackinaw Island and Sault Ste. Marie takes on an almost sinister aspect. Jameson writes:

I cannot, I dare not, attempt to describe to you the strange sensation one has, thus thrown for a time beyond the bounds of civilised humanity, or indeed any humanity.... Our little boat held on its way over the placid lake and among green tufted islands; and we its inmates, two women, differing in clime, nation, complexion, strangers to each other but a few days ago, might have fancied ourselves alone in a new-born world. (444)

They were, however, not alone. They were travelling on Indigenous land that, as Hele states, “was home to hundreds of thousands of Aboriginal Nations” before “contact” (Introduction xiii). Jameson engages in an act of violent erasure by imaginatively mapping the land within the settler understanding of *terra nullius*— “[l]and that is legally unoccupied or uninhabited” (“Terra nullius”) and is therefore acceptable to seize by settler colonizers. In addition to Jameson’s acts of erasure in this passage, she sets up a depiction of herself and Johnston Schoolcraft that functions almost like a mirror or an attempt to see Johnston Schoolcraft reflected in herself. Soon after, she tries to solidify this altered image of herself by asking to be renamed in Ojibwemowin by Johnston Schoolcraft’s family.<sup>121</sup> This particular moment of travel in the bateau seems to function

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<sup>121</sup> In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson writes that after coming down the rapids at Sault Ste. Marie, she “was declared duly initiated, and adopted into the family” by a new name (462). However, Johnston Schoolcraft wrote to Henry that Jameson “insisted on being baptized and named in Indian” (qtd. in Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs* 563). Roy teases out the implications of this difference in their accounts when she writes that “the stress in [Johnston] Schoolcraft’s version on Jameson’s own insistence on being renamed, as well as the omission of any reference to adoption, indicates that it was Jameson who sought the renaming as a way of both changing her identity and proving her acceptance by her aboriginal hosts, and thus authenticating her travels” (37).

in Jameson's account like a re-birth—not of the world, but of Jameson herself. But both the re-naming and re-birth are methods by which Jameson attempts to indigenize herself and lay claim to Ojibwe social characteristics and land, so instead of this passage reading as a moment of sympathetic unity, I read it as a subtle threat to Johnston Schoolcraft.

As Goeman points out, though, geographic understandings “and the language we use to order space” are not simply determined by settlers without Indigenous “mediat[ion] and refu[sal]”: rather, language and geography “are formed in a ‘contact zone’ in which various cultures interact” (*Mark* 2, 3, 2-3). For example, Jameson's vision of a new-born world does not exist—in print or in reality—as an uncontested space in part because Johnston Schoolcraft also reflected upon their shared experience. In a letter Johnston Schoolcraft sent to Henry directly after reaching Sault Ste. Marie, she writes that she was “delighted” she had made the trip as Jameson “did not know how to get along at all at all” (qtd. in Rowe Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs* 563). As Johnston Schoolcraft and Jameson were friends at this time, Johnston Schoolcraft was being sincere, though as Roy points out, this letter does “be[lie] the impression of competence and adventurousness that Jameson projects in her narrative” (36). This passage within the letter also resists settler colonialism and implies Indigenous sovereignty through its understanding of the extensive geographic knowledge and comparative ease by which Indigenous people travel over their land. This implied knowledge and ease exist in stark contrast to Jameson's anxious new-born world because they gesture toward the long histories of the Indigenous communities living on these lands. Johnston Schoolcraft's letter recontextualizes Jameson and resituates her position as a traveller through, rather than an owner of, the land.

In her poems “To the Pine Tree” and “To the Miscodeed,” Johnston Schoolcraft connects Indigenous domesticity and lands in ways that strongly oppose Jameson's methods. Johnston Schoolcraft had been sent to her father's family in Ireland briefly as a child (1809-1810) (Parker 15), and on her return journey home with her father, she was overjoyed at the sight of pine trees (50). Much later, her husband, Henry, “asked her” to “recal[l] her feelings at the moment” when she first spotted the pines on her route home, and she gave him this poem (qtd. in Parker 90). According to Robert Dale Parker, after

Johnston Schoolcraft's death in 1842, Henry actually included this poem and an explanation of the story "[i]n his 'Notes for a Memoir of Mrs. Henry Rowe Schoolcraft,'" which was "addressed to Anna Jameson" (90). Although, as Henry explains, Johnston Schoolcraft's joy at seeing the pine trees occurred at "the Niagara ridge" (qtd. in Parker 90), in both this poem and in her travels with Jameson, Johnston Schoolcraft is returning from the home (or homeland) of a settler man—first her father and then her husband—to her Ojibwe mother and her childhood home.

The poem is undated, but it is very interesting to consider when it could have been written because although Johnston Schoolcraft provided Henry with a translation (Parker 51), she apparently originally gave the poem to him in Ojibwemowin (90). This is significant because although their marriage started out well, it became strained and was particularly abusive near the end of Johnston Schoolcraft's life. This may have been the case in part because Henry was the "Indian agent" for Michigan and, in the 1830s, became actively involved in enforcing the United States' removal policy, occasionally forcing his wife to act as his translator (Konkle, "Recovering" 95).<sup>122</sup> He needed her to do this because, according to Konkle, he "did not have facility in Ojibwemowin" and "his early efforts with the language ... seem to have ended by the late 1820s" (85). It is possible, then, that Johnston Schoolcraft gave her husband this poem about Indigenous land in a language he had to work hard to read as a way of re-centering herself and her Ojibwe community and implicitly delineating what was not his. Reading "To the Pine Tree" in Ojibwemowin alongside its translation in English prompts consideration of what ethical engagements on and about Indigenous land might look like. Ermine explains that "the idea of the ethical space, produced by contrasting perspectives of the world, entertains the notion of a meeting place" (202). While this place is intellectual in that it depends on an effort to "reconcile" Indigenous and Euro-Western "thought worlds" (201), it also seeks to materialize an ethical physical reality in which Indigenous people and settlers interact. Johnston Schoolcraft's poem and its translation textually materialize

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<sup>122</sup> See Konkle ("Recovering" 95-96) for an analysis of Johnston Schoolcraft's resistance to Henry's trip to the Pictured Rocks in 1839.

this “meeting place” through her representation of her thought world and then the way she puts it in dialogue with Henry’s through translation.

Of course, in both the Ojibwemowin and English versions of this poem, Johnston Schoolcraft resists settler mapping and the violent erasure of Indigenous geographic knowledges through her insistent use of Ojibwemowin and her continued assertion that this is her mother’s land. Johnston Schoolcraft identified as an Ojibwe woman, and in writing in Ojibwemowin about her travel over the land, she performs an embodied mapping that resembles Jameson’s, *except* that in Johnston Schoolcraft’s mapping, the land is marked as Indigenous by her embodied geographies or the movement of her body over the land and by her description of that experience in her mother’s language. Similarly, in the English version of this poem, she compares her father’s England and Ireland to her “own dear bright mother land” (10), not simply giving precedence to her mother land but also implying that in returning to Sault Ste. Marie, she is returning to her mother’s land. Interestingly, although Ozhaguscodaywayquay was married to a British man and understood English and French, she apparently refused to speak anything except Ojibwemowin (Parker 9). Similarly, although Johnston Schoolcraft spoke and wrote in English, Jameson writes that Johnston Schoolcraft communicated with her children primarily in Ojibwemowin (400). Through these two versions of the poem, Johnston Schoolcraft connects her mother’s language, the language she used as a mother, and her mother’s land.

By originally writing this poem in Ojibwemowin, Johnston Schoolcraft centers this key aspect of her own Indigenous domestic experience, and in both versions of the poem, she gives this space preference to her father’s and husband’s homes in a way that resists settler mapping and the acquisition of Indigenous land. Yet, her poem’s English translation also demonstrates a respectful “depth” in her engagement with Euro-Western culture, moving beyond what Ermine calls mere “acknowledge[ment]” (195). For instance, Johnston Schoolcraft complies with her husband’s request in writing the poem. She also compliments the beauty of England and Ireland when she recalls “all the trees of England bright” and “Erin’s lawns of green and light” (13, 14). Here and elsewhere (e.g., her poem “Elegy on the death of my aunt Mrs Kearny”), she demonstrates love for her

father and his family as well as thoughtful engagement with his culture. While Johnston Schoolcraft re-centers her Ojibwe community on their land in “To the Pine Tree,” she at the same time demonstrates what an ethical engagement between Euro-Western and Indigenous cultures might look like. Furthermore, in giving “To the Pine Tree” to her husband in Ojibwemowin, she gently suggests reframing his relationships to more respectful connections with her family, community, and land. Since geography is “a ‘simultaneity of stories-so-far’” (Massey qtd. in Goeman, *Mark* 6), Johnston Schoolcraft’s voice helps to (re)map the land by the telling of her own story—and significantly the telling of her own story in a way that not only centres her Ojibwe relationships, but also confronts her husband with Indigenous sovereignty.

Challenging dominant Euro-Western notions of the individualistic authorial voice, Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem “To the Miscodeed”<sup>123</sup> gestures toward the traditional stories of her community, recalling any number of Ojibwe speakers, voices, and tellings, and thereby (re)mapping the land through the geographic breadth and historical depth of the “stories-so-far” in the Great Lakes interzone. The miscodeed is known in English as Spring Beauty and in Latin as *Claytonia Virginica* (Parker 91). As Johnston Schoolcraft explains in the poem, it is a pink and white flower “[e]’er first to greet the eyes of men / In early spring,—a tender flower / Whilst still the wintry wind hath power” (2-4). In choosing to write the name of the flower in Ojibwemowin, Johnston Schoolcraft pushes back against what Beth Fowkes Tobin calls “cultural and scientific imperialism” (2). According to Tobin, “[t]he exercise of imperial power resides, for instance, in the images of tropical flowers; botanical illustration, an extension of Linnaean botany, participated in a cultural and scientific imperialism that sought to exert control over the globe’s natural resources” (2). Although “To the Miscodeed” is a poem rather than an illustration, the settler names assigned to flowers, and their classification within a Euro-Western scientific system rendered intentionally appropriative and exclusive through the use of Latin, is also a form of “cultural and scientific imperialism.”

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<sup>123</sup> I am using Parker’s text of “To the Miscodeed,” which he transcribed from the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Papers (Parker 91).

This form of imperialism marked some of the earliest interactions between explorers and Indigenous lands. For instance, Mary Alice Downie and Mary Hamilton explain that “[w]hen Martin Frobisher reached the coast of Labrador in 1576,” he sent the crew to shore, instructing them ““to bring [back] ... whatsoever thing they could first find, whether it were living or dead ... and some brought flowers”” (xi). Henry Rowe Schoolcraft also participated in such imperial endeavours on his 1820 western travels “to explore the southern shore of Lake Superior and examine the upper reaches of the Mississippi River” (Williams 1). In his introduction to Henry’s account of his trip in *Narrative Journal of Travels* (1821), Mentor L. Williams explains that this “scientific examination of the country would make available to the public an exact delineation of the topography of the country” as well as “data on the mineral, animal, and vegetable resources of the area” (8). Of course, this sort of botanical imperialism was not limited to male explorers and scientists, but also appealed to settler women and more domestic arenas. Catharine Parr Traill, “the sister of Susanna Moodie,” was a settler who moved to Upper Canada from England in 1832 (Downie and Hamilton 160). Here, she composed “two classic botanical works: *Canadian Wild Flowers* (1868) and *Studies in Plant Life in Canada* (1885)” (160). Finally, this scientific imperialism had a literary counterpart because, as Parker notes, there was an “early American” trend contemporary to Johnston Schoolcraft in which writers composed “poems about wildflowers or blossoms [such] as Philip Freneau’s ‘The Wild Honey Suckle’ (1786), William Cullen Bryant’s ‘The Yellow Violet’ (1821) and ‘To the Fringed Gentian’ (1832), and Ralph Waldo Emerson’s ‘The Rhodora’ (1847)” (91). These poems contribute to scientific imperialism because they mobilize and circulate within popular American culture Euro-Western ways of understanding and categorizing the land. The domestic or regional focus of these poems works in tandem with the botanical imperialism of Euro-Western explorers and scientists, uniting local and national terrains within the colonial project of appropriating Indigenous territories.

These examples of settler scientific imperialism double, then, as efforts not only to extract resources but also to map Indigenous lands as settler spaces and thereby elevate settler knowledges. For instance, Williams notes that, on his scientific expedition, Henry also created a “rather inaccurate map” that “[n]evertheless ... did much to extend popular

knowledge of the area. New concepts of distance were made available; new river systems were laid down” (18). Likewise, Traill’s botanical works “domesticate” the Upper Canadian “wilderness.” For example, in addition to coding the land within the artistic pastimes of genteel British women through the illustrations done by Agnes Fitzgibbon, Traill’s Preface to *Canadian Wild Flowers* indicates the united scientific and national ambition of the work. She limits Indigenous knowledge of the land to the practice of “cull[ing] a few of the herbs and barks and roots for healing purposes, and dyes,” but elevates her text above such knowledge by its being a “written description[.]” (7, 8). Traill substantiates the text’s scientific status by assuring readers it was reviewed and “received the sanction and approval of several scientific and literary gentlemen in Canada” (8). She asserts the national objective of the work by noting that “[w]ith patriotic pride in her native land, Mrs. F. was desirous that the book should be entirely of Canadian production, without any foreign aid” (7). Not only is *Canadian Wild Flowers* compiled as an eliminatory endeavour that erases the knowledges of Indigenous peoples and their connections to the land, but it also seeks to indigenize settlers with knowledge of *their* “native land.” Traill’s textual representations of flowers, then, seek to create a distinctive national literature that supports the eliminatory mapping work of settler colonialism: she even concludes her Preface by claiming the urgency of her book lies in the “destined” disappearance of this “flora,” which will “sooner or later . . . be swept away, as the onward march of civilization clears away the primeval forest—reclaims the swamps and bogs, and turns the waste places into a fruitful field” (8). The last entry in *Canadian Wild Flowers* is for Spring Beauty—the flower at the heart of Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem.

Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem about the miskodeed, however, reframes this scientific imperialism and undermines its corresponding efforts at elimination because she approaches the land through Ojibwe knowledges. While Traill’s botanical entry is titled “Spring Beauty” with the subheading “Claytonia Virginica” and is accompanied by a small footnote stating that “Miskodeed” is the “Indian name for Spring Beauty” (84), Johnston Schoolcraft uses the word “Miskodeed” in the title of her poem and “C. Virginica” only appears in the footnote, thereby emphasizing Indigenous knowledges and sovereignty in the order of the names. Moreover, although it may seem like Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem appeals to a Euro-Western readership because it is written in English

and employs picturesque phrases like “[s]weet pink of northern wood and glen,” “sunny glade,” and “modest petals” (1, 5, 10), it resonates with her knowledge of traditional oral stories told by family and community members, like her uncle Waishkey and mother, Ozhaguscodaywayquay.<sup>124</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft recorded the story of the miscodeed in a textual adaptation titled “Origin of the Miscodeed, or the Maid of Taquimenon,” which can be found in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers (Parker 183).<sup>125</sup> As Parker explains, “if [Johnston] Schoolcraft’s authorship draws on the European model, in that she wrote her stories down,” and in that her poem utilizes picturesque language, she “also draws on more communal Native and Ojibwe models passed down orally across the generations” (55).

“To the Miscodeed” expresses Johnston Schoolcraft’s personal appreciation of the flower’s beauty, but her textual telling of the origin story of the miscodeed invites readers to consider how the personal experience expressed in her poem exists in relation to her Ojibwe cultural context. As Parker notes, “when ... [Johnston Schoolcraft] wrote down stories she did not compose them exactly the same way as earlier storytellers, even apart from writing them in English after hearing them in Ojibwe” (55).<sup>126</sup> For instance, although Parker explains that the stories Johnston Schoolcraft told are origin stories “sometimes called ‘pourquois tales,’ the origin story of the miscodeed

plays with that pattern by referring to more recent, historical conflicts between Ojibwes and their neighbors ... and by using her great grandfather’s name,

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<sup>124</sup> Parker explains that “Schoolcraft grew up hearing Ojibwe stories from her mother, though she probably heard them from others as well, including, for example, her uncle Waishkey. Both Ozhaguscodaywayquay and Waishkey, in turn, would have grown up hearing stories, including from their father Waubojeeg, known for his skill as a storyteller” (54). Similarly, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Jameson wrote that Ozhaguscodaywayquay was “celebrated for her stock of traditional lore, and her poetical and inventive faculties, which she inherited from her father Waub-Ojeeg” (403).

<sup>125</sup> Parker uses the “[t]ext from LC66” in his collection of Johnston Schoolcraft’s works, and this is the version I analyze (183).

<sup>126</sup> Although Johnston Schoolcraft and Leanne Simpson are not from the same community—Johnston Schoolcraft is Ojibwe from Sault Ste. Marie and Simpson is Nishnaabeg from Alderville First Nation—they appear to have adopted similar methodologies in the telling of their communities’ traditional oral stories. Simpson writes of the stories she tells in *The Gift is in the Making* (2013): “As Nishnaabeg, we are taught to see ourselves as part of these narratives, and it is the responsibility of each generation to tell these stories in a way that is relevant and meaningful to the way we live” (3). She also writes: “This is the brilliance of our traditions—our stories are seeds, encoding multiple meanings that grow and change with the passage of time. They are a dynamic, engaging conversation that requires personal engagement and ref[lection]” (3).

Mongazida (or Ma Mongazida), for one of the actors, while also setting the scene in the Tahquamenon valley, far from Mongazida's home at Chequamegon but not so far from Schoolcraft's home at Sault Ste. Marie. Such changes in what was most likely an old story may have come across to Ojibwe listeners ... as traditional ways of remaking and sustaining the story, intensifying its local meaning and infusing the stories and the local ground with a sense of ancient continuity. (57)

In setting her version of the traditional origin story of the miscodeed in the Taquimenon valley,<sup>127</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft engages in a kind of embodied mapping. The Taquimenon valley is located immediately to the north and west of Sault Ste. Marie on what is now the American side of the border.

Johnston Schoolcraft likely travelled through this region herself since she visited the Pictured Rocks shoreline and wrote a poem in Ojibwemowin about her experience, though this poem only “survive[s]” in the English translation titled “Lines written at Castle Island, Lake Superior” (92). As Parker notes, “[t]here are three versions” of this poem,<sup>128</sup> “all in ... [Henry's] hand,” and it is unclear whether these “translation[s]” were undertaken “by ... [Henry] or ... [Johnston Schoolcraft]” (92). Parker explains that since the version of the poem in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft papers “gives it the air of having been written soon after the event and during ... [Johnston Schoolcraft's] lifetime,” he includes this version in his anthology (92). Moreover, he adds that even if Henry translated the poem, there is no “evidence that” he altered Johnston Schoolcraft's meaning “as opposed to translating” her “words” (93). While, as Konkle writes, “[i]t is frustrating that we do not know what this poem was in Ojibwemowin, what the words mean, and [possibly even] how Jane Schoolcraft translated it” (“Recovering” 96), both Konkle and Parker treat the poem as Johnston Schoolcraft's words, and I follow their example in my analysis here. Johnston Schoolcraft called the island that she describes in

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<sup>127</sup> As Parker notes, Johnston Schoolcraft's “story uses two spellings, Taquimenon and Taquiemenon, for the present-day Tahquamenon valley, now part of Tahquamenon Falls State Park” (183).

<sup>128</sup> Versions of “Lines written at Castle Island, Lake Superior” can be found in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers, the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Papers, and in Henry's “Dawn of Literary Composition by Educated Natives of the aboriginal tribes” (Parker 92).

this poem “Castle Island” because she did not know its name in Ojibwemowin (92), though Parker identifies Castle Island as Na-Be-Quon or, on settler maps, Granite Island (93). This island lies farther into Lake Superior than either of the places (the Taquimenon valley and the Pictured Rocks) that Johnston Schoolcraft mentions in her version of the miscodeed story. “Lines written at Castle Island, Lake Superior” suggests that Johnston Schoolcraft had personal knowledge of the land she described in the story of the miscodeed, knowledge gained through the experience of travelling.

As Johnston Schoolcraft’s rendering of Ojibwe cultural context in her version of the origin story of the miscodeed underlies her poem, so too does Johnston Schoolcraft’s indictment of settler colonialism in “Lines written at Castle Island” influence the meaning of “To the Miscodeed.” Konkle explains that Johnston Schoolcraft travelled to “Castle Island” with Henry in 1839, probably acting as his interpreter: he had been “sent out to take an inventory of ‘improvements’ in the ceded territory for eventual compensation” after the American government implemented their removal policies, breaking the Treaty of 1836 (“Recovering” 95). Given the tone of the poem, Konkle believes that Johnston Schoolcraft did “not [go] willingly” with Henry, and this belief may be supported by Johnston Schoolcraft’s explicit criticism of the voyage and her husband in the final lines of the short poem (96). She describes the lonely, isolated island as a place with “[n]o crimes, no misery, no tears / No pride of wealth; the heart to fill, / No laws to treat my people ill” (14-16). Johnston Schoolcraft’s embodied geography marks dissent from settler colonial practices of elimination. While her body “articulate[s] differently” (Goeman, *Mark* 12) on her travels with Henry in the sense that he is attempting to code the land within settler colonial geographies, she uses her embodied experience of travelling to reframe these geographies and articulate them in her texts as sovereign Ojibwe lands. The origin story of the miscodeed and “Lines written at Castle Island,” then, function as intertexts for “To the Miscodeed” because of their shared embodied geographies—both Johnston Schoolcraft’s and her community’s. The resonances between these texts not only assert Indigenous sovereignty and hold settler governments accountable for broken treaties and the “pathologizing ... [of] Native bodies,” but also use Indigenous embodied geographies to defend Indigenous peoples’ longstanding “healthy relationship[s] to land and place” (Goeman, *Mark* 12).

Moreover, Johnston Schoolcraft's (re)mapping gestures toward possible processes by which settlers might rethink their relationships with Indigenous peoples and foster ethical spaces of engagement in the Great Lakes interzone. Particularly in "Lines written at Castle Island," she illustrates how elimination follows settler disregard for Indigenous "thought worlds" (Ermine 201) and the necessity of "replac[ing]" Euro-Western "notions of universality" with "concepts such as the equality of nations" (202). For instance, through its implicit critique of the broken Treaty of 1836, this poem indicates the importance of honouring "agreement[s] to interact" (202), but all three of Johnston Schoolcraft's texts discussed here suggest the significance of establishing terms for such agreements that respectfully address the cultural contexts of Indigenous communities. Not only do these texts recognize Indigenous sovereignty and embodied geographies, but they enact respectful engagements with settlers by sharing these embodied geographies in English-language poetry and by translating traditional Ojibwe oral stories. In so doing, they offer settlers an opportunity to critically reflect upon and dispel their prejudices. For instance, it seems that even Johnston Schoolcraft's infamous husband could not escape the sense that he was failing to engage ethically with his wife and her community. According to Konkle, Henry translated and "rewr[ote]" "Lines written at Castle Island, Lake Superior" with the versions becoming "increasingly baroque and predictably substituting religious sentiment for the barbed criticism that inescapably pointed back at him" ("Recovering" 96). Konkle also writes of Johnston Schoolcraft's and her siblings' work with traditional stories that "[t]he publication of their stories was supposed to encourage whites to see the value—even the beauty—in Indigenous cultures and then be moved to help Indigenous peoples, based on that recognition of commonality" (90).

However, these possible engagements did not tend to work out as Johnston Schoolcraft had hoped. After all, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson retells some traditional Ojibwe oral stories told to her by Johnston Schoolcraft. However, when Jameson repeats these stories in her travel narrative, she seeks to contextualize them within her own Euro-Western understandings and thereby reinforce stadial theory. She calls the stories "wild[]" and "childish[]" and the community that told them "a people whose objects in life are few and simple" and whose "society cannot be very brilliant" (403, 403, 402, 402). Although Jameson was eager to record the stories as a way of

authenticating her travels through ethnographic study, and although she expresses interest in listening to them (402), she nevertheless interprets the stories through her own cultural prejudices. The success of Johnston Schoolcraft's teaching efforts, then, depends upon meeting settlers in an ethical space of engagement.

## Conclusion: To Each Their Own Pantisocracy?

In their Canadian travel narratives, Jameson and Head attempt to influence emigration, colonial policy, and settlers' relationships with Indigenous peoples so as to re-create Indigenous lands in their own image, thereby materializing what they considered to be better settler futures. This Euro-Western literary desire to map Indigenous lands reflects a popular discursive trend in political thought during the Romantic period. For example, Colin Jager writes, "As the embodiment of revolutionary subjectivity, America toward the end of the eighteenth-century became for British radicals one figure of a desire for change. Many dissenters imagined an America where they could realize political, economic, and religious ideals that remained merely thought experiments in their homeland" (par. 12). Epitomizing these "thought experiments" is, of course, Pantisocracy: the famous utopian society envisioned by Coleridge and Robert Southey, who "planned to establish a commune on the banks of the Susquehanna" (Wu 593). Although Coleridge and Southey never emigrated, their plans clearly demonstrate the moral and logical pitfalls inherent to such idealized colonial spaces. As James C. McKusick writes, "the Pantisocracy scheme may be regarded as a fairly typical example of European expansionism, intellectually justified by an ideology of political equality and religious freedom, yet grounded at a more unconscious level in an economics of colonial exploitation" (108). While purportedly an egalitarian society, "Pantisocracy ... witnesses the return of the political repressed" via its creators' "anxieties about the colonial Other," about "[w]hether women could be trusted to behave themselves," and about "the propriety of bringing servants" (108, 122, 117, 108). McKusick sums up the Pantisocratic conundrum: "What Pantisocracy seeks to escape—the terrors and dilemmas of European history—it instead reinscribes within the text of its own geo-political unconscious" (108).

In their mapping projects in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and *The Emigrant*, Jameson and Head similarly envision idealized British spaces that “break” in some way with traditional English paradigms; as with Pantisocracy, what they attempt to gain for British women, settlers, citizens, or monarchs is based on a logic of exploitation and extraction. Yet, Jameson’s and Head’s textual mapping projects are far from “typical example[s] of European expansionism” because they enact their violent erasures through sympathetic geographies or processes that use sympathy to disarticulate Indigenous peoples from their lands and then to identify settlers with these same lands instead while at the same time criticizing earlier colonial geographies. Additionally, while elements of textual mapping characterize Pantisocracy as well as Jameson’s and Head’s colonial mapping projects, their Upper Canadian travel narratives more clearly indicate the potential material impacts of British and settler literature on colonial spaces. “In a letter of 3 September 1794,” Southey writes that “[w]hen Coleridge and I are sawing down a tree we shall discuss metaphysics; criticize poetry when hunting a buffalo, and write sonnets whilst following the plough” (qtd. in McKusick 122). McKusick rephrases Southey’s plans: “The primeval forest will be deconstructed by Western metaphysics; the buffalo will be decimated by literary criticism; and the virgin land will be reconfigured by poetic tropes. Language will provide an invincible means of mastery over the colonial Other” (122). Southey’s act of ordering language into the form of sonnets or criticism corresponds with the ordering (metaphysics) and reordering (clearing) of Indigenous land. While Southey’s plan only hints at the link between language and mapping, a link employed more broadly in the period by writers imagining imperial and colonial spaces, Jameson’s and Head’s travel narratives concretize the connection, literally using language in an effort to materialize specific versions of settler society on Indigenous land through the creation of settler sympathetic geographies.

However, Jameson’s and Head’s interactions with Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis demonstrate that although “language” is integral “to order[ing] space” (Goeman, *Mark* 2), particularly via sociopolitical discourses like those of liberal reform and Romantic primitivism, language is not “an invincible means of mastery over the colonial Other” (McKusick 122). After all, as Goeman points out, Indigenous peoples have opposed and continue to counter settler and British writers’ eliminatory use of

language, “mediat[ing] these spatial constructions with ... storytelling, writing, and sense of place”—that is, with their own place-based language practices (*Mark* 36). They (re)map Indigenous lands in both “metaphoric and material capacities ... to generate new possibilities” (3). For instance, in their (hi)stories, the Drummond Islanders “renegotiate their communal cultural frames” (Foster 272) and (re)map the land through Indigenous embodied geographic knowledges that not only undermine Head’s national myth-making but also work to “understand the processes” (Goeman, *Mark* 3) of their relocation, thereby remembering and imparting their history, identity, and relationships in the face of Métis diasporic fracturing and government attempts at erasure. Similarly, in her letters, poems, and the textual version of the miscodeed story, Johnston Schoolcraft (re)maps Ojibwe domestic spaces and lands, deconstructing racist settler tropes and articulating instead “healthy relationship[s]” (Goeman, *Mark* 12) on and to Indigenous land that assert Indigenous sovereignty. Both Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis gesture toward the need for—and the work necessary to creating—ethical spaces of engagement that reflect respectful relationships between settlers and Indigenous peoples on Indigenous lands.

## Chapter 3

### “[A] *little pleasing* touch of melancholy”: The Settler Colonial Malady, Affective Time, and Indigenous “Intellectual Sovereignty”

[B]ut am I so unlike her in this fit of unreason? Everywhere there is occupation for the rational and healthy intellect, everywhere good to be done, duties to be performed,—everywhere the mind is, or should be, its own world, its own country, its own home at least.

— Anna Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*

## Introduction

Among the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress is a poem by Ojibwe author Jane Johnston Schoolcraft written in response to a chastisement about her supposedly improper display of emotion (Parker 144). This reprimand appears to have been levelled at her by her American settler ethnographer husband, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, since her response was found among his manuscripts and signed casually with her given English name, “Jane” (144). Johnston Schoolcraft titled the poem “An answer, to a remonstrance on my being melancholy, by a Gentleman, who, *sometimes* had a *little pleasing* touch of melancholy himself.”

In many of Johnston Schoolcraft’s poems, she works through griefs that are sometimes intensely personal—such as the loss of a child and her persistent illness<sup>129</sup>—and, at other

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<sup>129</sup> Although Johnston Schoolcraft was ill and in pain, it appears that doctors were unable to help her through a specific diagnosis. Maureen Konkle explains, “It is difficult to know what was wrong; she complained of swollen legs, fatigue, nausea” (“Recovering” 95). She “had some unspecified illness” in 1835 and “may have had a miscarriage in the fall of 1837” (95). Robert Dale Parker adds that her letters reflect mental illness in the form of anxiety and depression (41). “To help her endure her pains,” he writes, “doctors suggested laudanum, the now-notorious tincture of opium popular at the time but ruinous nevertheless.... It appears that some time in the mid-1830s ... the laudanum deepened the pains it was meant to solace” (42). Johnston Schoolcraft died suddenly while visiting her sister Charlotte during Henry’s tour of Europe in 1842 (70). She was only forty-two years old.

times, Johnston Schoolcraft's poems consider the sociopolitical conditions of her "interzone[]" (Foster 272)<sup>130</sup>—such as the impacts of settler colonialism on Indigenous communities. In "An answer," Johnston Schoolcraft refuses her husband's reprimand and makes a rebellious case for inhabiting her own feelings. She points out that Henry himself is sometimes melancholy—except that while he disapproves of her melancholy, he does not consider his own to be a failing. Rather, Johnston Schoolcraft's characterization of Henry's melancholy as "pleasing" suggests that he elevates his feelings through their poetic, particularly Romantic, associations.<sup>131</sup> With respect to her relationship with melancholy, Johnston Schoolcraft identifies her emotion not as a failing; rather, it is personified as a lover and a muse. She writes that even if she were able to "shun" melancholy for mirth, "[y]et would my heart, unconquer'd fly, / And woo her back, with many a sigh" (7, 9-10). For Johnston Schoolcraft, melancholy is a feeling worth having and worth *courting* precisely because melancholy carries with it a Euro-Western intellectual cachet. When she writes that after "wooing" melancholy back to her, they would "walk the haunted groves, / Where lovely sorceress, Fancy roves" (11-12), Johnston Schoolcraft shows her familiarity with Euro-Western literary traditions that champion melancholy by quoting from English writer Hester Chapone's (1727-1801) poem "To Solitude" (1775). By incorporating Chapone's words into her poem and building upon them in her own personal and cultural context, Johnston Schoolcraft also demonstrates her ability to participate in this Romantic literary discourse.<sup>132</sup> She does so as an Ojibwe woman, though, and thereby stakes a decolonial claim in melancholy, revealing a Euro-Western double standard: while Romantic discourses popular in Johnston Schoolcraft's time valorize extreme displays of feeling as the epitome of artistry

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<sup>130</sup> Foster's concept of "interzones" refers to a "regional frame" or study of how "different constituencies" within a region "collide and, as a result, renegotiate their communal cultural frames" (272).

<sup>131</sup> For instance, see John Keats's "Ode on Melancholy" (1819) and Samuel Taylor Coleridge's "Dejection: An Ode" (1802).

<sup>132</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft's father collected "a large library" at their home in Sault Ste. Marie and taught her about Euro-Western literature (Parker 13). As Parker notes (13), in *Shoe and Canoe* (1850), British traveller John Bigsby described John Johnston's library: "I was surprised at the value and extent of this gentleman's library; a thousand well-bound and well-selected volumes, French and English, evidently much in use, in winter especially; and not gathered together in these days of cheap literature" (127). Johnston Schoolcraft had considerable opportunity to become well versed in Euro-Western literary traditions, and she demonstrates this knowledge in her use of melancholy in "An answer."

for white men,<sup>133</sup> Henry brushes aside the melancholy of an Indigenous woman arising from her lived experiences as a failing. Johnston Schoolcraft counters the patriarchal dynamic of Henry's critique of her melancholy by citing Chapone rather than a male Romantic writer: Chapone had a reputation as "a proto-feminist member of the 'bluestocking' circle, [who] was famous for her letters and essays, which encouraged women to pursue their intellectual interests" (Parker 128). Johnston Schoolcraft applies Chapone's proto-feminism by asserting the equal importance and intellectualism of her feelings not only as a woman/wife defending herself against a man/husband, but also as an Indigenous person confronting an ethnologist who made Indigenous people's feelings an object of study and critique.

The mainstream intellectualization of emotion<sup>134</sup> in the work of male Romantic writers may seem to challenge the patriarchal settler colonial binaries that align white men with reason and intellect, on the one hand, and women and Indigenous peoples with emotion and the body, on the other. However, what might be read as a discursive space of exception that allows the co-mingling of intellect and emotion for white men, particularly Romantic poets and writers, still excludes Indigenous peoples on the pretense of intellectual or emotional difference. In other words, like Henry critiquing Johnston Schoolcraft's melancholy, the intellects or emotions of Indigenous people are read within this discourse as persistently not quite "right" regardless of similarity.<sup>135</sup> By writing about her feelings using Romantic language and tropes (or, by doing what white Euro-Western writers were doing), Johnston Schoolcraft subverts the discourse and uses poetry as a medium through which she can challenge these binaries to make sociopolitical space for

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<sup>133</sup> As "a movement," Romanticism is "marked by an emphasis on feeling, individuality, and passion rather than classical form and order" ("Romantic," def. A.7).

<sup>134</sup> For a mainstream example of such intellectualized emotion, consider English poet Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Hymn to Intellectual Beauty" (1816), which was printed in *The Examiner* in 1817. In this poem, Shelley describes "Intellectual Beauty," his inspiration, as a "messenger of sympathies" that "visits with inconstant glance / Each human heart and countenance" while it is also "to human thought . . . nourishment" (42, 6-7, 44).

<sup>135</sup> For instance, the discourse of Romantic primitivism seems to admire what it perceives to be the affective connection between Indigenous people and nature; yet it associates Indigenous people with a Euro-Western concept of nature that disarticulates them from their lands, is mobilized by writers like Jameson and Head for the purposes of settler self-indigenization, and promotes Indigenous disappearance. Even in a discourse that claims to admire Indigenous affect, then, there is a discrepancy between Indigenous realities and settler perceptions that displaces Indigenous affect and is harmful to Indigenous people.

herself and Indigenous people more generally. For instance, in revealing the colonial and misogynist underpinnings of Henry's remonstrance, Johnston Schoolcraft shows how the intellectual prestige of Euro-Western poetic melancholy is, in this case, built on the debasement of the feelings of Indigenous people as well as the suppression of their intellects. Knowing that melancholy is also Henry's muse, Johnston Schoolcraft taunts him in the closing lines of her poem: "Teach me to gain thy pleasing muse. / Enchanted then I'll sing my lays! / And cheerfull spend my happy days" (16-18).

Henry's disapproving remonstrance emerges from a nineteenth-century settler discourse that seeks to misconstrue and constrain Indigenous peoples' feelings and, subsequently, limit the "proper" sphere of action (or resistance) available to them. While settler efforts to assimilate Indigenous peoples included the controlling (e.g., in settler-managed theatrical performances for settler audiences) or banning of outward signs of Indigenous culture like dress, language, and cultural practice, settlers also sought a kind of internal colonization of Indigenous peoples' feelings and thoughts. In *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngati Awa and Ngati Porou) describes this process when she writes that "imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonized peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world" (28).<sup>136</sup> Laura Mielke offers a similar explanation when she notes that settlers believed that Indigenous people "needed to submit to the plow and to a regulation of feelings" (3). This settler discourse is epitomized in the racist exhortation of "Richard Pratt, founder of the Carlisle [Indian Industrial School]"—an early American "boarding school" for Indigenous children—to "[k]ill the Indian ... and save the man" (qtd. in Wolfe 397). From Smith, Mielke, and Pratt, we can see that settler efforts to "disconnect[]" Indigenous peoples "from ... their own ways of ... feeling and interacting with the world," to "regulat[e]" their "feelings," and to "save the man" are based on the stereotyping and pathologizing of Indigenous affect.

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<sup>136</sup> Smith credits Frantz Fanon and Ashis Nandy with making this point as well (28).

The pointed title of Johnston Schoolcraft's poem "An answer" indicates that she knew her husband was doing this to her. Of course, while Henry was focused especially on his wife, he profited from stereotyping and pathologizing Indigenous peoples more broadly in his ethnographic texts. Mielke states that early settler ethnographers like Henry set out in their works to "uncover[] to the delight of readers ... the hidden affective life of the 'child of nature'" particularly through transcription of traditional Indigenous oral stories like those told to Henry by his wife and her community (3). However, in the process of "revealing" this "hidden affective life" to their readers, these ethnographers circumscribed Indigenous peoples within Euro-Western stereotypes of Indigenous emotion. For instance, Maureen Konkle explains that "Henry[']s ... first book, *Algonquin Researches* (1839), consisted of stories told to him by his wife's Ojibwe family and contacts, rewritten by himself, as well as a long theoretical introduction" (*Writing* 167). In this introduction, Henry "delineates the evidence of the 'Indian mind' found in Ojibwe stories, which demonstrated what everyone already thought about Indians: that they were childlike, incapable of reason, improvident, and unable to form true governments" (167). Instead of depicting Indigenous realities, then, these ethnographic accounts co-opt Indigenous affect to promote settler colonialism by advancing a Euro-Western representation of Indigenous peoples as in need of, or incompatible with, "civilization." In confirming settler prejudices, Henry's "transformation of the knowledge provided by his wife's family into evidence of Indians' difference, inferiority, and impending disappearance quite literally supported colonial control" because Governor Lewis "Cass used Schoolcraft's work to write articles about the necessity of removal" that appear to have drawn the attention of President Andrew Jackson (167).

Even when it seems as if Henry might be motivated by more ethical ideals in his work, he ultimately co-opts Indigenous affect to promote settler colonialism. For instance, when Henry published *The Myth of Hiawatha* (1856)—a reprinting of the oral stories in *Algonquin Researches* along "with additional legendary lore" (*Myth* xi)—he dedicated the text to American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, who had used the ethnographer's research as source "material for [his long poem] *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855)" (Mielke 229n38).

In particular, Longfellow focused on the stories about Nanabozho<sup>137</sup> told to Henry by Johnston Schoolcraft and her community, although he reframed these stories as an example of Indigenous “disappearance” (Evans 132) and the transfer of Indigenous sovereignty to white missionaries (McNally 105). Henry’s dedication to Longfellow in *The Myth of Hiawatha* argues that oral stories “indicate the possession, by the Vesperic tribes, of mental resources of a very characteristic kind—furnishing, in fact, a new point from which ... to excite intellectual sympathies” (n.p.). Henry does not describe what he means by “intellectual sympathies,” though, according to Mielke, Henry “argu[ed] that Euro-Americans could come closest to understanding and to sympathizing with” Indigenous people “through the study of oral traditions” because these stories demonstrated that Indigenous people were ““capable of feelings and affections”” (*Personal Memoirs* qtd. in Mielke 139). Intellectual sympathies, then, comprise settler reflections on the “mental resources” of Indigenous peoples, which were revealing of these peoples’ affective lives. Henry seems to suggest the possibility of increased allyship and solidarity toward Indigenous peoples on the part of settlers because an awareness of traditional Indigenous oral stories would allow Euro-Western readers to sympathize with Indigenous peoples; presumably, these readers would acknowledge the humanity of Indigenous people through recognition of their feelings. However, Euro-Western readers would also see that not all of these feelings were “in accord with ... [their] social expectations” (Mielke 3). The ability, then, of Henry and other Euro-Western readers to sympathize with Indigenous people through oral stories does not, in fact, promote respectful, cross-cultural treatment of Indigenous people themselves. Rather, in Henry’s mind, this sympathetic recognition of Indigenous humanity seems to add greater urgency

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<sup>137</sup> As I will discuss in the conclusion, Nanabozho is understood in settler ethnographic terms as a “trickster.” However, as Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg writer Leanne Simpson explains, Nanabozho or “Nanabush is widely regarded within Nishnaabeg thought as an important teacher because Nanabush mirrors human behavior and models how to (and how not to) come to know” (*As We* 163). Nanabozho is not Hiawatha, who, as Katy Young Evans notes, “was one of the founders of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy” (140n5). According to Evans, “[a]lthough some claim Longfellow’s publisher changed the name of the main character from Manabozho to Hiawatha, others, including Longfellow’s daughter Alice, claim the poet knowingly swapped it out, whether for acoustic effect or from his desire to elevate his main character from trickster to noble hero” (140n5). Referring to Nanabozho or Nanabush in this dissertation is a necessary part of revealing Henry’s and Longfellow’s appropriations of Anishinaabe knowledges. However, I respectfully acknowledge that some Indigenous people, as Simpson explains, “caution against telling Nanabush ... stories outside of winter, or some even saying the name ‘Nanabush’ outside of winter” (*Gift* 5).

to the settler colonial project of assimilation. For instance, as Mielke explains, Henry contends that “recording and analyzing oral traditions is a moral imperative for those who wish to ‘civilize’ American Indians” (146). While settlers’ intellectual sympathies claim to identify Indigenous peoples’ humanity, then, they do so in diminishing ways: failing to recognize the strength of Indigenous peoples’ intellectualism, intellectual sympathies appropriate Indigenous oral stories for settler entertainment and enable settlers to feel good about their “humanitarianism” even as they seek to dismantle Indigenous communities and their knowledges through assimilation.

We see this zeal for assimilation perhaps most clearly in Henry’s treatment of his wife. While Henry would not have had access to such extensive Indigenous knowledge without her, he could, at the same time, demonstrate his disapproval of her Indigeneity. As seen above in Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem, this disapproval could sometimes take the form of a critique of her “excessive” emotion, and it could also, more hurtfully, disparage her as a mother. In fact, it became plain that he thought “her ‘Algic’ mind”<sup>138</sup>—on which he founded his entire literary career—“contaminated their children, who needed to be purged of its influence” with a Euro-Western education (Konkle, “Recovering” 97). Although, as Robert Dale Parker observes, Henry was not a proponent “of sending ... [Indigenous] children to boarding schools,” he nevertheless “thought it best for his own children to go to elite boarding schools” (45). Moreover, Konkle points out that when he told Johnston Schoolcraft there was no “money for the children to travel” home for their school holiday, “he left for a tour of the European capitals,” so “[i]t does appear that Henry ... was trying to keep the children from their mother” (“Recovering” 97). After Johnston Schoolcraft’s untimely death in 1842 (while he was away in Europe), he wrote a letter of what might generously be called condolence to his daughter, Janee, charging her to “[r]eflect, that your mother herself, had not the advantages of a mother (in the refined

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<sup>138</sup> While in *Algic Researches*, Henry defines “Algic” as “[d]erived from the words Alleghany and Atlantic” (12), Parker writes that Henry “coined” the word “by mixing Algonquin and Atlantic” (25). In either case, Henry’s analysis divides Indigenous nations according to commonalities in language (12-13), so by “Algic” he may actually mean “Algonquian,” which, as Bonita Lawrence (Mi’kmaq) explains, is a “language group” (19) that “include[s],” but is not limited to, Indigenous nations who identify as Algonquin (303n1). For instance, Johnston Schoolcraft’s Ojibwe community is part of the Algonquian language group, which is why Henry refers to her mind as “Algic.” In *Algic Researches*, Henry proposes “to introduce copious specimens of ... [oral stories] from a large number of the tribes, embracing three of the generic stocks of language,” and he considers the “Algic” to be one of these “stocks” (12).

sense of the term) to bring her up” (qtd. in Parker 70). Rather than Johnston Schoolcraft’s oral stories increasing Henry’s “intellectual sympathies” for her and her community, they seem to have inspired him to entrench himself in his prejudices and cruelly separate her from her children.

In this chapter, I will complicate Henry’s notion of “intellectual sympathies” to examine the broader colonial discourse in which it participates in Upper Canada as well as the resistance of Indigenous people to this discourse. In particular, I will analyze how British author Anna Jameson and former Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada Sir Francis Bond Head invoke, and persistently recuperate, intellectual sympathies for Indigenous peoples in their respective travel narratives—*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) and *The Emigrant* (1846)—to provide the alibi of an “ameliorative” (Abrahams 11) structure to settler colonialism. This ameliorative structure is enabled by “Euramerican discourses” of time in which Indigenous peoples, as Mark Rifkin notes in *Beyond Settler Time*, “serve[] as a symbol of backward relations to time” (39) so that Jameson’s and Head’s intellectual sympathies promote Indigenous disappearance and attempt to materialize in the world around them a sympathetic—and legitimate—role for settlers on Indigenous land. However, Rifkin describes Indigenous “storying ... as oriented by its own trajectories” and “[c]onceptualiz[es] time as not only plural but *sensuous*, as an expression of affective orientations” (40, emphasis added). Considering time on these decolonial and affective terms, I demonstrate how Johnston Schoolcraft as well as the Drummond Island Métis interviewees in *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* (1901) refuse the imposition of ameliorative settler colonial structures on their lives and communities. By “[c]onceptualizing time” within their “affective orientations” (Rifkin 40), their stories and poems disrupt and reframe Jameson’s and Head’s accounts, asserting, in the place of intellectual sympathies, a form of what Osage scholar Robert Warrior calls “intellectual sovereignty” (*Tribal Secrets* 117).

## Intellectual Sympathies vs Intellectual Sovereignty

While Henry Rowe Schoolcraft perceives the promise of Euro-Western readers coming to feel “intellectual sympathies” for Indigenous people specifically through their recourse to traditional Indigenous oral stories, I examine in this chapter the relation between his concept of intellectual sympathies and widespread settler appropriations and adaptations of Indigenous land and culture. I contend that this more expansive critique of his term as a negative form of relationality based around appropriation is fair because Henry’s ethnographic work was appropriative. Rather than giving readers texts in which he collaborated respectfully with Indigenous people to promote their voices and community survivance,<sup>139</sup> Henry siphoned stories away from Indigenous people, altering them and framing them within a colonial context for his own financial and professional benefit as well as for the benefit of the settler state. This settler colonial frame is especially apparent in Henry’s dedication of *The Myth of Hiawatha* to Longfellow. In this collection of oral stories, Henry lays out a plan for their future use by literary settlers like himself in “indigenizing”<sup>140</sup> the settler state. In his dedication’s closing reference to Longfellow’s *The Song of Hiawatha*, Henry writes: “[T]he theme of the native lore reveals one of the true sources of our literary independence. Greece and Rome, England and Italy, have so long furnished, if they have not exhausted, the field of poetic culture, that it is, at least, refreshing to find both in theme and metre, something new” (n.p.). Henry reduces Indigenous oral traditions to a “theme” in the work of American settler writers—and, moreover, a theme that signals their physical, cultural, and intellectual independence from England and far-reaching European literary traditions. In so doing, Henry undermines the work he posits sympathy can do to bring together Euro-Western and Indigenous communities because he reveals that the sympathy comprising “intellectual sympathies” is identificatory in nature, meaning that it attempts to associate settlers with

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<sup>139</sup> William Whipple Warren, the Ojibway author of *History of the Ojibway People* (1885), also recorded textual accounts of Ojibway history. As Konkle writes, Warren “takes on ‘eminent authors’ who have already written about the ‘red race’ (which includes Schoolcraft, whose work he disputes in several instances)” (qtd. in Konkle, *Writing* 199).

<sup>140</sup> A term coined by Terry Goldie, “indigenization” refers to settlers’ “need to become ‘native,’ to belong in their land” or, in other words, the methods by which settlers attempt to legitimate their expropriation of and presence on Indigenous land (194).

Indigenous peoples in order to relegate Indigenous people into a past time and appropriate Indigenous culture for the advantage of the settler state. Intellectual sympathy is, therefore, profoundly tied up in “stagings of historical succession and proper chronology [that] work as a means of casting dominant regimes as ... the necessary unfolding of progress” (Rifkin, *Settler* 29).

The identificatory nature of Henry’s intellectual sympathies belies his claim that they are ethical settler interactions with Indigenous oral traditions and reveals them to be settler appropriations that promote their own culture’s pre-existing racist feelings based on stereotypes of Indigenous peoples. As we have seen in previous chapters, recent scholarship in nineteenth-century literary studies, especially Vivasvan Soni’s *Mourning Happiness*, has problematized the function of identification in sympathy. Soni demonstrates that “the identificatory logic of sympathy” enables a person to witness the emotion of another while bypassing “concern for” this other person’s specific feelings (313), selfishly imagining instead how *they* would feel in that other person’s predicament (309). Sympathy’s function as an affect that “leaves the self embroiled with its own emotions” (309) speaks to how intellectual sympathies, while purporting to recognize Indigenous humanity, actually promote settler colonialism. For instance, when Henry describes intellectual sympathies in his dedication, he immediately shows his hand by revealing that these intellectual sympathies tend toward the dismissal of actual Indigenous communities and culture in favour of the appropriation of “native” “theme[s]” that enable American settlers to indigenize themselves by wielding *their* “native” literature as a political shield against the domineering cultural forces of England. Their intellectual sympathies are for themselves, and Indigenous people become lost (intentionally so) in this equation. I would argue, then, that Henry’s misinterpretations and recourse to an identificatory sympathy justify re-focusing the term “intellectual sympathies” onto analyses of the identificatory logic of settler appropriations because the sympathy he describes was never actually for Indigenous peoples.

As in Henry’s critique of Johnston Schoolcraft’s melancholy, intellectual sympathies build on the Euro-Western dichotomy between men being associated with reason and intellect and women being associated with emotion, applying heteropatriarchal norms in

settler colonial contexts to portray white men as rational and Indigenous peoples as emotional. The Euro-Western emotional and bodily representation of women is a fiction created through “science” compounding stereotypes; similarly, while intellectual sympathies claim to be based on ethnographic “science” and empirical observation, they are in fact imbued with Euro-Western stereotypes and imaginative constructs of Indigeneity as emotional, bodily, and disappearing. However, the gender dynamics behind intellectual sympathies can be both resisted and re-directed. For instance, in “An answer,” Johnston Schoolcraft undermines the gender dynamics of Henry’s intellectual sympathies by reading solidarities in Chapone’s intellectualism. In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson also subverts these Euro-Western heteropatriarchal norms, though she does so by mobilizing intellectual sympathies for Indigenous peoples on behalf of a feminism that benefits white British women. For instance, Jameson invokes intellectual sympathies in her ethnographic work, particularly in her account of the lives of Ojibwe women and in the care she purports to express for the Drummond Island Métis voyageurs conveying her between Manitoulin Island and Penetanguishene as she completed her summer tour of Upper Canada and parts of the United States in 1837. As discussed in the previous chapter on sympathetic geographies, a letter of Jameson’s to her father indicates that she set out on her summer rambles with the “inten[t]” of “mak[ing] the situation of native women the crux in a critique of the position of women in ‘civilized’ society” (Ernstrom 287).<sup>141</sup> This paratextual document suggests that Jameson intended to find intellectual sympathies in her ethnographic work—“mental resources” regarding socio-political organization and affective life that she could appropriate through the process of identification. While Johnston Schoolcraft and Charlotte McMurray welcomed her into their homes and shared knowledge with her, Jameson framed what she learned about Ojibwe women with popular, racist Euro-Western stereotypes. Her intellectual sympathies for Ojibwe women, then, appropriate their mental resources while promoting Indigenous disappearance. In this chapter, I will discuss Jameson’s intellectual sympathies with respect to the Drummond Island Métis, particularly troubling the socio-political use she makes of their songs. Jameson’s

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<sup>141</sup> On 21 June 1837, Jameson wrote to her father that she “wish[ed] to see, with my own eyes, the condition of women in savage life” (qtd. in Ernstrom 287).

intellectual sympathies for Indigenous peoples seek to exert control through domestic and moral spheres, spheres that were seen in Euro-Western society as properly “feminine.” Jameson thus mobilizes an “acceptable” feminine subject position alongside intellectual sympathies, applying heteropatriarchal norms in Indigenous communities as a subversive way of arguing for feminist reforms that would benefit white women in British and settler societies.

Head writes of intellectual sympathies from a more straightforwardly political, or stereotypically “masculine,” perspective: that is, if Jameson focuses on British and settler women’s “character” (Henderson 64), Head is interested in the character of Upper Canada. Head came to Upper Canada with his intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people already intact. As discussed in my second chapter, Head promoted the Romantic primitivist stereotype of Indigenous people according to a Euro-Western “philosophy of cultural primitivism” (Hutchings, *Romantic* 156). Of course, by promoting this “philosophy,” Romantics like Head made a sly case for themselves as identifying with Indigenous people and sharing with them intellectual sympathies—mental understandings and attendant sentiments—about the natural world. In so doing, these Romantic writers indict their own society while at the same time seeking to indigenize themselves. For instance, as discussed in the previous chapter, Head’s recourse to “racial nativism” (Doyle 16) and subsequent development of a concept of the Canadian sublime supported settler colonialism and the indigenization of the British in Upper Canada. However, the failure of Romantic primitivism to indigenize settlers ultimately threatens Head’s purported intellectual sympathies; rather than accept that Romantic primitivism is based on stereotypes of Indigenous people, Head reframes Indigenous realities within “discourses of grieving” (Rifkin, *Settler* 30) for what he calls the “contaminat[ion]” of Indigenous communities (“Red Man” 312). These “discourses of grieving” seek to resurrect Head’s intellectual sympathies and Romantic primitivist philosophy by suggesting that Indigenous communities near settlements are unwell and require settler interventions. While my second chapter on sympathetic geographies also analyzes Head’s use of Romantic primitivism, it focuses on his textual mapping project, use of Romantic discourses, and argument for settler inheritance of Indigenous land. Conversely, I want now to emphasize Head’s discourses of grieving and how they resurrect his failed

intellectual sympathies to implement an ameliorative colonial structure on this supposedly inherited land. Sympathetic geographies and intellectual sympathies, therefore, work in tandem to promote how “[n]egatively, ... [settler colonialism] strives for the dissolution of native societies” while “[p]ositively, it erects a new colonial society on the expropriated land base” (Wolfe 388).

However, I want to demonstrate that Jameson’s and Head’s intellectual sympathies ultimately betray their own paradoxical anxieties. In Jameson’s case, these are anxieties about the conservative social constraints she must navigate as a woman traveller attempting feminist reforms, and, in Head’s case, they are about his need to maintain his faith in Romantic primitivism while simultaneously encouraging emigration. After arriving in Upper Canada with pre-existing intellectual sympathies based on misrepresentations of Indigenous people in literature, Jameson’s and Head’s interactions with real Indigenous people caused them both to feel a sense of dislocation to place. While this sense of dislocation may seem like it would have prompted Jameson and Head to re-examine their biased understandings of Indigenous people and their relation to Indigenous communities, it actually prompted them to find ways to revitalize their intellectual sympathies, entrench their stereotypes, and thereby quell their anxieties. For instance, in my first chapter, I discussed Jameson’s use of prophecy to reassure herself of the legitimacy—even the moral rightness—of settler colonialism. In this chapter, I will focus on Jameson’s and Head’s participation in a nineteenth-century Euro-Western discourse of fictive Indigenous unwellness that I call the *settler colonial malady*.

The settler colonial malady is in no way an actual Indigenous illness or measure of the health of Indigenous communities. Due to the way that sympathetic identification works, the settler colonial malady is not about real Indigenous people at all; rather, it is a response to the faltering of settler intellectual sympathies. It is a condition that afflicts settlers, like Jameson and Head, who experience feelings of unreason, dislocation, and imbalance on Indigenous lands, and in trying to rectify the way they feel, they project their own negative feelings onto Indigenous bodies, citing the imagined improper feelings of Indigenous people. These settlers are then in a position to claim a “legitimate” purpose for themselves on Indigenous lands in the supposed “healing” of Indigenous

communities, and, in so doing, they seek to re-establish the terms of their threatened intellectual sympathies. The settler colonial malady, then, is comprised of two steps: the settler ailment caused by faltering intellectual sympathies and the way settlers try to heal it by projecting unwellness onto Indigenous communities. For instance, Jameson experiences anxiety about her feelings of dislocation on Indigenous land; instead of reflecting critically upon these feelings (which might threaten the project of settler colonialism by admitting its eliminatory practices), she attempts to remedy her feelings by projecting them onto the Drummond Island Métis, claiming that *actually* it is they who are unwell and need her moral direction. Jameson, then, soothes her anxiety by creating a role for herself on Indigenous land.

The settler colonial malady thereby attempts to advance “elimination” (Wolfe 387). In previous chapters, I have discussed the connection between sympathy and the settler promotion of Indigenous disappearance (or the “negative” aspect of elimination), and the settler colonial malady does support this aspect of elimination by advancing settler projects such as removal. However, I now focus on how the settler colonial malady influences the “positive” dimension of elimination because its primary purpose is to strengthen settlers’ appropriative intellectual sympathies by providing them with a sympathetic alibi for colonialism and thereby creating an ameliorative structure for settler colonial society. For example, the settler colonial malady suggests that if Head removes or relocates Indigenous communities, he does so because their proximity to settlements is making them unwell and he wants them to be well: the fact that removal accords with his Romantic primitivist philosophy and that more land becomes available to grow settler society is simply a by-product of his “humanitarian” act.

I theorize the settler colonial malady in relation to Scottish physician George Cheyne’s 1733 study *The English Malady* and Elaine Showalter’s now canonical 1985 literary-historical feminist analysis of nineteenth- and twentieth-century “madness,” *The Female Malady*. As Showalter explains, “[s]ince the eighteenth century, the links between an ‘English malady’ and such aspects of the national experience as commerce, culture, climate, and cuisine have been the subject of both scientific treatises and literary texts” (6-7). Not only have “[t]he English ... long regarded their country, with a mixture of

complacency and sorrow, as the global headquarters of insanity,” but “in ... *The English Malady*, [Cheyne] claimed that madness was the by-product of English sensitivity, ambition, and intelligence” (7). More than this, Cheyne “urged his readers to take pride in the gloom, hypochondria, and spleen that were part of their national heritage, because these nervous afflictions were signs of progress and cultural superiority” (7). Nineteenth-century Scottish doctor Andrew Halliday similarly supported the idea that “madness was a disease of the highly civilized and industrialized” (24). As Showalter explains, though, this feeling of pride in English cultural superiority appears to be reserved for men’s mental illness. Women’s mental illness threatened the fabric of patriarchal society and was, therefore, a very different thing. Showalter notes that “[n]ineteenth-century psychiatry described a female malady” “[a]longside the English malady,” distinguishing “similar symptoms of mental disorder” through male/female, mind/body binaries (7). For instance, the English malady was “associated with the intellectual and economic pressures on highly civilized men” whereas the female malady was “associated with the sexuality and essential nature of women” (7).

These binaries, of course, align with settler colonial interpretations of Indigenous peoples in North America as emotional, embodied, and feminine, and in need of Euro-Western patriarchal reason, intellect, and governmental structures. The resonances between the binaries of British psychiatric discourse and settler colonial paternal and ethnographic discourses enable the transposition of the logic of “structural” unwellness onto Upper Canada through imperialism. As nineteenth-century writers who were promoting settlement and emigration, though, Jameson and Head endeavour in their travel narratives to overcome “the gloom, hypochondria, and spleen” that, in the logic of the English malady, “were signs of progress and cultural superiority” (Showalter 7). After all, these affects would not be great public relations for the colony. Rather, via the logic of the settler colonial malady, they transform their gloom, spleen, disorientation, and unease into a fictive condition of Indigenous unwellness. This condition was not a mental illness, as in the English malady, which Cheyne associated with a de-medicalized and racist assessment of English “sensitivity,” “intelligence,” “progress and cultural superiority” (Showalter 7), but was rather a condition of bodily and moral unwellness. In other words, the settler colonial malady enables settlers like Jameson and Head to put into practice

their sense of their own superiority by demonstrating maternalistic/paternalistic “care” for Indigenous peoples. In so doing, the settler colonial malady becomes a means by which they justify their presence on Indigenous lands and lend an ameliorative appearance to the formation of the colony.

Although Jameson and Head purportedly express sympathy for Indigenous peoples, then, their intellectual sympathies, like those of Henry Rowe Schoolcraft, are designed to advance colonial “systems of social relations” (Mitchell 17). Robert Mitchell argues that “theories of the intersubjective imagination, sympathy, and identification developed in the long Romantic era were almost invariably attempts to create [these] new systems of social relations” (17). His analysis considers “moments ... when sympathy and identification suddenly ceased to be understood as the transmission of sentiment between subjects, and were instead understood as signs of intensity which enabled the emergence of something new” (20). Applying Mitchell’s theory within an Indigenous context, I ask: What if nineteenth-century writers like Jameson and Head were mobilizing sympathy to create new systems—not decolonizing “systems of social relations,” but rather systems that further advance colonialism?

Of course, Jameson and Head are not attempting to initiate a completely new system: both of them arrived in Upper Canada to encounter settler colonialism already underway. However, since, as Wolfe argues, settler colonialism “is a structure not an event” (388), it is constantly being renewed—that is, settler colonialism adapts to time and place, taking new forms in order to perpetuate the same power dynamics between Indigenous peoples and settlers. Jameson and Head engage in this act of renewal, and thus they attempt to create a revised, more ostensibly sympathetic system of settler colonial relations that justifies settler presence on Indigenous lands. In this way, the new systems envisioned in their travel narratives resonate with Daniel Abrahams’s concept of “ameliorative nationalism” (11). Abrahams explains that “the project of ameliorative nationalism is to create a more meritorious conception of an already-existing group.... [T]he ameliorative approach searches for fitting history in support of an already chosen end” (11). In their travel narratives, Jameson and Head are clear that the end they have in mind is settler colonial elimination. However, they seek to create a more meritorious impression of

themselves and British settlers more generally via their sympathy for Indigenous peoples. Of course, Abrahams's concept of ameliorative nationalism takes a retrospective approach to history: it is an approach by which any citizen can define belonging within a particular group (in his example, Canadian citizens) and can then search the past to prioritize a selective and more flattering series of historical events upon which a group can base their identity. Ameliorative nationalism is predicated on "accept[ance] [of] the national unit" (11), but I apply this approach in the colonial period, prior to Canada's becoming a nation, when settler identities were in flux due to competing forces like imperialism and "incipient nationalism" (Bentley, *Mimic* 140), the threat (or appeal) of American republicanism, and battles over competing settler interests, such as the War of 1812 and the Rebellion of 1837. Working in this period, but with a view of Upper Canada's future in mind, Jameson and Head take ameliorative approaches to settler-Indigenous relations, past and present, to envision a future Upper Canada as a place of rightful settler inheritance. In other words, it is possible to read settler accounts like *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and *The Emigrant* for an ameliorative tone that anticipates national unity.

In turn, I demonstrate how Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis interviewees explicitly and implicitly reject settler interference in their affective realities. In so doing, Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders assert a form of "intellectual sovereignty"—a term coined by Warrior in *Tribal Secrets* (1994) to advocate for the necessity of Indigenous people determining scholarly approaches to Indigenous literatures (117-18-124).<sup>142</sup> I use the term here as a way of thinking about how the poetry and interviews of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders provide a critical frame through which we can approach their own literature as well as literature (Jameson's and Head's travel narratives) about Indigenous people. This literary frame applies Creek scholar Tol Foster's argument that Indigenous "history and experience can provide a testable and portable framework for understanding relations between individuals, institutions, and historical forces" within a region (267). In

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<sup>142</sup> Warrior's *Tribal Secrets* initiated the literary movement known as Indigenous literary nationalism. Warrior's interventions were followed by those of Cherokee scholar Jace Weaver in *That the People Might Live* (1997) and Creek-Cherokee scholar Craig Womack in *Red on Red* (1999).

countering settler intellectual sympathies with Indigenous intellectual sovereignty, Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis emphasize the rightness of their own affective realities and demonstrate the potential of this insistent affective life to inspire decolonial futures.

### “[S]eparated by a hanging screen”: Anna Jameson and the Drummond Island Métis

Anna Jameson omits several facts from her account of her travels on the Great Lakes in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* in order to support the sympathetic and feminist public persona she was trying to convey. Some of these concealed facts were later relayed by Lewis Solomon and Jean Baptiste Sylvestre, two of the Drummond Island Métis voyageurs who transported her between Manitoulin Island and Penetanguishene, in interviews they gave with settler historian A. C. (Alexander Campbell) Osborne at the end of the nineteenth century. As I have discussed in previous chapters, these interviews were published by the Ontario Historical Society along with four other interviews in a collection titled *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* (1901).<sup>143</sup> In the midst of their discussions, Solomon and Sylvestre each reflect upon their experience with Jameson and their interviews inadvertently reveal some important points that Jameson represses in her travel narrative. I discussed one of these omissions in my first chapter—Jameson’s theft of Indigenous skulls—and explained the implications of Solomon’s and Sylvestre’s testimony about her violation of an Indigenous grave. In this chapter, I will focus on Solomon’s interview, particularly his reflections on working as Jameson’s attendant when he was sixteen years old.

As readers of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* will know, however, Jameson never mentions that she had employed Solomon to work for her for the duration of their trip to Penetanguishene.<sup>144</sup> This failure is particularly noticeable given that Jameson spends a

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<sup>143</sup> The four other Métis people interviewed by Osborne are Rosette Boucher, Antoine Labatte, Michael Labatte, and Angélique Longlade.

<sup>144</sup> Solomon’s narrative suggests that when working as an attendant, his pay was subject to the whims of the people that he was guiding. Nevertheless, he remembers Lord Morpeth and Jameson as being generous. He

considerable amount of time discussing the labour Colonel Jarvis and the voyageurs engaged in to make her comfortable when they stopped to set up camp. As her attendant, Solomon would presumably have done the bulk of this labour, but he is only individualized in her narrative when working as a voyageur (e.g., while paddling and singing). In describing the set-up of their camp one night, Jameson goes out of her way to note that the men “pitched ... [her] tent at a *respectful* distance from the rest” (527). “[E]mphasizing that the men treated her with the respect and care due her sex and class” (Roy 26), Jameson not only codes the actions of the voyageurs (as a group) as chivalrous, but also stresses her racial, gender, and class differences through her physical separation from the rest of the company. The emphasized word “*respectful*” carries with it a sense of her own superiority—the crucial characteristic that bolsters her sense of settler colonial ownership of Indigenous land and enables her faith in her position of authority in Upper Canada. Solomon, however, remembers the trip differently. In his interview, he tells Osborne, “I was attendant on Mrs. Jameson, and was obliged to sleep in her tent, as a sort of protector, in a compartment separated by a hanging screen. I was obliged to wait till she retired, and then crawl in quietly without waking her” (136).

Far from the glow of self-possession and confidence that Jameson attempts to cast over her unconventional travels (a nerve that quietly fortifies her purported authority), the unfounded anxiety that urges her to hire a “protector” to be nearby while she sleeps renders her rather like a child who is afraid of the dark. Solomon’s role as Jameson’s attendant crystalizes a fact that Jameson tries to obscure: without a doubt, Jameson was brave in flaunting her departure from the restrictive private space normally allotted to genteel Victorian women in patriarchal Euro-Western society, but the independence she assumes for herself does not translate into her ability to wield settler colonial patriarchal power over others. In fact, she could not move over Indigenous lands without relying upon the knowledge, labour, and good humour of Indigenous people. This reliance becomes especially comic when Solomon describes how Jameson was incapable of walking “from the canoe to the shore”—a fact she also chooses to leave out of her travel

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says, “When I parted with Mrs. Jameson and shook hands with her I found four five dollar gold pieces in my hand” (136).

narrative (135). She required one of the voyageurs to carry her, and the voyageurs seem to have turned this undesirable chore into a punishment for the man that they felt had not been doing his share of the paddling (135). Unknown to Jameson, this man considered the task “a source of irritation ... which he did not conceal from his fellow *voyageurs*” (135).

While it may initially seem as though there are no stakes involved in Jameson’s omission, it is remarkably odd that she would refrain from mentioning that Solomon was her attendant. After all, Solomon explains that he was hired as an attendant for Euro-Western travellers on multiple occasions. Even upper-class male travellers required Indigenous attendants because Solomon also worked for Lords Lennox and Morpeth (134).<sup>145</sup> Although Morpeth does not mention that Solomon was his attendant in his *Travels in America* (1851), Solomon tells Osborne that when Lennox and Morpeth left the company of the voyageurs on a “steamer for Buffalo” and then a “train for New York,” Solomon went with them, continuing to act as their attendant (135). They requested that he “go to England with them, but ... [he] refused” (135). Since Solomon’s attendance on Lennox and Morpeth would have been visible to settlers and tourists in Detroit, Buffalo, and New York (and, had he gone, in England), it appears that Lennox and Morpeth considered Solomon’s role normal and not unusual. Jameson, then, was not trying to keep up with Euro-Western male travellers by omitting Solomon’s assistance. Of course, it could be argued that there is a racist and classist connection between the way Morpeth and Jameson disappear Solomon’s labour from their texts. However, Jameson actually does depict and individualize the labour of the voyageurs (including Solomon) *as voyageurs* both on her trip from Sault Ste. Marie to Manitoulin Island with Charlotte McMurray (see Chapter 1) and then again when travelling from Manitoulin Island to Penetanguishene. What is unusual about Jameson’s account is that she only disappears Solomon’s additional role as her attendant.

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<sup>145</sup> Solomon tells Osborne that when he was working for Lords Lennox and Morpeth, his role consisted of “look[ing] after their tents, keep[ing] things in order and attend[ing] to their calls” (134). He says, “My first salute in the morning would be, ‘Louie, are you there? Bring me my cocktail’—soon to be followed by the same call from each of the other tents in rotation” (134).

Of course, nineteenth-century readers and scholars of nineteenth-century literature might consider it reasonable for Jameson to omit that Solomon was actually staying in the same tent. Contemporary readers—particularly misogynist readers like Head who were already dissatisfied with Jameson because of her feminism<sup>146</sup>—might have intentionally misconstrued and sexualized the arrangement. Indigenous people were—and continue to be—targets for unwanted Euro-Western sexualization. Judith Johnston suggests that Jameson herself portrays Martin, the steersman on this portion of her trip, in such a way. She argues that Jameson carefully represents the men travelling with her in order to maintain her good character: in her extended description of the company, “[t]he canoes only gradually fill with people and nowhere in the first three paragraphs does Jameson use the word ‘men’. She constructs a white hierarchy, she declares herself to be under God’s protection, and she posits her rank as that of a gentlewoman. At this point she feels confident enough to shift into an exotic, erotic description of Martin” (*Anna* 114). Jameson writes,

The voyageurs were disposed on low wooden seats . . . , except our Indian steersman, Martin,<sup>147</sup> who, in a cotton shirt, arms bared to the shoulder, loose trowsers, a scarlet sash round his waist, richly embroidered with beads, and his long black hair waving, took his place in the stern, with a paddle twice as long as the others.

The manner in which he stood, turning and twisting himself with the lithe agility of a snake, and striking first on one side, then on the other, was very graceful and picturesque. (522)

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<sup>146</sup> After reading *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Head in fact did try to semi-publicly impugn Jameson’s character. Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard found “a letter . . . in the John Murray Archive at the National Library of Scotland” that “Head wrote to his . . . publisher, John Murray” (165) in which he suggests that Jameson “never entered a Church all the time she was in Toronto” “[e]xcept[] once at a Christening” (qtd. in Hutchings and Bouchard 167). Head also contends that Jameson insulted her husband’s co-worker, the Attorney General, thereby demonstrating, to use Hutchings and Bouchard’s words, “her moral failings as a wife” (168). Since Murray was a publisher, Head’s tirade to him had the potential to impact Jameson’s career, though, as Hutchings and Bouchard explain, it appears not to have done so since “Jameson also developed a working relationship with” the Murrays (181n25).

<sup>147</sup> As I mentioned in the Introduction to this dissertation (see endnote 19), Martin may be First Nations or Jameson may have described him this way because of his appearance rather than community affiliation.

Wendy Roy qualifies Judith Johnston's analysis, contending that Jameson only "evokes the spectre of sexual desire, but by feminizing the potential object of that desire, she renders her interest innocuous and the man's sexuality non-threatening" (25). Roy argues that Jameson "feminiz[es]" Martin through "the word 'graceful'" and "[t]he focus on flowing hair and finery of clothing" (25). Johnston's and Roy's criticisms suggest that a daring, feminist Jameson may be just barely walking the line of nineteenth-century Euro-Western female propriety, but fails to consider what Martin's perspective might be or to seriously engage with the way Jameson exerts problematic colonial power dynamics that objectify him. For instance, Jameson's colonial gaze objectifies Martin, turning him into a kind of aesthetic object within her narrative that she uses to rebel against nineteenth-century patriarchy. Martin, meanwhile, is a real person trying to work within a settler colonial context and unable to escape her gaze or protest her dehumanizing portrayal. He also likely never gave Jameson permission to publish any sort of reflection on him or his appearance. Jameson's description bolsters her feminist persona, but it does not benefit Martin. Roy's and Johnston's criticism demonstrates, nevertheless, that Jameson understood she was going to ruffle some feathers with her feminist travels and she carefully negotiated the representation she offered in her travel narrative in order to bolster her persona while mitigating potential accusations about, or consequences of, her actions.

Her choice of Solomon to be her attendant reflects a similar careful negotiation. For instance, Jameson characterizes herself as having a guardian on this portion of the trip in the form of Colonel Samuel Peters Jarvis, the representative of the lieutenant-governor. Johnston argues that, in noting Jarvis's "rank" as "superintendent" of Indian affairs, Jameson "establishes him as someone responsible, superior. She follows this immediately by a religious appeal, reinforcing her male protector's honourable role" (113). Roy likewise suggests that Jameson characterizes Jarvis as her "protector" (24). While Jameson portrays Jarvis as her guardian, Solomon also had a guardian on the trip, his father, William, the government interpreter. Jameson does not note Solomon's and William's relationship, though she refers to William exclusively as "old Solomon" (509, 522, 532). This disrespectful appellation might be a reference to Solomon's age, but it could also reflect her knowledge that one of the voyageurs was a "young Solomon."

Regardless of Jameson's failure to explicitly describe this relationship in her travel narrative, William's presence provides her with added security because both Jameson and Solomon could be construed as acting under paternal and political scrutiny and approbation. Moreover, at just sixteen years old, Solomon was the youngest of the Métis voyageurs and could still have been considered a child. Jameson likely did consider him a child since she refers to Sir Francis Bond Head's son, who was roughly Solomon's age and also present on the trip, as "the governor's son, a lively boy of fourteen or fifteen" (522). Roy suggests that Jameson intends for readers to understand Head's son's youthfulness as an indication of his "harmlessness" (25), a harmlessness that could, therefore, be extended to Solomon. However, while Jameson's careful rhetorical negotiations might explain why she did not tell readers Solomon was actually sleeping in the same tent, they still do not explain why she did not mention that she had employed him as her attendant.

Jameson's omission is striking because it suggests that telling her readers she required an Indigenous attendant would compromise her authority. This would have both feminist and settler colonial consequences because Jameson was a "liberal reformer" (Henderson 5) and *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is a platform for arguing for policy changes, particularly changes regarding women's education, labour, and social roles. These policy changes would not be confined to the colony either. As Jennifer Henderson explains, British liberal reformers like Jameson used Canada "as a testing ground for ... political principles and practices" that they desired to effect back "home" (5-6, 6). In other words, the colony was a "laboratory" for social policies that they would benefit from in Britain (6). Also, although they are called "liberal" policies, they are bound up in practices that actually reinforce systemic issues surrounding race and class. For instance, Henderson explains that "[b]y 1837, earlier arguments for women's right to participate fully in political life in Britain and Europe had been largely recast"; these arguments now hinged upon demonstrations of these women's ability to regulate the behaviour, particularly the moral behaviour, of what Henderson calls "the unruly classes" (9).

In this reformer context, the "hanging screen" separating Jameson and Solomon takes on a metaphorical quality: it not only accords privacy to two travellers, but it also

symbolizes, in Jameson's view, the necessary bifurcation of their two accounts. Jameson's reformer politics demand this stark division of narratives because she must represent herself as being in a position of moral and political power to direct the Métis men. Social negotiations like Jameson's representation of Solomon—both her descriptions of him as a voyageur and her omission of his additional role as her attendant—are a prelude to what Henderson observes “in [the] latter half of the nineteenth century”:<sup>148</sup> the prerequisites for “liberal political inclusion” based on “a rigid differentiation according to sex as well as a legal codification of distinctions between moral and immoral women, ‘white’ and ‘Indian’ women, ‘status Indians,’ ‘enfranchised ... Indians,’ and unrecognizable, abject forms of otherness—unenfranchised, non-status ‘Indians,’ ‘Indian’ women married to ‘white’ men, and Métis people” (21). Jameson situates herself firmly on one side of this picture—and casts Solomon and his fellow Drummond Islanders on the other. Their abjection buttresses her inclusion. Jameson's need for an Indigenous attendant, then, has the potential to compromise this authority and, therefore, the sociopolitical work that she attempts to enact through her summer rambles.

In *Settler Feminism and Race-Making in Canada* (2003), Henderson explores Jameson's long history of studying the actress as a metaphor for women's social action: prior to her Upper Canadian travels, Jameson had published “an 1830 essay on the actress Fanny Kemble” in which she “singled out the professional actress as a woman ‘privileged to step forth for a short space out of the bounds of common life’ and able to use her own body and person as the materials of an artistic and ethical practice” (qtd. in Henderson 58). Jameson's argument that the actress is an ethical figure is a counter-intuitive one because, at the time, “the figure of the actress was largely confined within ‘rhetorical

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<sup>148</sup> It should be noted that such liberal negotiations did not simply take place on a small, local scale between individual actors engaged—knowingly or not—in a struggle over political inclusion. Rather, these liberal negotiations have a global, imperial context. For instance, Henderson explains that in the 1839 Durham Report, Lord Durham “argued for a remapping of political boundaries in such a way as to resituate the francophone population of Lower Canada as an assimilable minority. In his report the granting of responsible government to the Canadas was tied to the institution of an internal colonialism.... The Durham Report was more widely read over the nineteenth-century English-speaking world than any other British state paper (Porritt 101). It is significant, therefore, that the report made recognition of a colony's right to self-government contingent upon its reorganization around a permanent campaign of internal purification” (21-22).

structures of madness, disease, prostitution, deformation, and inhumanity” (Kerry Powell qtd. in Henderson 57). The “counter-discourse[.]” in which Jameson participated suggested, rather, that the actress represented the “labour of self-improvement and a public enactment of the wider possibilities of female subjectivity” (58).<sup>149</sup>

In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson devotes an entire section to the discussion of German actresses, particularly Sophie Müller, Anna Krüger, and Antoinette Adamberger (otherwise known as Madam Arneht). Jameson “defen[ds] ... the actress’s profession as a model for female moral education” (Henderson 70) by contending that though “the position of an actress should sometimes be a false one,—a dangerous one even for a female,” this controversial position “is not the fault of the profession, but the effect of the public opinion of the profession” (40). As Henderson discusses (69-70), Jameson extends her defense to argue not only “that there is nothing in the profession of an actress which is incompatible with the respect due to us as women—the cultivation of every feminine virtue—the practice of every private duty” (40), but also that the actress is an example of “the self-governing female” (Henderson 58), the woman with sociopolitical agency. She assents that actresses may “require caution and dignity to ward off temptation, and self-control to resist it,” but far from compromising their characters, these qualities enable actresses “to manage better their own health, moral and physical” (Jameson 41). Moreover, Jameson argues that “all women should possess” these qualities—“every woman needs [them], no matter what her position” (41). Jameson’s defense of actresses functions as a foundation for her argument for women’s right to “self-government” (Henderson 47) and the compatibility of female virtue and propriety with the presence of women in the public rather than private sphere. Specifically, Jameson believes that if men in her society are more often remaining single because marriage is, according to them, “expensive ... and inexpedient,” women trained to be wives and mothers in the private home will be “throw[n] ... upon ... [their] own

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<sup>149</sup> As Henderson notes, though, this counter-discourse did not find a foothold in rigidly moral Victorian society: “In the England of the 1880s, the figures of actress and ‘normal’ woman became synonymous—but not in the way that Jameson had hoped they might” (58). Building on the work of Kerry Powell, Henderson states that instead of representing a woman with character and agency, the actress became a figure of “the spectacle of self-policing female propriety provided by the mutely suffering heroines of the respectable Victorian theatre” (58).

resources” to fend for themselves in the public sphere (118). Women, then, need to be encouraged to cultivate “the qualities” of “the self-governed, the cultivated, active mind, to *protect* and to *maintain*” themselves (119, emphasis added).

Moreover, Jameson suggests that the development of these women with “*character*” (119)<sup>150</sup>—that is, women with developed moral and intellectual faculties capable of observing what they consider to be social problems—is not only good for women themselves, but could allow for women to make useful social interventions, a hypothesis she tests during her stay in the colony. Henderson similarly argues that in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Upper Canada becomes a specific kind of “counter-site” modelled on Jameson’s understanding of theatre: “Jameson approaches Upper Canada as the extension of what was for her a more familiar counter-site, the English theatre” (7). Moreover, the counter-site of “the settler colony” is “a heterotopic mirror-space” (7). Rather than a “placeless utopia,” philosopher Michel Foucault characterizes the heterotopia as ““another real space as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled”” (Foucault qtd. in Henderson 7). Henderson, however, redefines Foucault’s heterotopia in a settler colonial context as “an appropriated territory that served as a space for working out questions related to managing the everyday life of a population” (7). In other words, “the colonial heterotopia” is “[a] change of place that figures a change of time ... allow[ing] Jameson to postulate a future moment in the progress of ‘civilization’ that necessitates the cultivation of new qualities in women” (58, 58-59). More than this, though, Jameson’s colonial heterotopia “postulate[s] a future moment” in which women with character will intervene in social “govern[ment]” and the regulation of the social body as a duty to society (62).

Throughout *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson positions herself as the test subject of these colonial terms of exchange for women’s right to self-government—the actress opening up within her travel narrative a vision of a possible “future moment” for women’s agency and character. As I discussed at length in my second chapter, this

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<sup>150</sup> Henderson explains that at the time of Jameson’s writing, character was “understood as the moral disposition gradually impressed upon individuals through the work of habit, [and] was the favoured nineteenth-century liberal explanation for human and national fates” (63).

“future moment” for white, Euro-Western women is made possible largely through Jameson’s efforts to govern and direct Indigenous communities. Her representation of her authoritative persona in relation to the Drummond Island Métis, and, in particular, her omission of Solomon’s role as her attendant, are integral to her ability to act the part of “the self-governing female.” Like the actresses she admires, Jameson portrays herself in her travel narrative as able “to step forth ... out of the bounds of common life” in order to enact a transformative sociopolitical and “ethical practice” (qtd. in Henderson 58) in Upper Canada. However, Jameson’s omissions (her needing a “protector” at night, her inability to walk to shore) belie her ability to (literally) act and thereby call into question her sociopolitical engagements. These omissions emphasize that Jameson’s sociopolitical endeavours as an “actress” are intertwined with the mental disquietude arising from her sense of dislocation in Upper Canada, a sense of dislocation that tempts her away from engagement with her surroundings and reveals the artificiality of her authority on Indigenous lands.

For instance, in her very first entry in her travel narrative, Jameson laments her flagging spirits: “What have I done with my spectacles *couleur de rose*?—the cheerful faith which sustained me through far worse than anything I can anticipate here” (16). Jameson tries to reason with herself but it is now beyond the capability of reason to recall her self-possession, and instead of solace, she is plagued by “sad and sorrowful recollections, and shivering sensations, all telling me that I am a stranger among strangers, miserable inwardly and outwardly” (17). She views herself as the embodied site of the larger sociopolitical struggle for moral reform in Upper Canada when she portrays herself as being seduced by a kind of assimilation of feeling. While she suggests that humans are capable, by the exertion of their “moral strength,” of elevating themselves “above ... [their] degrading, or benumbing” surroundings, her suggestion trails off into a lack of certainty and she asks whether there might be “wisdom ... in passively assimilating ourselves, our habits, and our feelings, to external circumstances” (28). Ultimately, Jameson refuses the temptation, choosing instead to harbour “the hope of changing or controlling the physical or social influences around ... [her]” through her efforts to “rouse ... [herself] to occupation” (28, 29). Twice, she paraphrases Shakespeare’s Sonnet 116 to claim that “DUTY ... far more than Love” “is, or should be, ‘the star to every

wandering bark” (34, 47).<sup>151</sup> Jameson rouses herself to action by positioning this duty as an embodiment of self-government through fulfilling her “duty” to morally reform lower-class settlers and Indigenous peoples (Henderson 9). In assuming the duty of sociopolitical moral reform, Jameson frames her unwellness and exertions toward recovery as evidence of her own moral and civilizational superiority, and, by extension, her own and other Euro-Western women’s right to self-government.<sup>152</sup>

While it might be possible, then, to appreciate Jameson’s feminist rejection of the patriarchal social norms that resulted in her sense of dislocation and cold home life in Toronto,<sup>153</sup> one must recognize that this sense of dislocation exists in tandem with her feelings of disorientation on Indigenous land, and her reformer responses to these feelings are highly problematic. In fact, Jameson’s temptation to “assimilate” herself with “external circumstances” follows directly after her entry describing her first meeting with Indigenous people at her home in Toronto. After their departure, Jameson writes that their appearance and “forlorn story, filled me with pity and, I may add, disappointment” (27). Jameson had come to Canada with pre-existing intellectual sympathies for Indigenous peoples as represented in exploration and travel literature, but her first meeting with real Anishinaabe men resulted in her feeling of dislocation from reality in Upper Canada. This sense of dislocation is attested to both by Jameson’s concern that “all ... [her] previous impressions of the independent children of the forest are for the present disturbed” as well as by her desire to rectify this sense of disorientation by “forming a correct estimate of the people” (28).

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<sup>151</sup> Shakespeare’s Sonnet 116 describes love as “an ever-fixed mark, / That looks on tempests and is never shaken; / It is the star to every wand’ring bark” (5-7).

<sup>152</sup> Jameson writes of Toronto that she “did not expect to find here in this new capital of a new country ... concentrated as it were the worst evils of our old and most artificial social system at home.... We have here a petty colonial oligarchy, a self-constituted aristocracy, based upon nothing real, nor even upon anything imaginary” (65). Jameson clearly positioned herself for her readers, as Kevin Hutchings and Blake Bouchard explain, as “morally superior to ... [Toronto’s] best citizens” (169). She therefore has the capacity—if not the *duty*—to enact moral reforms.

<sup>153</sup> Robert Sympson Jameson had called his estranged wife to his side in Upper Canada when seeking to become the Vice-Chancellor. Jameson was evidently disappointed with her husband and home life because, in her opening narrative entry, she connects her feelings of dislocation in Upper Canada with a sense of emotional dissatisfaction in her home, writing, “I was sad at heart as a woman could be,—and these were the impressions, the feelings, with which I entered the house which was to be called my *home!*” (20).

Jameson's sense of disorientation re-surfaces repeatedly throughout *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*. In my first chapter, I discussed the disorientation she felt while travelling with the Drummond Island Métis on Lake Huron when viewing a multitude of islands during a sunset—how “[t]hey assumed, to the visionary eye, strange forms” of animals like great horned beetles, crocodiles, whales, and winged fishes that were not autochthonous to the Indigenous land on which she was travelling (527). In my second chapter, I discussed her sense of dislocation while journeying to Sault Ste. Marie with Jane Johnston Schoolcraft (444). Jameson wrote of her “strange sensation ... thus thrown for a time beyond the bounds of civilized humanity, or indeed any humanity” (444). Jameson's sense of disorientation arises again on Mackinaw Island, which she describes as resembling “some air-wrought fantasy, some dream out of fairy land” and “a *bijou* of an island!—a little bit of fairy ground” (372, 394). If the unfamiliarity of this Indigenous land renders it more fantasy than reality to her mind, her sense of dislocation takes an even more problematic turn during a dance performed for her by Indigenous men on the island. She compares this dance to “a masque of fiends breaking into paradise” (434), and explicitly notes her feelings of dislocation when she writes that it struck her during the dance that at the exact same time last year, she “was seated in a box at the opera, looking at Carlotta Grisi and Perrot dancing, or rather flying through the galoppe in ‘Benyowsky’” (436).<sup>154</sup>

Interestingly, Jameson frames each of these scenarios by an attempt to demonstrate and re-engage her intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people through an ethnographic appropriation of Indigenous culture. Before meeting the Anishinaabe men at her home in

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<sup>154</sup> There were several versions of this opera, and I am not sure which Jameson attended. Generally, as Andrew Drummond explains, “Benyowsky” was based on the *Memoirs* (1790) of Maurice Benyovszky, a Hungarian man “born in 1746” who fought “as a mercenary in Poland,” escaped imprisonment in Siberia, and “persuaded the French government to fund an expedition to Madagascar, which, he promised, would result in a rich and vibrant colony for exploitation” (4). Drummond adds, “According to Benyovszky, his three-year residence resulted in him being crowned King of Madagascar (the natives of that island might have begged to differ, had they been asked)” (4). Although “the veracity of ... [Benyovszky’s] adventures” is dubious at best, Drummond notes that this detail did not bother “the reading public,” who consumed various adaptations of the book—including “plays and operas”—which “followed thick and fast” upon the publication of *Memoirs* (5). Jameson’s reference to Benyovszky might highlight her present disorientation. The Euro-Western order imposed through Benyovszky’s exploration narrative and his supposed governance on Madagascar as well as the artistic forms of opera and ballet contrast Jameson’s own struggle against Indigenous sovereignty on her tour and the freedom from Euro-Western restriction in the dance she witnesses.

Toronto, she “thr[ew] a chain of wampum round ... [her] neck” (27). Since Jameson had not met Indigenous people before, it seems as though she was independently collecting Indigenous cultural objects that she then mobilized in an effort to signal intellectual sympathy—after all, she noted that her gesture “seemed to please” her guests (27). When her intellectual sympathies are disrupted by Indigenous realities, she determines to perform her own ethnographic research to rectify her sense of dislocation. Interestingly, she makes this determination instead of trusting Colonel Givins, who introduced her to the Anishinaabe men, not because she finds him unknowledgeable, but rather because he “ha[d] passed thirty years of his life among the north-west tribes, till he has become in habits and language almost identified with them,” so he “is hardly an impartial judge” of their “character” (28). However, Jameson is not looking for impartiality: her critique of Givins is that “he has become identified with them,” and Jameson does not want to take up Givins’s intellectual sympathies. She wants her own intellectual sympathies, her own identifications for the purposes of her own sociopolitical feminist project.

In journeying to Sault Ste. Marie, Jameson’s canoe trip is framed, on the one hand, by her record of several oral stories told to her by Johnston Schoolcraft on Mackinaw Island and, on the other, by her ethnographic account of the lives of Johnston Schoolcraft’s mother, relatives, and community. If Jameson felt a sense of dislocation while travelling to Sault Ste. Marie, she suggests that this feeling is rectified by her travelling over the rapids “Indian fashion ... in a genuine Indian canoe” and her subsequent “adopt[ion]” into the Johnston family, signalled by her renaming in Ojibwemowin (461, 462). Of course, as Roy points out, Johnston Schoolcraft’s “version of the events” “omi[ts] ... reference to adoption, [and] indicates that it was Jameson who sought the renaming” (36, 37): Johnston Schoolcraft told Henry in a letter published in his *Personal Memoirs* (1851) that Jameson “insisted on being ... named in Indian” (qtd. in Roy 36). As Roy explains, Jameson intentionally sought to replicate the experience of “adoption” that she read in Alexander Henry’s exploration narrative, *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories, between the Years 1760 and 1776* (1809) (34), which she refers to throughout her travels almost like a guide book (12). Jameson thought that “[i]f she ... [was] travelling in the region through which Henry journeyed, she must similarly be adopted” and that this “adoption would require several steps, comparable ... to Henry’s

experience: finding compatible siblings and parents, undergoing transformative experiences, and being renamed” (35). As Roy notes (36-37), while Jameson translates the name she was given—“Was-sa-je-wun-e-qua” (Johnston Schoolcraft qtd. in Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs* 563)—as “*the woman of the bright foam*” (*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* 462), Johnston Schoolcraft translates it as “Woman of the Bright Stream” in her letter (Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs* 563). If, as Roy argues, Jameson’s translation “highlighted her ... connection to the North American landscape” (36) because of the transformative potential of the “danger[.]” of her trip down the rapids as indicated by the word “foam,” Johnston Schoolcraft’s translation undermines this sense of danger through the word “stream” and threatens Jameson’s logic of transformation (37). Although Johnston Schoolcraft’s letter speaks to a different understanding both of Jameson’s name and its social function in her family, Jameson’s account nevertheless aligns her renaming with “the trope of adoption” in Euro-Western exploration narratives like Henry’s (Roy 34) to signal to settler and British readers that she has become part of the Johnston family’s affective lives. In so doing, she construes her renaming—or, as Roy writes, her “way of ... changing her identity” (37)—as a form of indigenization because she now playfully claims to be “a Chippewa born” (*Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* 462).

Finally, with respect to the dance Jameson witnesses, her visit to Mackinaw Island is her first serious foray into her ethnographic work. Prior to recounting the dance, she records several oral stories told to her by Johnston Schoolcraft, using them, as Henry did, to “delineate[.] the evidence of the ‘Indian mind’” as “childlike” (Konkle, *Writing* 167). Specifically, Jameson suggests that these stories will appeal to her readers because of their “wildness and childishness” (403). If the dance disrupts her intellectual sympathies, she afterwards attempts to recuperate them by contrasting what she calls the “finished barbarism” of the dance with an aestheticized representation of one of the dancers at rest as Mercury, Apollo, or “Thorwaldsen’s ‘Shepherd Boy’” (435, 436). She thereby relegates Indigenous cultural practice to a past “barbaric” time while suggesting the possibility of “regulat[ing]” the feelings of Indigenous people through assimilation (Mielke 3). Her ethnographic representation of the dance, then, works in tandem with the oral stories she re-told earlier: like Henry, she uses these stories to identify Indigenous

feelings that were not “in accord with ... [Euro-Western] social expectations” and advocate for “civiliz[ation]” (3, 146).

### “[T]he star to every wandering bark”: Voyageur Songs and Jameson’s “Ill-constructed” Heterotopia

Jameson’s travels become a continuous act of re-engagement with her intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people through her unremitting ethnographic work. One of the ways in which Jameson re-engages her intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people is via recourse to the settler colonial malady, which one can trace through a close-reading of her interactions with the Drummond Island Métis voyageurs. Jameson appeals to the voyageurs’ songs as the means by which she seeks to establish intellectual sympathies with them: she identifies with them through her recognition of their songs, which, in the context of her travel narrative, represent Métis “mental resources” (Schoolcraft, *Myth of Hiawatha*, n.p.) revealing of their affective lives and supporting settler self-indigenization. For instance, Métis scholar Gloria Jane Bell explains that these songs were an integral part of voyageur lifestyle and livelihood because they “were often recited on long voyages ... in order to stay awake and enliven their spirits” (110). As previously noted, Jameson demonstrates her familiarity with these songs when she states that previous travellers “ha[ve] often ... described” “[t]his peculiar singing” (525). Of course, Jameson not only notes her familiarity with their songs, but also seizes the opportunity that this familiarity provides her to direct their singing. While Jameson enjoys this singing, she calls it “peculiar” and “not very harmonious” (525). She then attempts to direct or correct what she calls “a diversity of taste and skill” by requesting particular songs from individual men (525). She writes, “If I wished to hear ‘En roulant ma boule, roulette,’ I applied to Le Duc. Jacques excelled in ‘La belle rose blanche,’ and Louis [Lewis Solomon] was great in ‘Trois canards s’en vont baignant’” (525). Jameson’s intellectual sympathies, then, provide her with an opportunity to assert her authority on Indigenous lands through her governing of Indigenous bodies and “improvement” of a cultural skill the voyageurs use to support their lifestyle and community.

Such intellectual sympathies were not limited to Jameson but were a more widespread cultural phenomenon because voyageur songs had been broadly appropriated within the Euro-Western musical canon. As Patricia Jasen explains, “[v]oyageur songs had fascinated explorers and fur traders from the beginning, and for tourists they were an essential feature of the St Lawrence River experience” (64).<sup>155</sup> Moreover, like Jameson, Euro-Western travellers expressed intellectual sympathies for Indigenous peoples through their affinity for voyageur songs, and the failure of these intellectual sympathies also led them to a diagnosis of the settler colonial malady or the need for Indigenous moral reform. For example, “[t]he minority of travellers who found the music irksome complained either that it never stopped or that its lyrics tended towards the obscene” (Jasen 64). While some of the songs had French “origins” in “the *ancien régime*,” “others arose out of the voyageurs’ own experience and preoccupations, and sometimes these seemed coarse or ‘smutty’ to Victorian ears” (64). When Euro-Western travellers were unable to identify with certain voyageur songs and their intellectual sympathies were threatened, they turned to the settler colonial malady and sought to correct the moral deficiency they perceived by “confin[ing] their attention to what they called the good boat songs—those they regarded as the *real* boat songs” (64). In so doing, they “isolat[ed] a Bowdlerized canon of voyageur music” when recording the songs “for posterity,” a canon that maintained their intellectual sympathies and posited a rightful role of moral leadership for settlers on Indigenous lands (64).

Euro-Western travellers did not stop with selective appropriations of “the *real* boat songs,” either. The quintessential “voyageur” song for Euro-Western travellers, called “‘The Canadian Boat Song[,]’ was ... written by an Irish traveller and a close friend of Lord Byron, the poet Thomas Moore” after his 1804 trip to the colony (64).<sup>156</sup> Later travellers preferred Moore’s song to those of the voyageurs themselves: “By the 1820s

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<sup>155</sup> Jasen’s study analyzes “the St Lawrence River,” and she notes that “[t]he voyageurs ... were usually men of French-Canadian, Métis, or Iroquois descent” (63). While acknowledging that some voyageurs were French-Canadian, I read Jasen’s analysis specifically in relation to Indigenous peoples and the intersection of the appropriation of voyageur songs with colonialism and the settler colonial malady. Métis scholar Gloria Jane Bell’s work on Frances Anne Hopkins, which takes up Jasen and which I also cite in this discussion, provides a useful model for considering Euro-Western representation of voyageurs specifically in relation to Indigenous peoples and colonialism.

<sup>156</sup> Jasen points out that the lyrics were written by Moore, but that “he set [them] to the music of one of the voyageur’s [sic] own melodies” (64-65).

most tourists, by their own testimony, knew the song by heart” (65). And, occasionally, they were alarmed that the voyageurs did not: undaunted travellers, like “Caroline Gilman and her companions,” might sing “the song themselves,” whereas their less resourceful counterparts, like Henry Tudor, merely complained that the voyageurs “must have forgotten everything Moore had taught them” (66). While Tudor’s complaint may or may not have been facetious, it does resonate with the purpose behind Euro-Western appropriation of voyageur songs. Jasen explains that the popularity of voyageur songs among travellers demonstrates “the extraordinary ability of tourists to displace an element of indigenous culture with an artificial one which they deemed to be more genuine” (64). Moreover, these appropriated or fabricated voyageur songs offered Euro-Western travellers an opportunity to indigenize—to claim the naturalness of their presence and that of the broader settler colonial society on Indigenous land. For instance, travellers claimed that “The Canadian Boat Song” enabled them to “kn[ow] what it would *feel* like” to be on the St Lawrence “before they had even arrived” (65). Jasen suggests that “The Canadian Boat Song” may be understood as “an item of musical kitsch,” “making people feel as if they had been there before”—as if this Indigenous land were familiar British ground (66). The intellectual sympathies of Euro-Western travellers are, then, identificatory. In appropriating some of these songs, while invoking the settler colonial malady in their treatment of others, settlers and tourists seek to displace the voyageurs’ “mental resources” with Euro-Western intellectual paradigms and supplant Indigenous affective lives with a familiar sense of British feeling. Bell similarly asserts that voyageur songs were used by Euro-Western travellers in order to explore their “sensibility concerning ... lost [Indigenous] lifestyles” while enabling them to forgo “guilt[] about British expansionism and the largely failed treaties” and to “further[] the colonial process” (110). I would add that they are not just exploring their sensibilities, but also materializing them as part of the purportedly sympathetic sociopolitical structure of Upper Canada through the settler colonial malady.

This sympathetic sociopolitical structure is further evident in Euro-Western treatment of the voyageurs’ songs because the various records made of these songs are representative of salvage ethnography. Pauline Wakeham describes salvage ethnography as an anthropological “disciplinary paradigm” whose practitioners believed it was necessary

“to rescue native artifacts from vanishing” in “the pending extinction of native cultures in the wake of the collision of ‘primitive’ society with modern Western ‘civilization’” (*Taxidermic* 90). Wakeham notes that salvage ethnography was “the defining disciplinary paradigm for early twentieth-century anthropology” (90), but the practice of “rescu[ing] native artifacts” is also evident in the earlier textual records of voyageur songs made by Jameson and her contemporaries who believed in Indigenous disappearance. In fact, all of the voyageur songs that Jameson mentions in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* were afterwards transcribed by famous twentieth-century Canadian ethnologist Marius Barbeau in *En roulant ma boule* (1982). This text is a collection of French and voyageur song lyrics accompanied by musical notation, and it was published by Musées nationaux du Canada, marking salvage ethnography as a national approach toward the voyageurs’ music.<sup>157</sup>

While Jameson uses the songs to establish her intellectual sympathies with the voyageurs, they also become a medium for her exercise of feminist moral authority. For instance, bookended by Jameson’s discussion of the songs is her critique of the voyageurs’ hunting practices. These hunting practices clearly caused her significant distress. Jameson notes that her “only discomposure” while travelling with the voyageurs “arose from the destructive propensities of the gentlemen, all keen and eager sportsmen; the utmost I could gain from their mercy was, that the fish should gasp to death out of my sight, and the pigeons and wild ducks be put out of pain instantly” (526). By calling their hunting practices “destructive propensities,” she implies a moral failing on the part of the men, and by calling them “keen and eager sportsmen,” she characterizes their skillful acts as idle and recreational and thereby sets them up in contrast to her earlier account of Ojibwe men. In her assessment of the lives of Ojibwe women, Jameson defends Ojibwe men from the racist Euro-Western claim “that the men do nothing but *hunt* all day, while the women are engaged in perpetual *toil*” by satirically noting that “this suggests to civilised readers the idea of a party of gentlemen at Melton, or a turn-out of Mr. Meynell’s

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<sup>157</sup> Jameson mentions “En roulant ma boule, roulette,” “La belle rose blanche,” and “Trois canards s’en vont baignant” by name (525), and writes out two lines from “Si mon moine voulait danser,” which she describes as her “favourite ditty” (526). Barbeau combines the lyrics for “En roulant ma boule” and “Trois canards s’en vont baignant” (13). He also provides lyrics and musical notation for “La rose blanche” (111) and “Si mon moine voulait danser” (373).

hounds” (513). However, instead of playing at a sport, Ojibwe men are engaged in “incessant, almost killing toil, and often danger” (514). Rather than an inconsistency, the difference between Jameson’s employment of the “sportsmen” theme works to her advantage in each case, enabling her to make a case for Euro-Western society appropriating certain characteristics of Ojibwe society, as discussed in Chapter 2, while asserting authority over Métis people through her moral intervention. Jameson thus reframes the voyageurs’ hunting practices within the settler colonial malady, suggesting that they require her assistance to regulate their feelings and assimilate their affective lives within Euro-Western paradigms. Although Jameson constructs this moral intervention by downplaying the necessity of hunting to provide provisions for the travellers, she afterwards “acknowledge[s]” that when the voyageurs cook their catch for the company’s meal, she “was *so* hungry, that ... [she] soon forgot all ... [her] sentimental pity for the victims” (526). However, her complaint still functions as a vehicle for her efforts to establish her moral superiority over the Métis men regardless of her consumption of the meal since she was not the one to actually do the killing and sought to direct their hunting on purportedly “more ethical,” “humanitarian” terms. After issuing her chastisement about their “destructive propensities,” she writes that “the men dashed off with great animation, singing my favourite ditty” (526). Instead of writing the name of the song as she had previously done, Jameson includes two of its lines: “Si mon moine voulait danser, / Un beau cheval lui donnerai” (526). Jameson suggests that her moral intervention has re-aligned her intellectual sympathies with the voyageurs, a re-alignment embodied by her writing in their voice/language and by the harmony of their singing since she provides them with no more musical direction.

Jameson’s enactment of a persona of Euro-Western female authority functions as an argument for women’s self-government. She transmogrifies her own feelings of dislocation or unease on Indigenous land into the settler colonial malady, not only indigenizing herself through her intellectual sympathies with the Drummond Islanders but even suggesting that she holds a legitimate role on Indigenous land in the improvement of their lifestyle and the moral reformation of their character. For instance, Henderson explains that Jameson’s “feminist project” in Canada is intertwined “with governmental schemes to implant bourgeois morality in the poor” (8). Similarly,

throughout her portrayal of the Drummond Island Métis, Jameson writes of behaviours she finds appealing in a notably “bourgeois” style, such as characterizing her treatment in affectedly chivalric and French terms: “On returning, I found breakfast laid on a piece of rock; my seat, with my pillow and cloak all nicely arranged, and a bouquet of flowers lying on it. This was a never-failing *gallanterie*, sometimes from one, sometimes from another of my numerous *cavaliers*” (525). Similarly, when the company gets caught in a rainstorm, she writes, “The good-natured men were full of anxiety and compassion for me, poor, lonely, shivering woman that I was in the midst of them! The first thought with every one was to place me under shelter” (533). The settler colonial malady, then, provides an ameliorative gloss to settler colonialism by suggesting that there is a necessary role for Euro-Western women to play on Indigenous land in the reformation or assimilation of Indigenous character within “bourgeois morality.”

However, when “Mr. Jarvis asked ... [Jameson] to sing a French song for the voyageurs,” she caught Solomon “look[ing] back [at her] with his bright arch face, as much as to say, ‘Pray do’” (530).<sup>158</sup> In this context, “arch” means “roguish, waggish,” “[s]lily saucy, [or] pleasantly mischievous” (“Arch,” def. A.2a). Solomon’s “archness” contrasts sharply with Jameson’s characterization of the voyageurs as chivalrous and gallant. While they appear willing to make the journey to Penetanguishene more comfortable for her, Solomon’s “archness” seems to indicate that he perceives something discordant about Jameson’s potential singing, her assuming their voices and directing their work. Jameson appears to laugh off the exchange in her characterization of Solomon’s expression as “arch” since this adjective is often applied to “children” (“Arch,” def. A.2a), but his look appears to have struck her. She claims the authority to direct the voyageurs, but Solomon’s expression is one of the few times she mentions their insubordination, lack of chivalry, or, by extension, their own exertions of authority. Another rare example of such insubordination can be found in the preceding sentence. Jameson describes leaving “an offering” at “a rock so exactly resembling the head and part of a turtle, that ... [she] could

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<sup>158</sup> Although she writes that Jarvis asked her to sing a French song, Jameson means one of the voyageurs’ songs. A few pages earlier in her travel narrative, she uses the term “French song” for their music when she writes that “[t]he men sang their gay French songs, the other canoe joining in the chorus” (525). That she calls them “French songs” may reflect the language they were spoken in or, as Jasen has identified, an intent to “Bowdlerize[]” the voyageurs’ music (64).

have taken it for sculpture” (530). Jameson explains that because Indigenous people would often leave offerings there, so did she. She then adds, “[B]ut I could see by the laughing eyes of Jacques and Louis, that ‘the spirit’ was not likely to be the better for my devotion” (530). Jameson implies that the voyageurs are laughing at her *for leaving an offering* when it seems more likely they are laughing at *her* for leaving an offering. That is, they read her for what she is: another Euro-Western traveller seeking to indigenize herself, and their laughter precludes the effectiveness of her desired transformation. As their amusement over Jameson’s offering demarcates the acceptable limits of her familiarity, so too does Solomon’s “arch” look set a limit on Jameson’s familiarity with Métis lifestyles and authority in Métis environments. That Jameson considered Solomon’s expression worthy of record suggests that it unsettled her (after all, Solomon did not mention this exchange with Jameson in his interview with Osborne).

This exchange between Solomon and Jameson makes clear that appropriations of voyageur songs are disconnected from Indigenous land and lifestyles. Some might argue, however, that certain voyageur songs are also disconnected from Indigenous land and lifestyles because they have French origins. While this is true, French voyageur songs are still the musical inheritance of the French-Métis voyageurs. In the Foreword to *American Indian Literary Nationalism*, Acoma Pueblo writer Simon J. Ortiz similarly argues that the important consideration for Indigenous people using English is that it must be up to Indigenous people to decide “how English is to be a part of our lives socially, culturally, and politically” (xiv). Despite the harm caused by and through English, “it can be helpful and useful” when engaged “with a sense of Indigenous consciousness” (xiv). Although Ortiz focuses on English, he gestures toward “other colonial languages” as having the potential to be similarly “helpful and useful” (xiv). In the case of voyageur songs with French origins, Métis people used them—as well as the French language—to engage in a relationship with Indigenous land and support characteristically Indigenous lifestyles. In his exchange with Jameson, Solomon implicitly maintains the cultural and ecological significance of these voyageur songs to the Métis, and he makes it clear that Jameson’s familiarity can only extend so far. She may know the songs, but she cannot fully participate in their use because singing these songs was a communal act of engagement with the land. As Jameson herself writes, the Métis voyageurs “all sing in unison, raising

their voices and marking the time with their paddles” (525). The solitary voice of a Euro-Western female tourist reclining in a canoe was simply not the same cultural use of the songs. Jameson could have sung for the voyageurs, but it would have been a poor imitation, an ineffective attempt at indigenization, because her song would have betrayed her unfamiliarity and lack of relationship with the land. In other words, it would have signalled her persistent disorientation.

Conversely, for the Drummond Island Métis voyageurs, these songs were of vital importance for synchronizing their paddling over intricate waterways committed to Métis memory and, therefore, for preserving Métis lifestyle, livelihood, and diasporic community connections in the wake of colonial interference and their removal from Drummond Island. Solomon’s challenge towards Jameson posits ecological “intellectual sovereignty”<sup>159</sup> through Indigenous people enacting their own relationships to land, water, and ecological systems. In so doing, Solomon’s exchange with Jameson is also decolonial: it reaffirms Indigenous presence when Euro-Western travellers normally used the voyageur songs to signal Indigenous disappearance, and it denies Jameson the familiarity she attempts to enact in order to repress her sense of dislocation on Indigenous lands. In revealing the threadbare nature of Jameson’s intellectual sympathies, this interaction also refuses to accept the settler colonial malady as a frame for settler-Indigenous relationships.

Jameson’s use of the voyageurs’ songs to establish intellectual sympathies with the Drummond Island Métis was, as Henderson writes, meant to foster “a change of time” and promote “the cultivation of new qualities in women” (59). In his interview, Solomon only mentions the voyageurs’ songs briefly when he says, “I was a pretty fair singer in those days, and she [Jameson] often asked me to sing those beautiful songs of the French *voyageurs*, which she seemed to think so nice, and I often sang them for her” (136). However, the very brevity of this reference might suggest that Solomon viewed the songs in an everyday and casual capacity as opposed to the “exotic” and eliminatory frame

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<sup>159</sup> I suggest that Warrior’s term is applicable within this physical, ecological context because the Indigenous literary nationalist movement that Warrior inspired is grounded in nation-specific and land-based interpretations of Indigenous literatures.

applied to them by Euro-Western travellers. For Solomon, then, the songs may represent not “a change” to settler colonial time but rather a sense of continuity between his past work as a voyageur and the ongoing present of the Métis community that undermines Jameson’s imagined counter-site.

The ecological intellectual sovereignty and resistance to Jameson’s colonial heterotopia present in Solomon’s account are apparent in the Drummond Island interviewees’ narratives more broadly. For instance, Michael Labatte describes how he would travel over—and survive on—the land while delivering mail or trapping. When delivering mail between Penetanguishene and Sault Ste. Marie, he travelled “in winter on snow-shoes,” and when he rested in the evenings, he would “[d]ig a hole in the snow with ... [his] snow-shoes, spread spruce boughs, eat a piece of cold pork, smoke pipe and go to sleep” (139). On these trips, Labatte “often had *Mal de racquette*,” an injury caused by snowshoeing, for which he enacted his own “remedy”: “I would sharpen my flint, then split the flesh of the ankle above the instep in several places, and sometimes down the calf of the leg” (139, 140, 139-40). Although Labatte was travelling alone, his descriptions of these repeated mail trips hold their own rhythm, like the rhythm encouraging the voyageurs’ movements in their songs. For example, the “three hundred mile[.]” trip regularly took him just “fifteen days” (139). Moreover, the internal mechanics of the trip also suggest a rhythm that illustrates Labatte’s relationship to the land and encourages his movements over it. That is, there appears to be, for Labatte, a normalcy, ease, and even comfort in his routine on these trips, and even a surprising sense of calm in his self-sufficiency that is especially evident in the way he describes repeatedly remedying his own injuries. Similarly, “on two occasions” when Labatte was trapping furs, he became stranded “on account of floods” (140). He explains that one time he “was four days without food, which was *cached* at the mouth of the river,” and “another time ... [he] was five days without food, except moss off the rocks” (140). Labatte’s ability to engage with Indigenous lands—to enact rhythms between himself and the land, to make himself at home, and even to rely knowledgeably on the land in moments of crisis—throws into relief Jameson’s claims to familiarity despite, for instance, her inability to feed herself and to walk from the canoe to shore. Like Solomon’s challenge to Jameson, Labatte’s narrative implicitly demonstrates that, despite

Jameson's supposed familiarity with voyageur songs, she is actually not in sync with the lands on which she is travelling.

Furthermore, these Métis rhythms for travelling on Indigenous lands resist the dynamics of empire more broadly. As Peder Anker writes in *Imperial Ecology: Environmental Order in the British Empire, 1895-1945*, "ecology evolved" in the early twentieth century "from botany to a study of human relations" (1), and "the export or the emergence of new ecological orders of knowledge ... [became] tools for imperial management of the empire" (3). Although Anker's analysis focuses on a later time period, I suggest that Jameson's (and Head's) efforts to express familiarity with Indigenous lands are similar attempts to create and manage empire through the ordering of the ecological worlds around them. Anker explains that in its development as a field of study, botany borrowed from many "other disciplines," though "it was in psychology that botanists found the most important sources of inspiration for the expansion of ecology" (3). He adds that "[t]he development and structure of the human mind and human society served as analogies for the evolution and structure of ecological habitats" (3). Given this, Indigenous ecological intellectual sovereignty resists this colonial "structur[ing] of ecological habitats" in the way Indigenous people like Labatte, Solomon, and the other voyageurs travelling with Jameson mentally engage with Indigenous lands, applying rhythms to their movements over these lands, but also adapting to and living within the rhythms of the lands themselves. Following Anker, the workings of Indigenous minds on these lands speak to a decolonial understanding of what "human society" in these "ecological habitats" should look like.

Finally, as the ecological intellectual sovereignty in Solomon's account is apparent in the Drummond Islanders' narratives more broadly, so too is the resistance to settler colonial counter-sites like Jameson's imagined heterotopia. The "List of the Drummond Island Voyageurs" appended to the end of *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828* features short notes in which Osborne describes 289 people who are often Métis or who have married into Métis families; though many of these people were deceased at the time that Osborne compiled this record, they are remembered by other Drummond Islanders or their descendants. While Foucault describes the

heterotopia as “another real space as perfect ... as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled” (qtd. in Henderson 7) the Métis people interviewed by Osborne embrace and even celebrate their community as it is, suggesting not that they are “messy,” “jumbled,” or in need of settler moral and structural interventions, but rather that their past is continuous with—and often sustains—their present in the enjoyment of Métis relationships and the way that this effects everyday memory and interaction. As Rifkin asserts in an analysis of Indigenous storying, “time” can be thought of as “sensuous, as an expression of affective orientations,” and attending to these affective orientations demonstrates how “collective” or “shared (hi)stories” are “immanent within everyday interaction and perception” (*Beyond* 40).

By making the past present through their affective orientations, the “collective” and “shared (hi)stories” in the “List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*” “enable[] the sustaining of [Métis] peoplehood in [their present] condition[] of dispersion or diaspora” (Rifkin, *Beyond* 40), thereby re-centering the Drummond Island community and refusing settler colonial heterotopias. While these shared (hi)stories are obvious on a broad scale—the community’s migration, diasporic fracturing, and ongoing development in the Penetanguishene and Lafontaine area—they are also evident on a smaller and even more intimate scale in remembrance of family, friends, and significant events. For instance, the record for Joseph Craddock demonstrates his influence on the community: Osborne writes that Craddock “has numerous descendants” and is remembered as being “scrupulously honest and upright in his dealings, highly respected, and a pattern to the community in which he lived over sixty years” (151). Craddock’s character evidently influenced the interviewee who described him after his death, and this person suggests that the community admired him in such a way that his actions survive him as community members live his influence in ongoing interactions. This entry, in particular, resists Jameson’s desired feminist management of the Métis by showing how the Drummond Island community has an internal concept of morality and good behaviour that they understand and “manage” on their own.

At the same time, the Drummond Island Métis suggest that settler interventions in their community have not produced the heterotopia that Jameson envisions, but instead have

produced chaotic and even bizarre results that they have managed through their own agency or through humour. For example, the records for Angélique Cadotte (152), Pierre Lepine (160), and Therise Lepine (160-61) all refer to the British government's mismanaged use of the *Alice Hackett*, which, as I discussed in Chapter 1, was shipwrecked during the community's relocation due to the government's lack of knowledge of (or disregard for) challenging environmental conditions (Richmond and Villemaire 103) and their employees "bec[oming] intoxicated" (Solomon 128). While, in this case, settler intervention endangered the lives of Métis community members, Osborne also records an instance in which settler intervention produced a hilarious, though unfortunate, outcome. As Angélique Longlade states, the priest who baptized her sisters accidentally called two of them by the same name (147), and Osborne implicitly refers to this mistake when he lists their names as "LANGLADE, MARGUERITE THE 1ST" and "LANGLADE, MARGUERITE THE 2ND," even heightening the humour of the mistake by recording the names of the sisters back-to-back (160). Taken together, the various records for the Drummond Island community members on Osborne's list suggest that settler interventions do not have a tendency to create "perfect, meticulous, ... [and] well arranged" colonial spaces nor do they demonstrate settler institutions—like the government and church—effectively "managing the everyday life of a population" (Henderson 7).

Yet, the records for the Drummond Island Métis suggest the possibility of creating what Cree scholar Willie Ermine calls an "ethical space of engagement" with settlers (193). According to Ermine, "[t]he ethical space"—the space wherein settler and Indigenous communities negotiate respectful terms of "[e]ngagement"—"offers itself as the theatre for cross-cultural conversation in pursuit of ethically engaging diversity" (202). While the Drummond Islanders' affective orientations and stories of settler mismanagement implicitly propose that settlers adopt a greater respect for the community's members and knowledges, and while Solomon's exchange with Jameson sets a limit on settler familiarity and interference to forestall the discourse of Indigenous disappearance, Osborne's list of Drummond Islanders proposes spaces of "cross-cultural conversation," welcome, and connection acceptable within the Métis community. After all, the interviews and the "List of the Drummond Island *Voyageurs*" literally represent Métis

community members sharing their stories in many cross-cultural conversations with a settler interviewer and his audience. Moreover, Osborne’s “List” includes the names of settlers who married into the community and whose descendants are Métis, and occasionally notes settler ancestors of the community members. Although Osborne may have made the editorial decision to include these names in his published account, he was likely given the names by the Drummond Islanders themselves through their interviews: at several points in the “List,” he refers to an interviewee’s recollections,<sup>160</sup> and he does not cite any alternate settler sources in brackets or footnotes, which was his practice when adding extraneous material to the longer interviews. In this way, the Drummond Island community is centred in the “List,” but settlers are still engaged on respectful terms that simultaneously assert Indigenous presence and the ongoing health of the Drummond Island Métis community.

### “Then, shall I ne’er the time repent”: Grief in the Writing of Francis Bond Head and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft

According to Elizabeth Freeman, “manipulations of time convert historically specific regimes of asymmetrical power into seemingly ordinary bodily tempos and routines”—a process that she describes as “chrononormativity” (qtd. in Rifkin, *Settler* 29). One of the disruptions to settler colonial chrononormativity that Rifkin addresses in *Settler Common Sense* is nineteenth-century “discourses of grieving” (30). Rifkin builds on the work of Dana Luciano, who “has argued that [these] discourses ... served as a way of organizing the relation between the present and the past by subjecting it to a teleology of nuclear family futurity, but as she suggests, such formations also produced queer aberrations” (Rifkin, *Settler* 29-30). In *Arranging Grief*, Luciano describes how “asynchronic traces that haunt narrative dispositions of the grieving body” disrupt chrononormative teleologies in order to foster “connection[s] in and across time that fall outside or athwart the confines of both recognized history and familial generationality” (18). In other words,

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<sup>160</sup> For instance, in the entry for Katrine Labatte, Osborne notes that she “has a vivid recollection of the family trip in the bateau up the Nottawasaga River and over the portage to Lake Simcoe” (157). Osborne also explains that he wrote the entry for Charles Vasseur based on “reminiscences” that he “gleaned ... from his [Vasseur’s] son, Paul, living in Penetanguishene” (166).

the remains invoked through grief—or the power of grief to recall—generates the potential to subvert chrononormative timelines. In this section, I will apply Luciano’s idea in the context of settler colonialism, showing how Francis Bond Head attempts to resurrect his intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people through the settler colonial malady: in particular, his “discourses of grieving” appeal to Romantic primitivism and an imperial timeline of elimination. Conversely, Johnston Schoolcraft’s poems “To my ever beloved and lamented Son William Henry,” “Language Divine!” and “The Contrast” describe an alternate understanding of grief reflective of her Ojibwe perspective, community, and lands. I read these poems as resistive to the settler chrononormativity in Head’s writings through the way Johnston Schoolcraft interweaves histories, geographies, presences, absences, and diverse voices to subvert settler colonial elimination, positing in the process a literary ethical space of engagement and solidarity and affirming Indigenous intellectual sovereignty.

Head arrived in Upper Canada to assume his duties as lieutenant-governor with pre-formed intellectual sympathies for Indigenous people—or, at least, for the representations of Indigenous people found in the writings of Romantic authors. As we saw in Chapter 2, Head’s colonial policies were based on a particularly Wordsworthian notion of Romantic primitivism (Binnema and Hutchings 119-21, 129-30) so that the lieutenant-governor “was thus drawing upon a powerful and popular discourse of the Noble Savage” (129). Calling Wordsworth’s approach in *The Excursion* “a patently different philosophy of the relationship between Aboriginal identity and an ‘unimproved’ North American natural environment, a view that has come to exemplify the classic English Romantic perspective on North American Aboriginal peoples,” Binnema and Hutchings note that for Romantics this perspective came to signal the inevitability of settler colonial elimination: “the very qualities that make the Aboriginal subject ‘Primeval Nature’s child’ will ultimately in Wordsworth’s view cause his inevitable demise” (120). Significantly, Wordsworth’s eliminatory formulation draws a link between Indigenous peoples “carefully guarding ... [their] pre-contact condition” and the “true British Romantic[s]” in that both “liv[e] ... in harmonious interchange with ... [their] natural surroundings” (120, 121, 121).

According to this Romantic analogy, Indigenous people must maintain their “pre-contact condition” in order to engage “in harmonious interchange with” nature and avoid elimination. They are therefore constrained temporally, geographically, and socially. They must exist exactly as British writers imagine they were “discovered” by the European explorers and travellers on whose writings they base their work.<sup>161</sup> If Indigenous people do not align themselves with these Romantic intellectual sympathies, if they engage in any form of intercultural exchange or even proximity to Euro-Western settlements, they are considered to be doomed. Conversely, British and Canadian Romantics are considered capable of engaging “in harmonious interchange with” nature anywhere, and doing so enables them to indigenize themselves on other people’s lands.<sup>162</sup> These Euro-Western Romantic writers are not strictly constrained: their work can travel, can borrow from other periods and cultures, without their morality, agency, rights, or character being called into question. In this way, Wordsworth’s Romantic primitivist philosophy functions as a formula for appropriation in a settler colonial context: it identifies (perceived) resonances between cultures that disproportionately benefit the invading culture. Romantic primitivism, then, resonates with Henry Rowe Schoolcraft’s “intellectual sympathies.” While his dedication to Longfellow in *The Myth of Hiawatha* at first seems to suggest a form of mental recognition and solidarity between Euro-Western readers and Indigenous peoples, Schoolcraft clarifies that such intellectual sympathies rather serve to indigenize Euro-Western people on Indigenous land by enabling them to appropriate from Indigenous culture and thereby effect their “literary

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<sup>161</sup> For instance, Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* relies upon Alexander Henry’s *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1770* (1809) (Roy 13, 20). Wordsworth’s “The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman” “refer[s] to Samuel Hearne’s *Journey from Prince of Wales’ Fort in Hudson Bay, to the Northern Ocean* (1795)” (Wu 403). Felicia Hemans’s “Indian Woman’s Death Song” is based on *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of the St. Peter’s River ... under the command of S. H. Long* by William H. Keating (1824) (Wu 1286). Moreover, Binnema and Hutchings make a similar point about the constraints that Romantic primitivism places on Indigenous people. In discussing Head’s application of Romantic primitivism in Upper Canada, they note that “by idealizing Aboriginal peoples in this way, he confers upon them the status that one might associate with well-preserved museum specimens, exotic artifacts existing not for their own sake but for that of the European cultural connoisseur who wished to preserve the noble savage for his own aesthetic enjoyment” (125).

<sup>162</sup> See, for example, the work of the Confederation Poets—William Wilfred Campbell, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, Charles G. D. Roberts, and Duncan Campbell Scott. According to D. M. R. Bentley, “Romanticism was a matrix from which most poetry written in Canada during the post-Confederation period drew energy and sustenance,” and “the nationalism of the Confederation group” can be “trac[ed] ... back to its origins in Romantic nationalism” (*Confederation* 18-19, 16).

independence” from “Greece and Rome, England and Italy.” Francis Bond Head’s intellectual sympathies—his identifications with Indigenous people through Romantic primitivism—similarly work to effect British Romantic indigenization and Indigenous elimination.

Head’s representations of Indigenous people in *The Emigrant* and “The Red Man” broadly align with his pre-existing Romantic primitivist philosophy. He appears to have had little trouble casting Indigenous people who lived away from Euro-Western settlements as living “in harmonious interchange with” nature. For instance, while writing about his trip to Manitoulin Island (near Sault Ste. Marie, which Jameson referred to as “a kind of Ultima Thule” (195)<sup>163</sup>) Head describes meeting an Indigenous family by noting that “[t]he distinguishing characteristic of the group was robust, ruddy, healthy. More happy or more honest countenances could not exist” (87). From this meeting, Head draws the following conclusion: “Whatever may be said in favor of the ‘blessings of civilization,’ yet certainly in the life of a red Indian there is much for which he is fully justified in the daily thanksgivings he is in the habit of offering to ‘the Great Spirit.’ He breathes pure air, beholds splendid scenery, traverses unsullied water” (88). Conversely, in “The Red Man,” Head bemoans “that [the] portion of the uncivilized world which borders upon civilization [is] always found to be contaminated, or, in other words, to have lost its own good qualities, without having received in return anything but the vices of the neighbouring race” (312). Head’s racist complaint may be inspired by the fact that the survivance of Indigenous communities near settlements as well as the existence of Indigenous people with European heritage undermines the eliminatory processes inherent in his Romantic primitivist intellectual sympathies, demonstrating these Indigenous peoples’ perseverance, continuance, adaptability, and cultural strength rather than their disappearance when faced with what Wordsworth in *The Excursion* calls overwhelming Euro-Western “social art[s]” or culture (qtd. in Binnema and Hutchings 120). In an effort to resurrect his intellectual sympathies, Head refigures these Indigenous people and

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<sup>163</sup> By “Ultima Thule,” Jameson means “the extreme limit of travel and discovery” (“Thule,” def. 1b). At the time of Jameson’s and Head’s stay in Upper Canada, Manitoulin Island, like Sault Ste. Marie, would have been considered to be far away from Euro-Western settlements and an appropriately Romantic primitivist locale.

communities as victims of the settler colonial malady: for him, their survivance is not a sign of their communal and cultural vitality, but rather of their “contaminat[ion]” (“Red Man,” 312). In other words, Head no longer considers them to be Indigenous, and his refusal to recognize their identity maintains his intellectual sympathies. According to this logic, then, either Indigenous people physically disappear or are intellectually elided by settlers. The verbal and administrative abuse that Head levels in his writing against Indigenous people who would disprove his Romantic primitivism and thwart his intellectual sympathies serves as evidence of the discord between Indigenous reality and Romantic imagination.

This discord, moreover, disrupts settler indigenization by revealing that the Romantic equation of settlers displacing Indigenous peoples through communion with nature on Indigenous land is unworkable. Nevertheless, Head tries. In *The Emigrant*, Head offers himself as the embodiment of Romantic primitivist intellectual sympathies, such as when he brags of his athleticism and engagement with the Upper Canadian environment. Head tells his readers, “[A]s soon as I commenced my duties at Toronto, something within me strenuously advised that I should every day take a good long ride,” and that while, in winter, “every body ... instinctively steps into a sleigh,” he “formed ... a solitary exception” “[t]o this rule” (40). Yet, despite this assertion of unparalleled engagement with even the fiercest of Upper Canadian environs, Head also presents readers with a remarkable confession of disorientation, describing how, on several occasions, he become lost while riding his horse for exercise and the means by which he found his way:

I threw my hat on the ground, and then riding from it in any direction, to a distance greater than that which I knew to exist between me and the road I was anxious to regain, I returned on the footmarks of my horse to my hat, and then radiating from it in any other direction, and returning, I repeated the trials, until, taking the right direction, I at last recovered the road.... Of course, on reaching the road I had to recover the hat to which my head had been so much indebted.  
(18)

Head's trial-and-error method of finding his way betrays his disorientation on Indigenous lands. While Head critiques Euro-Western society in *The Emigrant*, and these woods might be considered the closest Romantic location to Toronto, he fails to identify with them in a meaningful way. Rather, his engagement with these woods demonstrates not only his disconnection with Indigenous lands but also his inability to fabricate a "harmonious interchange with" nature. For example, when travelling to Manitoulin Island, he questions British sovereignty while standing beside the grave of an Indigenous person, writing that "his title to the bare rock on which he lay was better than mine to the soil on which I stood" (85). Head's contrast of their states—"I was living and he dead"—suggests that he believes the grave should signal the rightness of his presence, his inheritance of Indigenous land (84-85). Yet, his reflection at least temporarily undermines his confidence.<sup>164</sup>

According to Luciano, this period saw the convergence of new Euro-Western understandings of grief and time. She observes that grief was "[n]o longer simply a sign of disobedience to the divine will" (2). Rather, it "was now the body's spontaneous and natural testimony to the importance of interpersonal attachment" (2) or sentimental evidence of "the timeless truths that supported and stabilized the historical development of humanity founded in fellow-feeling" (7). Luciano argues that grief became a new way of marking what she refers to as "sacred time": "the regenerative mode that transcended ordinary time in a ritual revisiting of origins" or a turn backwards into the past (7). The "sacred time" of grief and mourning is, then, seemingly at odds with nineteenth-century developments in "ordinary time." Luciano calls these new developments a "radical reorganization" through which "modernity" was structured by "a new vision of time as linear, ordered, progressive, and teleological" (2). Such a new vision of time was "support[ed]" by technical inventions like "standardized clocks, railroad schedules, and

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<sup>164</sup> Moreover, Head is not the only settler who fails to live "in harmonious interchange with" nature. As discussed in my previous chapter, Head intends to indigenize settlers in *The Emigrant* through their interactions with a version of the Romantic sublime specific to Upper Canada, thereby portraying the British as the rightful inheritors of Indigenous land. Yet, Head describes his feelings on passing "deserted ... 'cleared land,'" imagining how numerous emigrants who "had arisen in robust health" were killed by a falling tree while clearing the land, leaving behind widows and children (58, 59). He also laments the loss of "the Duke of Richmond, who was then Governor-General of the Canadas" (63) to rabies: in recounting the last days of the Duke, Head notes that the disease caused him to become afraid of travelling by water, thereby impeding his movements or progress over the land (66).

other means of measurement and order that bespoke time as objectively given, concrete, measurable, orderly, and ultimately productive” (5). Ordinary time enabled imperialism because its emphasis on linearity and progress drew from and promoted discourses about “humanity’s movement through time” and “the rise of civilizations and the growth of knowledge” (6). These discourses are significant to the following discussion since they give rise to the trope of “vanishing” Indigenous people (70). While the appeal to sacred time in Johnston Schoolcraft’s poetry offers a decolonial literary intervention, sacred time was not necessarily opposed to ordinary time in the colonizing work of settlers. Luciano explains that while grief figured as part of “the largely cyclical time of private life” or what she calls “a periodic return to human origins,” ordinary time or “the linear time of public life corresponded to an insistence on time’s ... progress” (36, 36, 35-36). Therefore, while “the cycles of privacy made space for a periodic return to human origins, the public emphasis on progress kept the private moving forward, organized not around mere *return* but around *renewal*” (36).

Head mobilizes grief or mourning towards both settlers and Indigenous people. His sympathy for settlers is a form of sacred time that nevertheless takes their losses in stride as part of civilizational progress. For example, Head’s discussion of abandoned cleared land mourns the accidental loss of settler life caused by falling trees, but in so doing, encloses the private mourning of individual settlers within a narrative of linear time and progress. Head ventriloquizes the feelings of a wife who is waiting for her husband to return from clearing the land: she “waited—bid her rosy-faced children be patient—waited—felt anxious—alarmed— ... listened; the ax was not at work!” (59). In the “scene” Head imagines, the wife’s “heart misgives her,” she “screams in vain,” and unable “to extricate her husband’s corpse” from where it is pinned to the earth, “[s]he leaves it ... to appease her children’s cries” (59). Head’s account poses as a scene of private grief. Despite his assurance that such sentimental “scene[s]” have “repeatedly occurred in the wilderness of America,” he does not relate a real loss that befell a specific family (59). Rather, he imagines such a scene, thereby creating a settler colonial narrative of loss that generalizes private mourning to dilute its affective poignancy and anticipates such grief as being part of progress. Moreover, Head bookends this story of settler grief with accounts of progress in Upper Canada: on the one hand, Head provides a

retrospective account of settlement in the last fifty years (56), and, on the other, he shortly afterwards describes the Rideau Canal as a “permanent ... work” that strengthens British colonization by defending settlements against American incursion (61). The grief of specific settler families becomes, as Luciano writes, a means for settler colonialism to “return to human origins” while “ke[eping] the private moving forward” (36). Such generalized scenes of loss are not a “*return*” so much as a “*renewal*” because they fuel Head’s narrative of settler colonial progress (36).

Even when Head illustrates grief for a specific person in the case of the death of the Duke of Richmond, he similarly circumvents the possibility of “backward” movement by enclosing grief for the duke within a narrative of progress. Head provides numerous testaments to the grief felt over the Duke’s death, such as “[t]he agony of mind of the officers of his staff” when they learned of his fatal illness (66), and Head’s claim that “[n]othing could exceed the affliction, not only of those immediately about him, but the inhabitants of both Canada’s, by whom he was universally beloved” (68). Yet, Head also maintains a sense of the linearity of time and settler colonial progress through his narration of the duke’s death. For instance, Head twice invokes the “lone shanty” where the Duke of Richmond perished as a monument to the “unexampled fortitude” of a prominent settler (63). He begins his narration of the event by stating that he “trotted some miles out of my way to visit ... [this] lone shanty” (63), and he concludes his account by noting that “the hovel ... commemorates” the duke (68). This transformation of the barn where the duke died into a commemorative space recasts “the hovel” into a kind of public monument. As a public monument for a former Governor General, the barn becomes a site that prioritizes a particular rendition of public history in the Canadas, one that marks “progress” through valorizing the “fortitude” of British leaders.

Head’s descriptions of settler losses, both general and specific, constitute a narrative of settler sacrifice. That is, much like Jesus dying to absolve humans of original sin, settlement is redeemed through these personal losses: as Jesus is resurrected, so too does Head reframe settler losses not as failures of settlement but rather as sanctifying and renewing the public project of settler colonialism. While Head at times problematizes Euro-Western society for its treatment of Indigenous peoples, he marshals stories of

settler loss into an “ameliorative” rendition of settlement that valorizes what he perceives as desirable settler traits. In Head’s narrative of settler sacrifice, the violence enacted against Indigenous peoples is concealed by an ameliorative re-telling of settler history that proposes “a more meritorious conception” (Abrahams 11) of settlers in support of the developing Canadian nation.

Like Head’s mourning for deceased settlers, his grief for Indigenous people is a “return to ... origins”; however, it is a return whereby he relegates Indigenous people to a past time in order to indigenize settlers and promote colonialism. Head’s mourning for Indigenous people and communities is apparent in the way he invokes the settler colonial malady to distinguish between a Romantic, healthy past and a present state of “contaminat[i]on” (“Red Man” 312). For instance, Head perceives Manitoulin Island as being separate from “civilization,” a place representative of an earlier time where Indigenous people align with his Romantic image of them: he refers to this past time as a “strange scene of unadulterated, uncontaminated nature” (*Emigrant* 56). During his visit on Manitoulin Island, Head writes that between these Indigenous people and Euro-Western people, “there is a moral gulf which neither party can cross” (90). The “healthy countenances and ... robust, active frames” of these Indigenous people externalize, for Head, their moral wellness, so that they become a foil for Euro-Western society’s “venerat[i]on” of “artificial luxuries” (90). Head claims that if he “transported” any of these Indigenous women and men to England, they would “yearn[] to return to the clean rocks and pure air of Lake Huron” (90-91). The pre-contact past, and the places that make Head think of this past, figure in *The Emigrant* as signs of Indigenous moral superiority.

However, Head alleges that this superiority ceases at the time of contact, and Indigenous communities near settlements are, therefore, in what he calls a contaminated state. For example, in *The Emigrant*, when Head travels to Rice Lake, he observes that the local Anishinaabe community differs from his racist Romantic primitivist ideas about Indigenous peoples. Rather than interrogate these differences and disrupt his intellectual sympathies, Head afterwards documents his visit to the community as though he were inspecting or surveilling them. He explains that he “walked quietly by ... [himself] into every single habitation of the disjointed street,” judging the community members and

condemning them as a “disappointment” (70, 71). In particular, Head experiences a sense of disorientation because he identifies a number of Indigenous children who he claims have European heritage, writing, “Whether eating rice had made all their faces white—what could have made so many of their eyes blue, or have caused their hair to curl” (71). That Head’s sense of disorientation emerges from the failure of Romantic primitivism is most apparent when he writes that “the complexion of most of the children ... completely divested the picture of the *sentiment* with which I was desirous to adorn it” (71, emphasis added). These children threaten Head’s Romantic primitivist logic because they are visibly different from his pre-existing image of Indigenous peoples and also because they represent community continuance rather than disappearance. That is, rather than Euro-Western culture overwhelming Indigenous communities, these children are a new generation representative of Indigenous survivance after settlement. Instead of accepting the error of Romantic primitivism, which would also undermine the logic of “rightful” British inheritance integral to Euro-Western defenses of settler colonialism, Head invokes the settler colonial malady and considers the differences between these children and his Romantic ideal as signs of this community’s “contaminat[ion].” He laments, “[I]ndeed, I felt it useless to bother myself by considering whether or not civilization is a blessing to the *red* Indian, if the process practically ends—as I regret to say it invariably does—by turning him *white!*” (71).

Head’s mourning deepens in “The Red Man” when he reflects on the circumstances that have led him to support removal. Notably, Head justifies this colonial policy by claiming that Indigenous people living near settlements not only prevent settler agriculture (363-64), but also become infected by settlers and, in Head’s mind, lose their Indigenous identity. He claims that on such land around settlements, there might be “only a hundred, or a hundred and twenty Indians, the children of whom are, without a single exception, half-castes; the women dirty, profligate, and abandoned; the men miserable victims of intemperance and vice” (364). Head argues that it is unnecessary to care about Indigenous people with European heritage because they are no longer morally superior (364) and “[t]o pay down to a squalid, degraded, miserable set of half-castes ... appears not only unnecessary, but absurd” (365). However, he also contends that even Indigenous people with no European heritage do not deserve the “respect” formerly accorded to them

via Romantic primitivism because their proximity to Euro-Western settlements has compromised them: “the spirit of the wild man has fled from them, and, [they are] unworthy guardians of the tombs of their ancestors” because of “their moral degradation” (364).

Head takes the settler disorientation resulting from the discord between Romantic primitivism and Indigenous reality and transfigures it into an instance of the settler colonial malady. That is, instead of Romantic primitivism being an inaccurate representation of real Indigenous people, Indigenous people—according to Head’s racist logic—have become contaminated. Not only are they no longer morally ascendant, Head believes they have become so “degraded” (364, 365) that the colonial government must step in to regulate them because the British administration has now attained moral superiority. Head, then, writes of removal as a mournful but moral action because it is purportedly meant to facilitate Indigenous community wellness away from settler influence (364-65). Head claims that “it is often almost impossible to persuade the Indians to consent to move away; for the more their minds are degraded, the greater is the natural apathy they display” (365). Therefore, Head claims, it is “necessary” for the colonial “Government” to intervene and compel “removal” (365). By invoking the settler colonial malady, Head is able to offer an ameliorative structure to settler colonialism because the settler government figures in his work as the benevolent guardian charged with facilitating Indigenous community wellness.<sup>165</sup> In this way, the sympathy Head displays for Indigenous people in *The Emigrant* and “The Red Man” becomes a way of rhetorically and spatially relegating them to a past time.

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<sup>165</sup> Head’s argument about Indigenous people losing their identity through proximity to settlers and settlements also appears to revoke their rights as British allies. In *The Emigrant*, Head defends his Manitoulin Island removal scheme by claiming that “whether the bargain was for their weal or woe, it was, and, so long as I live, will be, a great satisfaction to me to feel that it was openly discussed and agreed to in the presence of every Indian tribe with whom her majesty is allied” (94). He explains that this conversation and consent are important because Indigenous people are “by solemn treaty her majesty’s ally” (94). According to Head’s logic about Indigenous identity, then, if proximity to Euro-Western peoples precludes the need for conversation and consent about settler interactions with their communities (i.e., if he argues that the colonial government should compel removal), the settler colonial malady also revokes Indigenous peoples’ rights as British allies.

Whereas Head mobilizes grief for settlers and Indigenous people in order to promote a Euro-Western understanding of the linear time of civilizational progress, Johnston Schoolcraft models the decolonial potential of grief in a number of her poems. As she asserts in “An answer,” melancholy is her muse and many of her poems are expressions of her own grieving body for various losses, like the death of her oldest child, the suffering of family friends, and the colonial changes taking place in her community. Unlike Head’s texts, where grief follows a linear timeline, Johnston Schoolcraft foregrounds what Luciano calls “asynchronic traces that haunt narrative dispositions of the grieving body” (18). In other words, she shows how those who are grieving may not put the past behind them but live their grief in the present—and she thereby destabilizes Euro-Western understandings of civilizational progress alongside “the historical development of humanity founded in fellow-feeling” (7). Head’s “discourses of grieving” align with the gendered dynamics of his intellectual sympathies in their recourse to the stereotypes of Indigenous peoples generated by Wordsworth (a white, male Romantic poet) and their influence on the masculine-dominated public sphere of the settler colony. Johnston Schoolcraft implicitly challenges the gendered dynamics of such intellectual sympathies by speaking from a position of personal, bodily grief but showing how this grief is also rigorously intellectual (in her quotation of female Romantic writers or her emphasis on Ojibwe perspectives and lands). Moreover, Johnston Schoolcraft’s writing powerfully engages settlement, reframing the purportedly masculine public sphere through her own Ojibwe body. Johnston Schoolcraft’s approach to “discourses of grieving” in her poetry manifests as a theory of decolonial grief that not only holds settler colonialism accountable for wrongs committed against Indigenous peoples, but that also tackles common prejudicial literary techniques by which settlers characterize Indigenous peoples as “out of time” in the present, revealing these techniques and also exceeding them (Rifkin, *Settler* 31).

Johnston Schoolcraft “wrote at least five poems” expressing her grief at the loss of her son, and “one of those” poems, “To my ever beloved and lamented Son William Henry,” survives in “seven different versions or copies, more than for any of her other poems” (Parker 34, 34, 34-35). Parker explains that “[a]fter a sudden, brief illness, William Henry died of croup on 13 Mar. 1827 at the age of two years and eight months” (133). The

version of the poem that Parker selected for his anthology of Johnston Schoolcraft's works is the one found "in Charlotte Johnston McMurray's notebook," which is "owned by the Chippewa County Historical Society, of Michigan, and housed in the River of History Museum in Sault Ste. Marie" (136). He chose to reprint this version "[b]ecause the notebook seems prepared for diverse readers, and the manuscript is in ... [Johnston Schoolcraft's] hand, [so] that version likely best represents what ... [Johnston Schoolcraft] wanted others to read" (136). He adds that "[a]t the bottom of the version in Charlotte Johnston McMurray's notebook and of *LC66*,<sup>166</sup> on the right, is written 'Jane Schoolcraft,' and lower, on the left in *LC66*, 'March 23rd 1827,'" suggesting that Johnston Schoolcraft composed this poem shortly after William died (137).

While Head resorts to "discourses of grieving" in order to renew national settler narratives of colonialism, Johnston Schoolcraft's recursive engagement with her poem for her "ever ... lamented Son" is a renewal of her grief and a reaffirmation of their ongoing relationship that defies the closure of chrononormative timelines. I say ongoing because although the relationship has changed through his death, the title of the poem attests to her abiding love and unremitting grief. Furthermore, within the poem, she writes, "My son! thy coral lips are pale, / Can I believe the heart-sick tale, / That I, thy loss must *ever* wail?" (33-35, emphasis added). Johnston Schoolcraft suggests that her grief will not yield to a colonial timeline of progress, but will rather span her entire lifetime, uniting this moment of grief even with the moment of her death: after all, she hopes that "soon my spirit will be free, / And I, my lovely Son shall see, / For God, I know, did this decree" (41-43). The recursiveness of Johnston Schoolcraft's grief resists elimination because it evokes sacred as opposed to linear time and thus refuses historicization. While Henry appears to have believed that Johnston Schoolcraft's "'Algic' mind contaminated their children" (Konkle, "Recovering" 97) and made her a bad mother, Johnston Schoolcraft's unremitting attachment to her children, even after William's death, is a credit to her mind and ability to care for her children.

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<sup>166</sup> "*LC*" means that there is a copy of Johnston Schoolcraft's poem in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers in the Library of Congress (Parker 86).

Moreover, as Henry sought to “purge[]” Jane’s children of the “influence” of “her ‘Algic’ mind” (Konkle 97), so too did he meddle with or erase her voice in her writing. For instance, according to Konkle, Henry “rewrote ... obsessively” Johnston Schoolcraft’s compositions of traditional stories (“Recovering” 85). Johnston Schoolcraft often faced such settler interference with or critique of her voice. “Francis Shearman, [Henry] Schoolcraft’s nephew” and “copyist” complained that one of Johnston Schoolcraft’s stories was “to [sic] much anglicized” (qtd. in Konkle, “Recovering” 89), and Margaret Fuller disparaged the stories in *Algic Researches* because she thought they ought to have “been written down exactly as they were received from the lips of the narrators” (*Summer on the Lakes* 31). Fuller’s critique of Johnston Schoolcraft’s voice participates in a more widespread Euro-Western obsession with the character of Indigenous voice in writing, which became a literary means of historicizing Indigenous peoples. As Konkle explains, for Euro-Western writers like Fuller, “the translation of Indian speech was only authentic when it conformed to the ‘Indian’ as represented by whites. Indians couldn’t speak; they could only be spoken for” (“Recovering” 90). In speaking for Indigenous peoples, Euro-Western representations commonly characterized them through the theme of Indigenous disappearance, which is why Johnston Schoolcraft’s “anglicized” voice was read as a problem: her combination of Ojibwe language and culture with English writing undermined the idea that Euro-Western culture would overwhelm and erase Indigenous peoples. Moreover, in an analysis of Indigenous orality that could equally apply to the contested space of the voice in Indigenous writing, Luciano explains that, in the nineteenth century, Indigenous voices were “understood as incompatible with a progressive historical era” (71). According to Luciano, “the romance of the Vanishing American worked to revive and order the time of the voice by projecting its anachronistic potential,” meaning that Indigenous orality became a sign of elimination for settlers (71). This understanding of Indigenous orality meant that voice was a particularly vulnerable aspect of Johnston Schoolcraft’s writing. However, she addresses this vulnerability through her use of multivocality in a number of her poems. That is, Johnston Schoolcraft supports her expressions of grief by re-citing the words of Euro-Western authors and joining these voices together in a chorus of mourning that defends her right to inhabit her feelings and refuses historicization. She thereby contests the eliminatory Euro-Western

understanding of Indigenous voice which argued that “the politically melancholic Indian could not manage” “to make a difference in (and with) time” (Luciano 72).

For example, in “To my ever beloved and lamented Son William Henry” Johnston Schoolcraft’s grief is supported and even sustained by her solidarity with English poet Ann Taylor (1782-1866). As Parker explains, “[t]he form” of Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem “closely follows ... Taylor’s ... once-famous ‘My Mother’ (1804)” (Parker 136).<sup>167</sup> Taylor’s poem opens with a child describing the care their mother gives them and closes by promising to care for their mother as she grows old. For instance, the child’s question in the third verse—“Who sat and watch’d my infant head, / When sleeping on my cradle bed, / And tears of sweet affection shed?” (9-11)—mirrors the child’s later declaration that, when their mother is old, “[a]nd when I see thee hang thy head, / ‘Twill be my turn to watch thy bed, / And tears of sweet affection shed” (41-43). Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem “quotes” the third line “of Taylor’s poem verbatim” (Parker 136) and echoes the first: while Taylor writes, “Who fed me from her gentle breast” (1), Johnston Schoolcraft writes, “Who was it, nestled on my breast” (1). In this way, Johnston Schoolcraft immediately reframes the perspective of the poem to that of a mother. She also echoes Taylor’s use of “Who” questions to describe the child’s mother in the first eight verses of “My Mother” by opening the first four verses of her poem with “Who” questions, the answer to which, as Parker also notes, is not “My Mother” but “Sweet Willy” (136). However, Johnston Schoolcraft breaks from the tone and echoing format of Taylor’s poem about halfway through “To my ever beloved and lamented Son William Henry” when she asks the heartrending question, “Where is that voice attuned to love, / That bid me say ‘my darling dove’? / But oh! that soul has flown above” (17-19).

At the point in the poem when Taylor turns to the child’s consideration of the future with their mother, Johnston Schoolcraft laments William’s premature death and the loss of

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<sup>167</sup> According to Nancy Jiwon Cho, Ann and her sister Jane “were pre-eminent as writers of children’s verse during the early decades of the nineteenth-century,” and “after Isaac Watt and Charles Wesley, the Taylors were the most important early hymn writers for children.” The Taylors “influenced a long list of British writers including Lewis Carroll ..., Charles and Mary Lamb, Robert Louis Stevenson and Hillaire Belloc” (Cho). Ann Taylor’s “My Mother”—“a favourite of the Victorians”—was published in the sisters’ “very successful” *Original Poems for Infant Minds* (1804-5) alongside Jane’s “enduring ‘Twinkle, twinkle, little star’” (Cho).

their future together: “The clouds in darkness seemed to low’r, / The storm has past with awful pow’r, / And nipt my tender, beauteous flow’r!” (37-39). While Taylor’s poem does not grieve a loss, it is sentimental as it anticipates the old age of the mother. Taylor describes a lifelong love between her poem’s mother and child, and Johnston Schoolcraft builds on and extends this idea, questioning what happens when the normative family progress narratives of Taylor’s poem (e.g., parents care for children, the young become old, grown children care for parents) are interrupted. If, as Luciano argues, “discourses of grieving” may promote temporal progress in the form of ““recognized history and familial generationality”” in part through “a teleology of nuclear family futurity” (qtd. in Rifkin, *Settler* 30), then Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem disrupts this idea of progress in both personal and sociopolitical ways. For instance, Johnston Schoolcraft justifies her feelings by putting herself in conversation with Taylor. If Taylor’s poem represents for Victorians the ideal model of love between parent and child, then referring readers to this poem before describing William’s death becomes a way of impacting readers’ affects and helping them to recognize and perhaps even *feel* her loss through the failure of their own expectations. That is, her initial references to Taylor’s poem may lead readers to anticipate a similar outcome of “nuclear family futurity,” and the failure of their expectations keeps time with Johnston Schoolcraft’s description of the failure of her own expectations for her son and their life together. This poetic timing may amplify her readers’ ability to feel her loss. In so doing, it also makes space for Johnston Schoolcraft’s feelings within contemporary American discourses and consciousness: whereas Luciano explains how Indigenous voices were coded through a colonial understanding of temporality that “saw the deliberate transposition of the Indian to the past tense in the American historical imagination” (72), Johnston Schoolcraft puts herself in conversation with Taylor, asserting her contemporaneousness. Her melancholy is, therefore, “political[] melanchol[y]” in that it “make[s] a difference in (and with) time” (72). In other words, she locates Indigenous grief and melancholy in relation to the colonial present.

Moreover, Johnston Schoolcraft defends her voice and her grief as an Indigenous woman by situating herself within broader nineteenth-century Euro-Western discourses on loss and by gesturing, in particular, toward what Parker calls the “sadly common topic for

early nineteenth-century British and American women's poetry, the death of a child" (34). In connecting herself to these popular poetic forms and discourses, Johnston Schoolcraft asserts her timeliness and the immediacy of her words. While Americans like Henry were trying to write Indigenous voices into a past time, by putting herself in dialogue with an English author, Johnston Schoolcraft defies settler efforts to use her grief to relegate her to the past and renew national settler narratives of progress. Instead, Johnston Schoolcraft's grief imagines Indigenous-Euro-Western solidarities that defend her emotions, rejecting the "fellow-feeling" in her husband's intellectual sympathies and modelling instead an "ethical space of engagement." Johnston Schoolcraft creates a new, ethical literary space in which she appeals to British literature to support her Indigenous feelings, thereby rejecting the chrononormativity inherent in Henry's intellectual sympathies. She also posits that in supporting Indigenous emotions and defying chrononormativity, Western literature might be used to support Indigenous intellectual sovereignty. That is, in structuring her poem as a dialogue with Taylor's, Johnston Schoolcraft shows how to create an ethical space of engagement for Indigenous and Western "mental worlds" (Ermine 202) that emphasizes the rightness and immediacy of Indigenous affective realities and enacts their decolonial potential.

Johnston Schoolcraft creates a similar ethical space of engagement in "Relief" (1824),<sup>168</sup> a twelve-line poem about her feelings of grief that begins with "three lines" from Chapone's "To Solitude," (Parker 128) which, as I have noted, Johnston Schoolcraft also refers to in "An answer."<sup>169</sup> Chapone rejects Fancy's "vain delusions" (25) and asks Wisdom to "teach my erring, trembling feet / Thy heav'n-protected ways" (35-36), thus focusing on finding resignation for earthly cares in God (43-48) so that "Peace shall heal this wounded breast" (49). Yet, while Johnston Schoolcraft's poems are often deeply spiritual, religious sentiment is notably absent from "Relief." Early in the poem, Chapone

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<sup>168</sup> Parker notes that Johnston Schoolcraft left this poem "[u]ntitled," so he called it "Relief."

<sup>169</sup> Parker also points out that "[t]he two poems follow the same meter and rhyme scheme, rhymed couplets of iambic tetrameter alternating with single lines of iambic trimeter, with the trimeter lines rhymed in pairs" (128). Chapone "was active in [the] literary circles" of famous eighteenth-century writers Samuel Johnson and Samuel Richardson ("Chapone, Hester, *formerly* Mulso"). Chapone "contributed in a small way to the *Rambler* and the *Adventurer*" and "[h]er best-known works are letters, notably *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind* (1773), addressed to young women" and "cited by Mary Wollstonecraft" ("Chapone, Hester, *formerly* Mulso").

seeks the “melancholy maid” Solitude to escape “from crowds and noise and show” (7, 2): “Thrice welcome, friendly Solitude! / O let no busy foot intrude, / Nor list’ning ear be nigh!” (4-6). Johnston Schoolcraft copies these lines at the beginning of “Relief,” except that she cleverly and ruthlessly exchanges the word “foot” for “fool” (“Relief” 2), suggesting that her poem was written in response to pain someone caused her. As Parker notes (128), while Chapone writes that “[t]o thee alone my conscious heart / Its tender sorrow dares impart” (13-14), Johnston Schoolcraft writes, “Alone, whilst I my conscious heart, / Its tender sorrow does impart” (4-5). While Chapone addresses Solitude directly, declaring that it is only to Solitude that she can express her grief, Johnston Schoolcraft claims to be physically alone in her grief. Yet her self-conscious incorporation and alteration of Chapone’s words shows her to be in emotional company with Chapone. In this vein, Johnston Schoolcraft echoes Chapone’s request that Solitude “ease my lab’ring breast” (15) when she writes that in solitude she may “[h]eave then my breast with painful signs” “[u]nseen by mortal eye” (7, 6). Similarly, she responds to Chapone’s sentiment that she will “bid the tear that swells mine eye / No longer be supprest” (17-18) with her description of how “[t]rembling the tear drops from my eyes; / And on my hand it gently lies” (10-11). Chapone’s poem describes the method by which she seeks to overcome and resign her feelings; conversely, Johnston Schoolcraft’s poem focuses on the means by which she forges an opportunity to express her feelings.

The solidarity Johnston Schoolcraft imagines between herself and Chapone justifies her “[e]xpressing all ... [her] grief,” through a cathartic “tear” as well as words, and this grants her “a slight relief” (9, 10, 12). In repeating Chapone’s words and incorporating her “rhyme scheme” (Parker 128) in “Relief,” Johnston Schoolcraft once again uses the work of a female English writer to provide a defense for her own emotions as an Indigenous woman. She is able to inhabit her emotions without fear of historicization or of being told that her feelings are not right. By putting herself in dialogue with a “famous[ly]” “proto-feminist” poet (128) who invokes tropes of melancholy found in the works of male Romantics, Johnston Schoolcraft at least implicitly applies the argument for British women’s intellectualism in the service of Indigenous peoples. She argues for Indigenous “intellectual sovereignty” by asserting her right to own her feelings in the present, and by using these feelings as an intellectual and theoretical framework not only

for reading Chapone, but also for developing an ethical cross-cultural reading methodology. Furthermore, her references to famous writers like Chapone and Taylor argue that there is a respected place within popular American culture for feelings like hers.

Unlike Sir Francis Bond Head whose grief promotes elimination by equating settler sorrow with Indigenous loss, Johnston Schoolcraft's poetry posits another type of relationality that is possible between parties who are affected by grief: service in support of others' happiness. Soni demonstrates that eighteenth- and nineteenth-century British sentimental culture refocused spectators' "concern" away from "the other's happiness [which] is no longer our responsibility" (313) and onto self-centred feelings (309). This refocusing aligns with Luciano's argument that ordinary time works to redirect attention from private grief in favour of national narratives of progress. While this inattention to personal happiness and emphasis upon settler colonial progress are apparent in Head's writing, Johnston Schoolcraft does not lose sight of the significance of happiness in her poetry. For instance, on multiple occasions, she suggests that Henry is responsible for her feelings of unhappiness, as we saw in my earlier discussions of "An answer" and, in Chapter 2, "Lines written at Castle Island, Lake Superior." However, rather than just expressions of melancholy that evoke sympathy in readers, Johnston Schoolcraft's poems propose a decolonial understanding of this sympathy in their descriptions of personal responsibility for the happiness of others. In "Language Divine!" (1816),<sup>170</sup> she offers herself and her mother as models for this sense of responsibility. "Language Divine!" was written while Johnston Schoolcraft and Ozhaguscodaywayquay were "preparing" for "a visit to a family, who had just received distressing news from some of their absent relatives" (poem subtitle qtd. in Parker 145). Parker believes that this poem corresponds with the events described in one of Henry's entries in "Dawn of Literary Composition by Educated Natives of the aboriginal tribes" (145): according to Henry, Johnston Schoolcraft felt "a deep sympathy for a poor neighboring family, of French descent,

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<sup>170</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft left this poem "[u]ntitled" (Parker 145). Parker used the first two words of the poem as a title in his anthology of Johnston Schoolcraft's works (145).

which had lost one of its members” to “cannibalism [sic]” (qtd. in Parker 244).<sup>171</sup> In the poem, Johnston Schoolcraft invokes “Language divine” for its assistance in “breath[ing] the feelings of the heart / That burns with sympathetic woe / For those whose tears incessant flow” (2-4). Unlike in Euro-Western “spectacle[s] of pathos” (Harkin 9) where a spectator’s sympathy becomes a means of inhabiting their own emotions, potentially enabling them to enjoy others’ sorrow as theatre (Soni 298-99) and to ignore the happiness of others, Johnston Schoolcraft’s sympathy is formulated to ameliorate the sorrow of others and improve their happiness through service. Through her words, Johnston Schoolcraft hopes “[t]o soothe the broke and bleeding heart, / To lull despair [sic] into a calm” and “[t]o cheer the agonized breast” (10-11, 13). “Then,” she asserts, “shall I ne’er the time repent, / In service of my neighbor spent” (15-16). Johnston Schoolcraft proposes an understanding of the function of sympathy alternate to that of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century sentimentalism. In her poem, sympathy inspires action as well as attention to and care for the happiness of others.

For Head, language, particularly the language of sympathy, is the means by which he promotes elimination; conversely, for Johnston Schoolcraft, language becomes a means for creating a space of ethical engagement. While it is uncertain whether the suffering family is French or Indigenous with French ancestry, Johnston Schoolcraft proposes an ethical space of engagement not only within a colonial context but as a form of relationality with decolonial potential. Johnston Schoolcraft broadens her form of ethical spaces of engagement from a personal focus to a decolonial political commentary in her poems “The Contrast.” “There are four manuscripts” of this poem, the latest of which is notably “different” from the first three (Parker 117).<sup>172</sup> In the earlier version from the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers that Parker includes in his anthology, titled “The Contrast, a Splenetic Effusion. March 1823,” Johnston Schoolcraft considers the

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<sup>171</sup> Henry provides little explanation of this event, writing only that a man was killed “in a season of great want and scarcity, North of lake Superior” “in 1816” (qtd. in Parker 244). Johnston Schoolcraft and Ozhagusodaywayquay went “on . . . a visit of condolence to the bereaved mother” (qtd. in Parker 244).

<sup>172</sup> I am using Parker’s transcriptions of the poem in *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing Through the Sky*. In addition to the latest version of the poem (found in the Jane Johnston Schoolcraft Papers), Parker includes an earlier version found among the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers (Parker 117). There are also two other manuscripts in the Henry Rowe Schoolcraft Papers (117). However, according to Parker, these earlier poems are all “dated March 1823” and “are all similar” (117).

difference between her feelings while growing up with her family at home in Sault Ste. Marie and her feelings after “she falls in love with Henry, for the drafts of this version are dated March 1823, after Henry’s arrival at the Sault in July 1822 and before their marriage in October 1823” (52). Her focus is personal, as evidenced by her opening lines: “With pen in hand I shall contrast, / What I have felt—what now has past!” (1-2). During her youth, she explains, she and the people she loved engaged in sympathies enacted in service for each other’s happiness. She tells how “[b]y actions kind, ... [she] strove to prove” her love for her friends, and “if by chance one gave me pain,” they “wish[ed] to grieve me not again” (20, 5, 6). The efforts of her friends to make amends through their words “[i]nfused a joy throughout ... [her] mind— / That to have been one moment pain’d, / Seem’d more like bliss but just attain’d” (8-10). That is, her friends not only reconciled themselves to her but actually strengthened their relationship through their sympathies. Johnston Schoolcraft indicates, however, some significant differences in her relationship with Henry. In emphasizing that her “feelings *ever were* believ’d” by her family and friends at Sault Ste. Marie (24), she implies that they no longer are believed in her relationship, an implication that resonates with her more direct complaint in “An answer.” Her contrast promotes the ethical engagements of her Indigenous friends, so very different from eighteenth-century Western understandings of sympathy, as a model for relationality superior to Henry’s intellectual sympathies because they sustain and strengthen real connections between people and especially because they uphold the feelings—indicators of the mental worlds—of Indigenous people.

In the later version of the poem, titled “The Contrast,” Johnston Schoolcraft demonstrates the connection between her personal mental world and the broader sociopolitical landscape of the region. She revises her earlier poem’s opening lines accordingly: “With pen in hand, I shall contrast, / The present moments with the past,” thereby branching out from specifically what she has felt to discuss the changes in her interzone (1-2).

However, Johnston Schoolcraft emphasizes that her lens for analyzing the impacts of these changes is still Indigenous feelings because she intends to “mark difference, not by grains, / But weighed by feelings, joys and pains” (3-4). In so doing, Johnston Schoolcraft implicitly deconstructs her husband’s intellectual sympathies with their claim to establish solidarities between Indigenous and Western mental worlds. Rather, she

laments, “[H]ow changed is every scene, / Our little hamlet, and the green” (35-36). “How changed,” she continues, “since full of strife and fear, / The world hath sent its votaries here” (39-40). Unlike the ethical engagements she portrays between Indigenous members of her community, Johnston Schoolcraft demonstrates the destructiveness of intellectual sympathies. While this version removes commentary on Johnston Schoolcraft’s relationship with Henry, she replaces it with her perspective on the Americans whom her husband represents as the “Indian agent” for Michigan: as Parker notes, “[t]hough the poem never mentions Henry, he was the official . . . representative of the United States . . . so that the second version of the poem implicitly includes and rewrites the first version’s personal story in nationalist terms,” “offer[ing] a bracingly colonial reading of her marriage” (53). Her marriage to Henry parallels her understanding of the relationship between Indigenous nations and America and so maintains the tension between Indigenous feelings (and the mental worlds they represent) and Henry’s intellectual sympathies. Johnston Schoolcraft shows that while Indigenous people “[w]elcome the proud Republic here,” the relationship they offer is met with a destructiveness that neglects Indigenous sovereignty and feelings: “The tree cut down—the cot removed,” “[t]he busy strife of young and old / To gain one sordid bit of gold” (54, 41, 43-44). Johnston Schoolcraft satirizes the language of “discovery” to explain the feelings of Indigenous people in navigating a relationship with the Americans. Rather than Indigenous and Western peoples participating in an ethical space of engagement, Johnston Schoolcraft warns that Indigenous people must “trim our sail anew, to steer / By shoals we never knew were here” (49-50). While Americans claimed their sovereignty on Indigenous land through the doctrine of discovery, Johnston Schoolcraft asserts that what has been discovered is not the land or the people, but rather the extent of the Americans’ colonial intentions. These characteristics, she suggests, prevent them from participating in an ethical space of engagement.

By holding the Americans accountable, Johnston Schoolcraft similarly contrasts Henry’s intellectual sympathies that seek to eliminate Indigenous people with her own intellectual sovereignty—her persistent embodiment of her feelings and her assertion not only of their validity, but also of the validity of the Indigenous mental world they represent. Johnston Schoolcraft further promotes Indigenous intellectual sovereignty through her

later poem's Western references to what an ethical space of engagement on Indigenous land might look like. For instance, Johnston Schoolcraft's father (John Johnston) was Irish, and Christine Cavalier draws a connection between "The Contrast" and Irish writer Oliver Goldsmith's "The Deserted Village" (1770). While Johnston Schoolcraft "[I]ament[s] the erasure of 'The cot the simple Indian loved' (42)<sup>173</sup> and the devastation done to 'The long rich green, where warriors played' (37) beneath the 'breezy elm-wood shade' (38)," Goldsmith similarly "yearn[s] for the days when 'sheltered cot[s]' and 'hamlets' were inhabited by the rural poor and young swains played 'sports beneath the spreading tree' and on the 'green' (10, 65, 18, 72)" (105). Cavalier observes that Johnston Schoolcraft compares her Ojibwe community with "the displaced agrarian working-class of Britain" (105). Yet, Johnston Schoolcraft distinguishes her perspective from the racist view of Goldsmith:

unlike Goldsmith's hysterical vision of hapless white colonists being confronted by "crouching tigers ... / And savage men more murderous still than they" (355-56), [Johnston] Schoolcraft's critique of Euro-American newcomers suggests her decidedly subversive reading of Goldsmith's concluding verses or the idea that "states of *native strength* possess / Though very poor, may still be very blest" (425-26, emphasis added). (Cavalier 105)

For Johnston Schoolcraft, the United States' policy of removal "ultimately transforms" Indigenous land "into a chaotic scene of deforestation, avarice, and legal wrangling" (105). Her reference to Goldsmith thus expresses solidarity for the British and Irish

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<sup>173</sup> Johnston Schoolcraft also uses the phrase "simple Indian" in her poem "On the Doric Rock, Lake Superior." While it may initially seem as though this phrase uncritically reflects a Euro-Western, Romantic understanding of Indigenous people, Bethany Schneider points out that in "On the Doric Rock," Johnston Schoolcraft uses it to satirize an insulting letter she had received from Melancthon Woolsey, an American printer and associate of Henry's (133-38). The Indigenous person in this poem is Johnston Schoolcraft's brother George, and, as Schneider explains, Johnston Schoolcraft "allows ... [him] to inhabit the stereotype ... of the Indian" to deconstruct that stereotype (133). Her use of the phrase "simple Indian" in "The Contrast" may be similarly designed to deconstruct this stereotype by, as Cavalier suggests, drawing Indigenous peoples into alignment with the oppressed citizens of Britain (105). As with the "agrarian working-class of Britain" (105), Ojibwe people are not "simple," and the issues their communities face are not inevitable but rather the result of unjust relations of power in which their communities' traditional ways of living on the land are disrespected. Johnston Schoolcraft's phrase "simple Indian" reveals that Romantic explanations are insufficient to account for Indigenous loss: the cause is colonialism, and the impacts are social, political, cultural, and economic.

working-class impacted by enclosure (Cavalier 105),<sup>174</sup> at the same time demonstrating how Western mental worlds might support Indigenous sovereignty and intellectualism by making space for decolonial interventions in popular pre-existing Euro-Western conversations. This sense of solidarity establishes an ethical space of engagement that is mutually supportive for the subjects of her and Goldsmith's poems. She thereby contrasts this space with the reality of the relationship between Indigenous peoples and Americans.

## Conclusion: The Settler Colonial Climate and the Social Forecast of Canada

In *Unsettling the Settler Within: Indian Residential Schools, Truth Telling, and Reconciliation in Canada*, Paulette Regan “juxtapose[s]” excerpts from former Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories Alexander Morris’s *The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (1880) and former Prime Minister Paul Martin’s 2004 speech at the Canada-Aboriginal Peoples Roundtable (85). In so doing, Regan demonstrates that “collectively ... [Canadians] still studiously avoid looking too closely at the settler problem. The hegemonic structures and practices within bureaucratic systems, and the unequal power relations that define colonial violence, remain for the most part invisible to non-Native people” (86-87). Of special interest to me, with respect to this project, is that the excerpt Regan analyzes from Morris’s text contains what I believe to be an unattributed reference to Sir Francis Bond Head’s *The Emigrant*.

Morris claims that, with settler interventions, Indigenous peoples will stop “melting away, as one of them in older Canada, tersely put it, ‘as snow before the sun’” (qtd. in

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<sup>174</sup> According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, “[a]n Enclosure Act is a private Act of Parliament authorizing the ‘enclosure’ of common land in some particular locality” (“Enclosure,” def. 1a). In eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, enclosure “displac[ed] yeoman farmers who, like their ancestors, had lived for generations in small villages, grazing their cattle on common land and raising food on small holdings” to accommodate private landowners’ desire for “more profitable farming or ... vast private parks and landscape gardens” (Abrams et al. 2858n1). Without this “arable land,” “many ... people” were forced “to seek employment in the city or to migrate to America” (2858n1). Enclosure benefitted private landowners while preventing local communities from using the land as they had formerly done. As Cavalier indicates, in “The Contrast,” Johnston Schoolcraft draws a line between—without equating—British Enclosure Acts and America’s policy for removal of Indigenous peoples (105).

Regan 85). Only, it was Sir Francis who wrote this. Head notes that, while at the gathering on Manitoulin Island in 1836, he listened to an Elder discuss “how gradually and ... how continuously the race of red men had melted, and were still melting, like snow before the sun” (92). Of course, it is entirely possible that Head invented this man or at least his speech. After all, he does not actually quote the Elder, and he informs his readers that “[a]s I did not take notes of this speech, or of those of several other chiefs who afterward addressed the council, I could only very inaccurately repeat them. Beside which, a considerable portion of them related to details of no public importance” (92). Yet Head does “repeat” this Elder’s speech when he publishes it in his travel narrative ten years later. How did he remember something “of no public importance” without notes after such a length of time? I am suspicious that Head invented the metaphor himself and attributed it to an Indigenous person as a tactic for justifying his Romantic primitivist intellectual sympathies and attendant colonial policies, especially because in “The Red Man” Head had previously used this metaphor for Indigenous disappearance himself, without attributing it to an Indigenous person. When he published this essay in 1840, he wrote that “the Aborigines of America in both hemispheres have been constantly fading before our eyes; and this annihilation of the real proprietors of the New World has excited no more sympathy than has been felt for the snow of their country, which every year has rapidly melted under the bright sun of heaven!” (307-08). Forty years later, Morris appears to quote Head to argue that Indigenous disappearance will cease if “a wise and paternal Government faithfully carrying out the provisions of our treaties” (296) intervenes in Indigenous communities to “care” for the people, who will become “happy, prosperous and self-sustaining” as well as “loyal subjects of the Crown” (297). The ameliorative approach Head takes to colonialism when describing the developing settler nation in Upper Canada is transposed by Morris, a later lieutenant-governor, into his book published after Confederation and during the early years of Canada’s nationhood. Regan argues that it continues to this day in the popular Canadian national consciousness.

This persistent ameliorative approach to Canadian identity throughout the consecutive phases of Canadian nationhood also demonstrates that while Head had his Romantic primitivism, and Jameson had her feminism, the settler colonial malady can be mobilized in support of even completely contradictory policies about Indigenous peoples, such as

Head's removal scheme and Morris's assimilationist understanding of treaties. After all, while Head sought to maintain his intellectual sympathies by advocating for Indigenous removal to prevent "contamination," and Jameson proposed resurrecting her intellectual sympathies by regulating Indigenous bodies through exertions of Euro-Western female authority, Morris likewise suggests that settlers might indigenize themselves by healing Indigenous communities or by "doing ... [their] utmost to help and elevate the Indian population, who have been cast upon our care" (296-97). The settler colonial malady is, then, a flexible method by which settlers and Euro-Western tourists are able to effect elimination in that it can be invoked by various stakeholders with differing ideas about settler relationships with Indigenous peoples across distinct phases of national identity. Furthermore, Morris writes that in providing "care" for Indigenous peoples, "Canada will be enabled to feel, that in a truly patriotic spirit, our country has done its duty by the red men of the North-West, and thereby to herself" (297). The settler colonial malady is a form of sympathy that, once again, circles back to its origin: that is, as in Jameson's *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and Head's *The Emigrant* and "The Red Man," settler "care" for Indigenous peoples functions as a means of healing settler disorientation and validating settler belonging.

However, the settler colonial malady is deconstructed through Indigenous interventions like those of the Drummond Island Métis and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft—interventions that reconsider settler colonial interpretations of temporality and Indigenous affect through a decolonial lens that reveals the problematic nature of settler intellectual sympathies. By suggesting methods for materializing ethical spaces of engagement with settlers, spaces which reaffirm Indigenous intellectual sovereignty, Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis also critique the ameliorative colonial dynamics of their region, refusing, as Linda Tuhiwai Smith writes, to be "disconnect[ed] ... from ... their own ways of thinking, feeling and interacting with the world" (28).

## Conclusion

In contemporary politics—and over the last two hundred years—Native communities have been depicted and conceived as transitory, dying communities, despite the reality of vitality and strength of Native people who refuse to give up ground to the forces of settler-colonialism.... Beyond examining the discursive frameworks located in specific historical, political, and cultural moments, we must also think critically about “sets of choices, omissions, uncertainties, and intentions” that are “critical to, yet obscured within” the mapping of the body polity and nation-state.

— Mishuana Goeman, “Notes toward a Native Feminism’s Spatial Practice”<sup>175</sup>

In “The Red Man,” Sir Francis Bond Head writes of the English that “it is difficult to say whether our friendship or our enmity has been most fatal” to Indigenous peoples (343). Throughout this dissertation, I have discussed how sympathy like Head’s has been integral to “the logic of elimination” (Wolfe 387) in nineteenth-century Upper Canada, particularly in Head’s *The Emigrant* and Anna Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*. In their travel writings, Head and Jameson represent themselves as exceptionally sympathetic toward Indigenous peoples, even substantiating their sympathetic personas through comparison with other British writers or settlers. Over the years, literary critics have compounded the effect of these self-representations, praising Head, for instance, for his opposition to assimilation policy and glorifying Jameson as a beacon of allyship. This very exceptionality should, given Head’s and Jameson’s promotion of elimination, prompt reconsideration of the work of sympathy in purportedly allied or decolonial discourses. Such reconsideration is important because, as Naomi Greyser explains in *On Sympathetic Grounds*, “[s]ympathy has served as an embodied form of knowledge for determining what arrangements of life on the North American continent looked and felt like, including who had the space to flourish and who was displaced, exiled, or oppressed” (13).

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<sup>175</sup> Goeman’s quotations are from Dennis Cosgrove’s introduction to *Mappings* (185n1).

In this dissertation, I have interrogated settler sympathy as a way of making visible the work of settler affect in materializing the colonial nation, but also as a way of demonstrating how Indigenous interventions complicate and resist colonial narratives and policies, proposing possibilities for decolonial futures attentive to Indigenous cultural consciousness and long-standing community knowledges. Specifically, I have put Head and Jameson into conversation with the Drummond Island Métis and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft in order to complicate the “simple” and “incomplete” narrative that we have inherited about the Great Lakes “*interzone*[.]” in the nineteenth century (Foster 272). By reconstructing the textual and interpersonal interactions between these writers and speakers, I represent the way they and their respective communities engage and “renegotiate their communal cultural frames,” attending carefully to how Indigenous voices influence the conversation (272). That is, in their poetry, letters, and stories/interviews, Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders implicitly posit what, from their perspectives, might constitute an “ethical space of engagement” (Ermine 193) between Indigenous peoples and settlers. Moreover, they exceed the limited representations of themselves in the work and policies of their settler or British contemporaries, refusing settler sympathy and Euro-Western belief in Indigenous disappearance by asserting instead the vibrance, vitality, rights, identity, stories, presence, histories, and futures—in short, the “survivance” (Vizenor vii)—of their communities. Reading Head and Jameson in the context of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis not only challenges canonical literary representations of Indigenous people and settler history in Canada by reframing these representations within Indigenous perspectives, but also indicates the necessity of such a reading practice for unsettling settler sympathy in favour of a more complex “understanding [of] the processes that have defined our current spatialities” (Goeman, *Mark* 3) to prompt more committed ethical engagements with Indigenous peoples.

Each of the previous chapters applies, as its theoretical apparatus, Creek scholar Tol Foster’s concept of the regional frame. Foster writes that “it is within the regional frame that we most effectively witness the *interzones* where different constituencies collide,” and notes the importance of the regional frame for recovering previously “silenced” voices (272). I chose to apply the regional frame to a focused analysis of people and

communities who had interpersonal and intertextual interactions, and thereby emphasize the impact of such recovery upon the Canadian literary canon and national history. Considering the voices of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis in relation to Head and Jameson within the context of their interzone has been ideal for a detailed study, particularly within this project's working constraints of time and space. However, there are many more voices from the Great Lakes interzone in the nineteenth century—such as Shingwaukose (Anishinaabe), Catherine Sonego Sutton (Anishinaabe), Margaret Fuller (American), and Harriet Martineau (English), to name only a few—and attending to them would make the story of this region even more complex and nuanced. Far from analyzing this interzone to replace a canonical reading of literature and history with a new static reading, I seek instead to offer a starting point for a broader, active, and ongoing re-examination of this interzone. I hope to prompt a radical unsettling that continuously invites new voices into the conversation and refuses to quell settler anxieties about colonialism, thereby making a new and dynamic story that is better and healthier and more vibrant for every previously silenced voice that now has the opportunity to speak.

While my focus on Johnston Schoolcraft's and the Drummond Island Métis' unsettling of Jameson's and Head's sympathy emphasizes how these Indigenous writers and speakers advocate for the sovereignty and survivance of their communities in the face of overwhelming settler belief in and promotion of Indigenous disappearance, I have not addressed how such resistance also takes Indigenous inter-national forms of solidarity against settler sympathy. In part, this is because, as I mentioned in the introduction, I am writing about "conversations" between writers and I have not found literary interactions between Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders. However, more contemporary writings that recall the works of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis—such as the Hiawatha pageants and Métis author Cherie Dimaline's novel *Empire of Wild* (2019)—exemplify critical inter-national interventions as well as the ongoing impacts of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Island Métis in the present. This resonance or even continuity between Indigenous works from the colonial period and the contemporary moment illustrates, as Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders contended, Indigenous survivance despite prophecies of elimination—that is,

both “the continuance of native stories” and “an active sense of [Indigenous] presence” (Vizenor vii). This continuity also suggests Indigenous resurgence, which Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg scholar Leanne Simpson describes as Indigenous peoples’ “generative refusal” of the settler state’s “dispossessive forces of capitalism, heteropatriarchy, and white supremacy” in addition to the “embod[iment] [of] an Indigenous alternative” (*As We* 35, 34-35, 35). Wolfe states that settler colonialism “is a structure not an event” (388), and, as I have shown, Jameson’s and Head’s travel narratives are foundational to the literary, historical, and social paradigms that continue to structure the Canadian nation. The more contemporary Indigenous works I will now turn to in this conclusion demonstrate that despite conscious and unintentional settler silencing tactics, the influence of Johnston Schoolcraft and the Drummond Islanders is also not limited to the past: rather, these authors form important nodes in expanding networks of Indigenous solidarities that continue to dismantle colonial structures.

The Hiawatha pageants, as envisioned by settler stakeholders in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, are based on Henry Rowe Schoolcraft’s appropriation of traditional oral stories told by Jane Johnston Schoolcraft and her community. In this sense, the pageants reference the continuation of the settler sympathy I discuss in this project—that is, the way ongoing settler colonialism repeatedly takes recourse to Indigenous stories and bodies to persistently enact elimination despite shifting systemic structures. As I discussed in the third chapter, Henry Rowe Schoolcraft recorded traditional Anishinaabe oral stories about Nanabozho in *Algonquin Researches* (1839), and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow adapted these stories into *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) (McNally 109-10, Mielke 229n38), which has been central to American settler “indigenization” (Goldie 194) because it depicts Indigenous disappearance and the transference of Indigenous sovereignty to settlers.<sup>176</sup> The reference to Hiawatha, “one of the founders of the Haudenosaunee Confederacy,” in Longfellow’s title may seem confusing, but either Longfellow “knowingly swapped” the names, perhaps “for acoustic

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<sup>176</sup> According to Michael D. McNally, “[w]hen Longfellow first published the *Song of Hiawatha* in 1855, he cleared arguably the most familiar path for Americans to follow their fancy into Indianness” (109). He offers as evidence the fact that Longfellow’s poem was “[r]ecited by generations of American schoolchildren, especially on Columbus Day” (109).

effect” (Evans 140n5), or “his publishers retitled it *The Song of Hiawatha*, after the Iroquois prophet with ‘better credentials’” than Nanabozho (McNally 110), who settlers often consider in ethnographic terms as a “trickster.” Of course, Anishinaabe peoples understand Nanabozho differently: Nanabozho or “Nanabush is,” as Simpson explains, “widely regarded within Nishnaabeg thought as an important teacher” who “stories the land with a sharp criticality necessary for moving through the realm of the colonized into the dreamed reality of the decolonized” (*As We* 163, 163, 163-64). While Nanabozho is often depicted as “young, able-bodied [and] male,” Simpson observes that “Nanabush can and does appear in a variety of different forms ... representing all kinds of humans, animals, plants, and even elements” (*Gift* 6). This difference in understanding resonates with settlers’ and Anishinaabe peoples’ varying approaches to the early development of the Hiawatha pageants: as I will now discuss, although settlers used the Hiawatha pageants to promote colonialism, the Anishinaabe community at Garden River First Nation engaged in decolonial work through the pageants.

At the end of the nineteenth century, Colonization Officer for the Canadian Pacific Railway Louis Olivier Armstrong began to use Longfellow’s American epic to the advantage of the Canadian settler state. According to Fenn Elan Stewart, “[i]n addition to meeting British Columbia’s requirements to join Confederation,” “the C.P.R. ... attract[ed] white settlers and tourists to ‘remote’ regions in the process of ‘opening’ them for settlement” in part through “the ways in which Armstrong’s promotional work for the C.P.R. draws on the figure of Hiawatha” (166).<sup>177</sup> In particular, Armstrong “approached ... [the Anishinaabe community at Garden River First Nation] to create a pageant to be part of the Summer Tours promotional program that the CPR hoped would counteract the decrease in travel brought on by the depression of the 1890s,”<sup>178</sup> and “[i]n 1899,

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<sup>177</sup> This “promotional work” of Armstrong’s also included “publish[ing] glowing descriptions of hunting and fishing trips, complete with railway timetables and ‘how to get there’ instructions” (F. Stewart 166, 167). Armstrong wrote these descriptions “with reference to *Hiawatha*,” and “[i]t was in part the cachet of *Hiawatha* that worked to turn Canadian forests and lakes into an excitingly wild space for would-be settlers and tourists” (167).

<sup>178</sup> According to McNally, “Armstrong maintained that the pageant began not with him, but with George Kabaosa, an Anishinaabe man from Garden River Reserve who had heard Armstrong recite portions of the poem around a campfire in 1893” (112). When Longfellow’s daughters “visit[ed]” the area near Garden River First Nation at the turn of the century, “Armstrong came up with the idea of ‘an impromptu

Ketegaunseebee Anishinaabe actors from the Garden River First Nation near Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, began an annual season of *Hiawatha* pageants that would continue for over fifty years” (Evans 126, 124). Beyond the localized pageant for railway travellers, “the pageant” also would travel “to Madison Square Garden, Philadelphia, Boston, Toronto, and beyond to London and Amsterdam, and onto the silver screen in a version captured on silent film” (McNally 106).

In some ways, the development and format of the *Hiawatha* pageants exemplify settler sympathy. For instance, a reviewer named I. M. Slusser,<sup>179</sup> who witnessed one of the earlier performances in 1903, defends the pageant as being “in thorough sympathy with the Indians,” and states that “[w]ithout the help of their faithful white friend” in recording these stories and recovering “customs and modes of dress” from museums, the Anishinaabe community “could have done very little” (58). While Slusser studiously omits why sympathy is being extended to this nation, his explanation that imitations of cultural objects were reproduced through study at museums unwittingly points toward the disrespectful treatment of Indigenous people by earlier settlers in their acquisition of Indigenous culture. However, this settler interest in presenting an “authentic” image of Anishinaabe culture is really an effort to create a spectacle for settler audiences and thereby avoid Indigenous realities. For instance, Michael D. McNally argues that “the staged version of the ‘real Indian’ rendered invisible the real Anishinaabe people who offstage were trying to raise families, get school clothes for their children, and pass on traditions. For once the show was over and the buckskin put away, there were again no more ‘real Indians’” (108). Similarly, the audience may have considered themselves to be allies, but they acted out the process of indigenization when they watched *Hiawatha* seemingly transfer sovereignty to the missionaries at the end of the play<sup>180</sup> and then, as

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presentation of a play based on the poem’ . . . . By the following summer, Armstrong had regularized the performance as part of his promotion of the region” (112).

<sup>179</sup> I learned about Slusser’s review in Patricia Jasen’s *Wild Things* (85, 172n15).

<sup>180</sup> While not referencing Indigenous sovereignty or indigenization, Jasen and McNally note similar effects of the final scene. Jasen writes that *Hiawatha* “welcomes the missionaries who have come to the village, and instructs his people to heed and protect them” (85). McNally explains that the play “ended with the noble hero *Hiawatha* singing a poignant ‘Death Song’ for the Indian past that bid welcome to European missionaries” (105). Katy Young Evans adds that although “*Longfellow intended*” “the ending of *Hiawatha*” to be “a prophecy of Indian loss and disappearance” (132), the “final song” (134), as “adapted” by an Anishinaabe performer (133), “was a traveling song, not a death song” (134). Within this

McNally writes, “play[ed] Indian themselves by participating in the great feast of ‘bear meat and venison,’ fishing with ‘Indian guides,’ and engaging in canoe races and portage contests” (116). Settler audiences watched Hiawatha “disappear” and then attempted to take the place of Indigenous people as a way of confirming their relationship with Indigenous lands and concealing the destructive processes by which they had settled on these lands.

However, the Hiawatha pageants also demonstrate the decolonial interventions of the Garden River Anishinaabe community and the way these interventions reframe and deconstruct the eliminatory settler sympathy in the play’s production. For instance, according to Katy Young Evans, “[t]he script developed over the first few years” and members of the cast had significant input in the creation of the “bilingual English-Anishinaabemowin version ... published in 1901, titled *Hiawatha, or Nanabozho: An Ojibway Indian Play*” (126).<sup>181</sup> Evans explains that because the lines of the play were delivered in Anishinaabemowin, the actors used the Hiawatha pageants as a way to “resist[] ... paternalistic colonial policies” that were trying to forbid traditional languages (128). Additionally, the actors used Anishinaabemowin to assert “the inextricable links between language and culture” (128). Since children were involved in the performances, the “pageants” were also “a vehicle of alternative education to counteract” residential schools and the customary prohibition of Indigenous languages and cultural practices therein (128). Furthermore, through the play, the community announced explicit declarations of Indigenous sovereignty, such as when H. B. Cotterill, one of Longfellow’s editors, describes how, during a rendition of the play, an Elder “showed” the audience “a medal given to his ancestors by one of our Kings, ‘as a pledge that their rights should be respected,’ and with the promise that as long as the sun shone the Indians should be happy” (qtd. in F. Stewart 171-72). However, the Elder informed the audience that his community was not “always happy” (qtd. in F. Stewart 172).

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Anishinaabe “context[],” then, “the final scene reemphasizes an Anishinaabe view of the character of Hiawatha (Nanabush) and an Anishinaabe view of the continuation of their world” (132).

<sup>181</sup> Evans believes that probable “Anishinaabe contributors to this script included George Kabaosa; his nephew Wabonosa ... his daughter Rebecca; Tekumegezhik Shawano, who often played Hiawatha; Margaret Waubunosa ... and a Mohawk man from Kahnaw[á:]ke, Joseph (Sose Akwiranoron) Beauvais” (126-27). She also points out that it is possible that all 40-100 cast members “commented on the pageant as it was being developed and that the script continued to change from year to year” (127).

Moreover, the Anishinaabe actors built on their performance of the Hiawatha pageants, expanding their decolonizing project by “collaborat[ing] with performers from Kahnawà:ke, a Mohawk community just north of Lake Champlain, to dramatize a new pageant about the founding of the Haudenosaunee, a more historically and culturally accurate representation of Hiawatha” (Evans 138). According to Evans, “[t]his revised pageant, *Hiawatha, the Mohawk*, was first performed for the Lake Champlain Tercentenary Celebration in 1909” (143n17). In developing this pageant, the actors offered an alternate model for relationships between nations: unlike settler sympathy, which enables elimination, the actors from Garden River First Nation and Kahnawà:ke related through a form of allyship that asserted the sovereignty and survivance of their respective nations, particularly through acts of solidarity that revised to resist a settler literary project of elimination. That they did so through the theatre suggests that while the theatre can be used as a frame that “misconstru[es]” reality (Marshall 33), it can also be used as a frame that “heal[s]” (Episkenew 149) it.<sup>182</sup> As Evans writes, “these actors were not players in a white colonial fantasy but active participants in their own story of survival, a story that continues” into the contemporary period “as the Garden River First Nation, beginning in 2006, started once again to perform *their* version of *Hiawatha* each summer” (139).

Cherie Dimaline, a descendant of the Red River and Drummond Island Métis, similarly exceeds settler sympathy to depict Indigenous survivance and solidarities in *Empire of Wild*, her 2019 novel which tells the story of protagonist Joan Beausoleil’s (Métis) search for and attempt to rescue her missing husband, Victor Boucher (Anishinaabe). After a “f[ight] about selling the land ... [Joan] inherited from her father” in Lafontaine, Victor disappears only to resurface (without any memory of Joan) “eleven months” later as Reverend Eugene Wolff, the popular minister of Thomas Heiser’s travelling Christian mission (6). *Empire of Wild* is set predominantly in Arcand, a contemporary, fictionalized

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<sup>182</sup> See, for instance, Métis scholar Jo-Ann Episkenew’s work on “[a]ppplied theatre ... as a catalyst for healing” (148-49). “Applied Theatre” refers to “the use of theatre ... for the purposes of teaching, bringing about social change and building a sense of community” (“Applied Theatre”). Indigenous applied theatre can also be an allied space for Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples because, as Episkenew asserts, “settlers cannot be cured from the pathology of colonialism unless they understand the damage that colonialism and colonial policies have wrought and the privileges they enjoy as a result” (155).

representation of Lafontaine, Ontario, which became the centre of the Drummond Island Métis community after the relocation (Travers 226). Dimaline begins her novel by describing this relocation (1-2), showing—like the Métis women and men interviewed by Osborne—how “the processes that have defined our current spatialities” (Goeman, *Mark* 3), or the processes by which the Métis came to this new home, are foundational to their continued presence. She unites the relocation with the contemporary moment in her prologue when she writes that “[w]hen the people forgot what they had asked for in the beginning—a place to live, and for the community to grow in a good way—he [the rogarou] remembered” (4). Dimaline describes the rogarou as “a dog, a man, a wolf” and makes it clear that if you misbehave in certain ways, “[t]he rogarou will come for you” (4, 3). For instance, Victor’s fight with Joan transformed him into a rogarou. He, however, had the added misfortune of being found by the novel’s villain, Heiser, a Wolfsenger—a person able to “control the wolves” (278). Controlling Victor meant transforming him into Reverend Wolff and using him and the mission to manipulate<sup>183</sup> Indigenous communities into supporting the extractive settler resource projects (e.g., mining, natural gas) for which Heiser works as a consultant.

While recalling the Lafontaine region’s Drummond Island Métis ancestors and how their relocation was the result of unethical settler interventions—how “[t]he new colonial authorities wanted the land but not the Indians” (2)—Dimaline suggests that this historical incident is continuous with present-day eliminatory settler colonial interest in Indigenous lands. *Empire of Wild* questions the nature of contemporary relationships between the Métis and settlers as well as the role of Christianity and other settler institutions in promoting colonialism. For instance, Dimaline begins her novel by citing ongoing conflict between the Métis and settlers when she states that in “the larger town across the Bay<sup>184</sup> ... Native people were still unwelcome two centuries” after the 1828 relocation from Drummond Island (3). While she gestures toward the importance of the

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<sup>183</sup> This manipulation appears to be a form of mind control. For example, when Joan interrupts one of Reverend Wolff’s sermons and he has to leave the mission tent to regain his composure, “it seemed like the crowd woke up, slowly and together” (125).

<sup>184</sup> Dimaline plays with the geography of the Lafontaine region, referencing familiar landmarks and places, though not always in their real geographic locations. Because of this, I am not sure which town she is referring to when she mentions “the larger town across the Bay.”

church when Joan's Mere<sup>185</sup> (grandmother), Angelique Trudeau, quips, "We're Métis, you fool. The church *is* the lodge" (22), Dimaline also shows how religious and other institutions and corporations can create spectacles of sympathy while practicing elimination. For example, Joan learns that "[m]ission tents are an important part of mining, of any project really—mining, forestry, pipelines" (220-21), and Heiser claims to have "vastly improved his odds by bringing the word of Jesus into the territories he had to sway toward resource projects" (175). He engages these communities publicly through "relentless PR," but "the real deals were being sweated out between lawyers in the backrooms" (46). Dimaline here critiques settler sympathy, portraying settler institutions and corporations as positioning themselves (in comparison with their historical counterparts) on purportedly more ethical terms with Indigenous communities through public displays even as they take advantage of these communities by prioritizing settler relationships and interests.

In *Empire of Wild*, then, the rogarou defines the central Indigenous characters' responsibilities to one another, the community, and the land, and, through the rogarou, Dimaline unites Indigenous communities against the systemic structures of ongoing settler colonialism. That is, as Joan follows Reverend Wolff to various Indigenous communities in her efforts to get back her husband, Victor, she at the same time maps through her "[e]mbodied geographies" (Goeman, *Mark* 12) ongoing settler colonial elimination in the Great Lakes region. Dimaline thus demonstrates the need not only for a united Indigenous resistance but also for Indigenous solidarities that speak to Indigenous knowledges and exceed settler colonialism and especially its vision for future land use. *Empire of Wild* suggests that while early colonial prophecies of elimination may appear to have taken more direct forms, settler colonialism in some ways continues to advance an insidious vision of "the world as God intended it to be" (Orianne Smith 31) in Indigenous communities. Also, although elimination may look different from the types of historical relocation and removal that were key governmental policies in the colonial period and with which the novel began, the structural and theatrical dynamics of sympathy continue to be at work in contemporary Canada. Although Osborne's interview

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<sup>185</sup> While I use an accent to spell "Mère," as in my first chapter, Dimaline does not.

frame situates the Drummond Island Métis community in a “paternal” (*Migration* 124) relationship with the settler government, Dimaline’s *Empire of Wild* defies the idea of such paternal relationships through Joan’s opposition to the mission and situates the descendants of the Drummond Islanders within a broader network of Indigenous communities, hinting at the need for further decolonial action to establish ethical engagements between settlers and Indigenous peoples in the present.

Attending to the voices of the Drummond Island Métis and Jane Johnston Schoolcraft, then, helps us to rethink our interzones—historical, contemporary, and literary. In particular, putting these voices into conversation with their canonical and political contemporaries (like Anna Jameson and Sir Francis Bond Head)—as well as with the communities and networks of stories and storytellers to which they are connected across time and place—reveals the important differences between settler sympathy and ethical engagement, prompting, I hope, more thoughtful consideration of Indigenous peoples and settlers’ “agreement[s] to interact” (Ermine 202). While my project has been focused upon the sympathetic foundations of colonialism in the first half of the nineteenth century, my brief consideration of the Hiawatha pageants and *Empire of Wild* demonstrates that settler feeling continues to be foundational to the project of nation-building and “[n]ational mythmaking” (Goeman, *Mark* 36). This continuity between the historical and contemporary moments indicates the need for caution regarding the work that sympathy may be doing in present socio-political discourses in Canada. *Empire of Wild* especially demonstrates how, even in a period of purported reconciliation, settler sympathy slides from “concern for the other’s happiness” into “identification” with the other (Soni 313). The question for contemporary Canada—a question that seems to me to be at the heart of Dimaline’s novel—is, if this sympathy is being mobilized in discourses of reconciliation, what happens to Canadians’ sense of “responsibility” (313) toward Indigenous peoples? What happens to all the work that settler Canada needs to do? Critical reflection upon such questions alongside an understanding of historical colonial context is vital because, as Greyer suggests (13), the affective colonialism that structured former colonies like Canada and America is ongoing, especially in the way these settler colonial nations neglect, de-prioritize, or disregard the feelings, thoughts, and knowledges of Indigenous peoples. And yet, faced with the historical sympathy of

colonial governments and contemporary Canada's fraught terms of reconciliation, collectively, the Indigenous intellectuals, authors, speakers, and actors discussed in this dissertation demonstrate what Daniel Heath Justice calls "the decolonization imperative": "the storied expression of continuity that encompasses resistance while moving beyond it to an active expression of the living relationship between the People and the world" (150). Such an "active expression" "ensure[s] the continuity of [I]ndigenous nations into the future" (150) and, as the Indigenous artists in this study have shown, exceeds the limitations of settler sympathy to create lived realities based on the strength of Indigenous peoples and their stories.

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<sup>186</sup> Throughout this dissertation, I quote from this print version of *The Migration of Voyageurs from Drummond Island to Penetanguishene in 1828*. I include the following citation for an electronic version of this document so that readers can view the painting *Penetanguishene Bay* by G. R. Dartnell.

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