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*WINTER STUDIES AND SUMMER RAMBLES: ANNA JAMESON'S REPRESENTATIONS
OF THE 'OTHER' AND SELF IN 19TH CENTURY COLONIAL CANADA*

by

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A Major Research Paper
presented to Ryerson University

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in the Program of
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Winter Studies and Summer Rambles: Anna Jameson's Representation of the 'Other' and Self in
19th Century Colonial Canada

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Abstract

This work looks at *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* by Anna Brownell Jameson, a travel autobiography documenting her travels through Upper Canada from December of 1836 to August of 1837 and her contact with Native people. Despite Jameson's claim of representing events as they are, devoid of subjectivity, it is clear that her writings reflect both the discourse of the time as well as her own position as a white, English speaking woman. Further, the colonial setting and the 'contact zone' provided Jameson with a space in which to experience different definitions of femininity and build on her feminist beliefs. In this environment she was able to evaluate the position of both white and Aboriginal women presenting a view which distinguished her from many other women writers of this genre.

Key words:

Anna Jameson; representations of Native people; Canadian literature; colonialism

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Introduction

A large part of what is today considered “early Canadian literature” arose as a result of mass immigration from the British Isles in the 19th century in attempts to build up Canada as a colony as part of a greater British Empire. One of the authors considered part of the canon of “early Canadian literature” was Anna Brownell Jameson, who in 1838, wrote *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* which describes her experiences in Canada from December of 1836 to August of 1837 and her contact with Native people. Born Brownell in Dublin Ireland, her family moved to England when she was four years old. Jameson was the wife of Robert Jameson, vice chancellor of Upper Canada, the province’s highest legal position. He played a major role in the government of the time (Henderson, 2003). By the time she joined her husband in Canada, she had already published seven books, including *Memoirs of the Loves of the Poet*, which illustrated the influence women had over the character and writings of men of genius (Kear, 2002). However, her marriage was unstable due to her indecision regarding her relationship (Fowler, 1982). During Jameson’s travel to Upper Canada, she obtained a legal separation from her husband. It is especially notable in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, as she discusses the position of women in relation to the Empire as well as the laws and ideologies governing the expectations of feminine conduct and morality in English Canada, a theme that had implications for her views on the role of Native women in Canada. *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* achieved literary success despite its negative comments on Upper Canadian society, its government and treatment of the Native peoples. Hopkins (1986) argues that “The existence of personal, written accounts of what it was like to settle in Canada in the early 1800s is in itself a revealing matter... (settler women) were educated. They recognized adventures and shared them in generous detail with their readers, whether they were distant relatives or the book buying

public” (pg. 9). The perceptions, ideologies and experiences in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* were, however, shaped by the discourses of the time which encompassed the stereotyping of the Native peoples.

This paper will focus on Jameson’s work as it relates exclusively to the colonization of English Canada and to British colonial ideologies, practices and policies. The purpose will be to explore Jameson’s representations of the First Nations, colonial society, and her position within that sphere. It will argue that Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is a combination of Romanticism, feminist ideologies, 19th century discourse, and ‘contact narratives’ (Pratt, 1992) in Upper Canada’s colonial society. Further, it will argue that although Jameson attempted to establish herself as a neutral entity simply depicting what she saw, there was an obvious subjectivity which was influenced by her own life, gender, and socio-economic status. It will seek to answer the following questions; How did Jameson view her position in colonial society? How are First Nations people portrayed? How do their representations reflect or challenge the colonial discourses and stereotypes of the time? The paper will begin by examining early Canadian literature as a genre as well as the discourse which views this genre as problematic, followed by the exploration of theoretical works regarding the representation of the Other in colonial literature. It will then situate *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* and its author in its historical and literary context. Finally, it will present a textual analysis of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* discussing Jameson’s views on herself as a female traveller in the colonies, the fate of the Native people, morality and gender in 19th century colonial Canadian society.

Early Canadian Literature

Groening (2004) states that “From the beginning of the written record in Canada, white writers have fearlessly entered the Indian country” (pg.3). Over ten million people left the British Isles permanently during the 18th-19th century and their migration made a large impact on the future of the colonies (Hanson, 2009). Most of the emigrants did not in fact end up settling in Canada, either because the United States presented better economic prospects or because they returned to England. The works which formed the foundation of Canada’s literary history and what is now considered “Can Lit” emerged as a result of this mass emigration. Blair, Coleman, Higgins and York (2005) in the introduction of their collection *ReCalling early Canada*, present the contested issue of labelling a literature which emerged from the colonial project as “early Canadian literature”. Currently there is a deficit in scholarly journals dedicated to historical research on Canada’s literary history. Also, Groening (2004) points out that 19th century women writers in Canada such as Susanna Moodie and Anna Jameson do not appear or appear mostly in passing in contemporary literary studies on the representation of Native peoples. New access and web publications of works that emerged out of early Canada have recently begun to spark the interest of many scholars in this period of Canada’s literary history (Blair et al, 2005). As Blair et al (2005) contend, “To classify a cultural product as ‘Canadian’ is to privilege the category of the nation over other possible axes of analysis” (pg. xxi). Therefore, it is imperative to dissect the relationship between literary history and the nation, especially in the Canadian context. The question of why certain texts were recognized and celebrated while others were omitted therefore becomes significant. For this reason it is important to recognize the problematic categorization of this literature as early “Can Lit”. Blodgett (2003) argues that “[...] the unspoken assumption prompting the rise of a national literary history, is that literature in

some way 'reflects' a people or a nation, by being its expression..." (pg.23). Canada in this respect follows a different model as it is a nation whose origins were built on British and French colonialism. Literary works, especially travel autobiographies and memoirs, must be read with this in mind, as they provide a means of breaking down colonial ideologies and stereotypes. Although the writings of British and French settlers make up a significant part of the nation's early literary history, they cannot be assumed to be representative of the nation as a whole. It is impossible to construct a notion of Canadian culture without being aware that it is not just two "founding races" but many cultures which contributed to building Canada as a nation despite the fact that histories of Canada's literatures are dominated by the idea that there is only one literature (English) and possibly another (French) (Blodgett, 2003). Those traditionally and crucially omitted Canada's British Imperial history were the First Nations people who were constantly pushed to the outskirts of society with the arrival of new groups of European settlers. Therefore, the impossibility of separating a literature and its history from a political element is clear in the Canadian context as elsewhere. The political element allows certain texts to become national classics while others do not. This is especially significant in a colonial setting where race and language become determining factors for the success of the author. As will be later discussed while examining *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jane Schoolcraft, who was one of the first Native women on record to write poetry, remained obscure in Canadian literary society which is common in colonial settings. Schoolcraft's voice was heard through the works of her husband, Henry Schoolcraft, and through Jameson's recounting of her stories; however she is not heard directly (Parker, 2007). As a white, English speaking woman Jameson had a literary voice, one that was not granted to Jane Schoolcraft.

Representations of the 'Other'

Goldie (1984) states that “The history of invasion and oppression is essential [...] the details and even the central events of the conquest are not major factors in the image of the indigene. The overwhelming fact of the oppression awarded semiotic control to the invaders and since then the image of ‘them’ has been ‘ours’ ” (pg.5). Europeans have had control over the representation of the Native, and it is upon many of those images that colonial policies were justified. Further, in these writings the figure of the Native has always been viewed as the ‘Other’. In her book *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada*, Thorbani (2007) defines the ‘Other’ with respect to the nation and its citizens as an “outsider”:

The outsider...cast in the trope of the stranger who ‘wants’ what nationals have, is a figure of concern. Popularly defined as devoid of qualities and values of the nation - as being quite alien to these- the stranger provokes anxiety, if not outright hostility. Indeed the stranger has historically been suspected of embodying the potential for the very negation of nationality within modernity (pg.4).

Common stereotypes of Native peoples began with the concept of the ‘Noble Savage’ coined by Rousseau, which can be defined as the romantic idealization of the gentle natured and innocent uncivilized man who has yet to be corrupted by the evils of civilization (Pickles & Rutherford, 2006). Gerson (1997) points out that the Native “[...] remains a figure constructed by Eurocentric notions of cultural value: visible as a generalization but usually invisible as an individual human being, and thus available to occupy the position of the ‘Other’ frequently assigned to the gypsy in European romanticism” (pg.6).

Another concept which is useful for the purpose of this paper is the “Pocahontas Perplex” explored by Green (1975) who has looked at the complex and multidimensional image of the Native woman in American folklore and literature. In this stereotype the beautiful Indian princess who has aided the white man in his ventures turns to Christianity and as a result strays

away from her ‘barbarous’ ways to embrace and protect the white man from the ‘savages’. This very significant image became a model for the North American understanding of Native women. In opposition to this image was, the darker, squalid and immoral, negatively viewed “squaw” of the anti-Pocahontas who lived in a shack at the edge of town and whose physical removal could be seen as necessary to the progression of civilized society (Green, 1975). The position of the Native woman was complicated by these images and the concern over the Indian woman’s sexual promiscuity and lusty nature provoked policies which were exclusionary and ended the marriages of many settlers married to Native women (Carter, 1986).

The prevalent tropes of the time, the ‘Noble Savage’ and ‘Pocahontas Perplex’, must be highlighted when analyzing 19th century autobiographical works as the representations are reflective of the popular beliefs and stereotypes which were predominant during this time. As will be later discussed, in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson often refers to the Native people as “fated” (I:25), emphasizing the deliberate corruption of the Native people by the Europeans. Further, Jameson takes a special interest in the position of women in Native society where the ‘Pocahontas Perplex’ emerges in her metaphorical depictions of the “half-caste” women Mrs. McMurray and Mrs. Schoolcraft. Jameson establishes a friendship with these women and she distinguishes them from the rest of the “squaws” as both elegant and refined in their ways.

When reading colonial texts, it is very important to recognize the role gender plays especially when discussing the function of white women in the colonial project. Caution must be taken when reading these texts, especially when it comes to the notion of what is “truth”. Ghosh (2004) states that “a challenge is how to define and study gender and colonialism so that it does not replicate the inequalities and hierarchies of colonialism, so that we study colonizing and

colonized societies in equal measure” (pg.737). White, English-speaking women’s uncertain position, which lay within normative patriarchal power relations in colonial society, played a strong role in their way of representing Native women in their works (Gerson, 1997). With Jameson, it is clear that her feminist position, which sought to campaign for the general well-being of women, affected her views on Aboriginal women in society.

The elevated social status of white women within colonial society is limited by patriarchy. The ways in which Jameson discussed Native people and in particular Native women were affected by her own personal situation and state induced dependence on her husband. Pickles and Rutherford (2005) argue that:

The awareness of ‘Whiteness’ as a racialized term further complicates the question of privilege and colonial citizenship. For example in Canada, white women were both powerful and powerless under colonial rule. The power of these women was in their whiteness but at the same time they were constrained by the bounds of patriarchy (pg. 2).

This dichotomy of powerful yet powerless is a major theme which runs through *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*. As a feminist¹ writer making a journey through the colonies, Jameson expresses this matter as she evaluates the situation of Native women with respect to their roles in their own society. Nevertheless, her position as an upper class white woman allowed her to freely explore and travel Upper Canada as she wished and to receive further literary success in doing so. Jameson’s perceptions on the status of women were also different from others as she not only challenges many of the traditional feminine expectations, but also, through her evaluation of the status of the Native women, makes a case for all women.

Tompkins (1968) contends that a reader seeking to examine the history of European-Native relations can only navigate through the various and conflicting subject-positions of the

¹For the purpose of this paper Jameson’s feminist position will be defined as one of a general concern for the well-being of women in society and their treatment under the law.

story tellers and historians of the past, only to recognize that like them, one can only operate within a limited perspective which is affected by his/her gender, race etc. Blodgett (2003) argues that Canada's literary tradition has rarely been traced with care but rather it is "...the enhancement of the tendency to compromise between 'British assumptions' and modern American attitudes through which Canada steers a middle course" (pg.276). For these reasons, reading and understanding Canadian literature uncritically can be problematic, especially due to the sanitization of historical events presented in the media and the school system.

Anna Brownell Jameson and Winter Studies and Summer Rambles

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles is divided into two parts and is written as a series of journal entries that Jameson addresses “to a friend” and to “my own sex” (pg. v, vii) emphasizing the fact that this work is one for the cause of women. The first section records Jameson's interpretive and translating activities during a winter of seclusion in Toronto. In the summer season she takes on the exploration of the areas of Upper Canada where she has the majority of her contact with the Native populations and goes as far as to spend time on the Mackinaw and Manitoulin Island Native reserves, displaying Jameson's courage and free spirit as a white, European woman. The book was well-received by the general public and was a critical and popular success in Canada, the United States and Britain. However, as Kear (2002) points out, in Upper Canada, “her outspoken remarks on the pettiness of colonial life won her no admirers among the social elite at the time” (pg.17). Her honest and, at times, condescending remarks on Canadian “society”, which Jameson belittles by saying, “There is no *society* in Toronto” (pg.62) distinguish her from other women writers of the 19th century. Jameson also comments on the lack of education, the politics and even the clothing of Upper Canadian socialites, “My proper place was on the right, among the wives of the officials, the aristocracy of Toronto. The toilettes around me were gay and pretty, in the fashion of two or three years ago...” (I: 152). Comments of this nature would have definitely received negative responses by some of the important people depicted especially due to the fact that she was the “‘chancellor's lady’ as they call me here” (II: 160).

During her time in Canada she maintained the title of Chancellor's Lady and was therefore walking a fine line between writing a truthful account on one hand and one which might injure her husband's reputation (Thomas, 1990). Before coming to Canada, Jameson was

a recognized individual in English literary circles and had already established a literary reputation (Kear, 2002). Jameson was to a great extent self-taught and belonged to no school of criticism and was bound by no literary rules other than those of her own consciousness (Erskine, 1915). However, Roy (2005) labels Jameson as a feminist writer as many of her works offer critical reflections on the manners and position of women. For example, in Jameson's *Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical, and Historical*, she dissects Shakespeare's heroines and analyzes their character traits as women highlighting the different characteristics she finds particular to the female sex. Further, Hutchings and Bouchard (2012) and Roy (2005) find resemblances between *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* in its setting and the way it was written to feminist Mary Wollstonecraft's (1796) *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark*.

The initial purpose of Jameson's trip to Canada was to salvage her failing marriage; however, this purpose quickly shifted from reconciliation with her husband to the exploration of Canada and its inhabitants. The book encompasses several themes including Canadian politics, Jameson's travels and the Native people. Jameson quite modestly labels her book as "[...] 'fragments' of a journal addressed to a friend" (I: iii). Further, recognizing the nature of her opinion of the colony she states, "[...] I cannot but feel considerable misgiving as to the reception such a work is likely to meet with, particularly at this time, when the country to which it partly refers is the subject of so much difference of opinion, and so much animosity of feeling" (I: iii). Upon her arrival, however, Jameson did not find herself comfortable:

I really do not know what I expected but I will tell you what I did not expect. I did not expect to find here in this new capital of a new country... the worst evils of our old and most artificial social system at home, with none of its agreements and none of its advantages. Toronto is like a fourth- or fifth-rate provincial town, with the pretensions of a capital city. (I: 74)

It is clear that Jameson did not have positive opinions about Toronto in *Winter Studies*. Her opinion only begins to change as she ventures out on her own and experiences some of the adventures of “savage life”. Thomas (1990) finds that Jameson’s observations on the Native people were no worse and sometimes better in their depictions of “savage life” than other white women writers, which is especially apparent in her discussion over the “Woman’s Question” in the section labeled “Indian Women” in the book. Buss (1993) argues that Jameson was able to discuss many controversial topics so well because she had reached a moment in both her personal and professional life where she needed to make a change and her journey to Canada facilitated that change.

From the beginning of the book, unlike some of her counterparts such as Moodie and Traill, Jameson establishes a more realistic rather than idealistic attitude towards life in the colonies (Erskine, 1915). Jameson, unlike Moodie and Traill, did not end up permanently residing in Canada, as her separation with her husband allowed her to return to England. Thomas (1990) argues that in this work “she was indeed ‘bold’, going farther than she had ever before in decrying the present position of women” (pg.391). Jameson’s relationship with her husband serves as a point of contention which also prompted her to want to discuss and explore the position of Aboriginal women while breaking the stereotype of the soft spoken moral Victorian woman for herself. Jameson also had a personal interest in heroines as evidenced by her previous work. With this frame in mind, Erskine (1915) argues that Jameson establishes herself as the heroine of her autobiographical work, venturing where no European woman had travelled especially in her intentions to visit the Natives in their habitations and to discover the importance of women in Native society.

Hutchings and Bouchard (2012) examine Jameson's work and compare and contrast the discourse on Native people to the writings of Sir Francis Bond Head, Lieutenant Governor of Upper Canada, stating that "Jameson and Head shared a view of Native culture that was at least partly influenced by a philosophy of Romantic Primitivism" (pg.166). They characterize Jameson as a "liberal-minded author directly influenced by the writings of Mary Wollencott and other contemporary feminists" (pg.169). Fowler (1982) also labels Jameson as a feminist Romantic writer; however, she states that Jameson's "Romantic imagination didn't soar aloft into the realm of the ideal" (pg.141). Jameson's Romanticism in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is grounded by her strong feminist beliefs, which prevented her from being overly idealistic even in her description of the Native populations. Fowler (1982) argues that *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is a "feminist-picaresque" (pg.160). The Canadian feminist-picaresque is aimed at exposing "not social division but male-female ones, not racial peculiarities but socially determined ones of gender" (Fowler 1982, 160). The fact that Jameson sees gender inequalities as problematic in general, allows for a unique interpretation of her surroundings and the people in those spaces. Gender is important to Jameson, as Roy (2005) also points out: "As someone interested in what she calls 'the position of women' Jameson's goals also include a consideration of gender difference" (pg.154). Her comments on racial peculiarities are also not to be overlooked. Jameson displays a genuine concern for the Natives as a people, which is especially evident in her discussion of her observations over the deliberate attempts made by settlers to corrupt the Native populations, as well as the exploitation and broken promises.

According to Hutchings and Bouchard (2012), Jameson generally echoes Sir Francis Bond Head's rhetoric of "colonial contamination" (pg. 170). They point out the ways in which Jameson makes reference to the impact white society had on the Aboriginal people of Canada

which lead them into a “frightful state of degeneration characterized by increasing rates of alcoholism and poverty” (Jameson 1983, II: 244), therefore promoting the image of the “Noble Savage” corrupted by civilized society. Groening (2004) on the other hand paints a completely different image of Jameson in Chapter 2 of her work, *Listening to Old Women Speak: Natives and alterNatives in Canadian Literature*, where she examines the works of both Moodie and Jameson. Groening (2004) suggests that generally women writers, unlike men of the time, tended to refute both the image of the “Noble Savage” and that of the bloodthirsty warrior. Further, she states that both Moodie and Jameson could not stand their immigration to Canada and suffered from a desperate homesickness as a result of the patriarchal policies in British society leaving them at the will of their husbands. Groening (2004) further argues that social class played a bigger role in the writings of Jameson and Moodie than race especially when it came to representing the ‘Other’.

Despite the existing patriarchy in colonial society Jameson and Moodie were not as completely powerless as Groening depicts them. There is a strong element which must be acknowledged and that is the power to write and have a recognized voice. Upper-class white, English speaking women were heard, read and recognized while Natives, especially Native women, lacked these opportunities. Hopkins (1986) makes a strong point when she states that for British women, “...though the reality of their lives may not have matched their hopes when they left Britain...for those who ended with modest estates there was [at least] literary and national renown” (pg.18). Further, Jameson’s continuous comments on the ‘fated’ future of a population plagued by the white European Christian settlers supports Hutchings and Bouchard’s (2012) argument that Jameson was in some part expressing Romantic ideologies. What separates her from other female writers of the time is in fact the way in which she argues in support of the

Native peoples that she is in contact with during her journey. Jameson many times recognizes the injustices occurring in the colonies and does not see them as necessary but rather problematic. Roy (2005) maintains that:

The sometimes contradictory results of her investigations are evident not only in her travel narrative but also in the oral literature she transcribed and the unpublished sketches she produced to illustrate her journey. All three map both an Imperial discursive inheritance and revisions to that inheritance as a result of their mutual influence of contact (pg.17).

History of Early Canada

Before beginning to explore *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, it is important to present the climate in which the author found herself and to both analyze and present the predominant discourses in the Empire during that time. The fur trade in Canada was established following the success of early fishing operations in the 1500s. Europeans became interested in the furs and saw their market value potential (Hanson, 2009). Shortly after 1600, French traders established posts in Acadia and on the St. Lawrence River at Tadoussac and Quebec. It was not until the 1670s that the British along with the Hudson's Bay Company began establishing themselves in the fur trade and setting up trading posts, forming relationships with the Iroquois and creating hostility between the Native people and the French (Hanson, 2009). With the rise of new economic activity in agriculture and forestry, the fur trade and positive relationships with the Native people became less important to the Europeans. The fur trade played a small role in the Canadian economy as a whole in 19th century Canada; however, it was the main source of income for Native people (Hanson, 2009).

The shift in Canada from a fur trading society to an agrarian, market driven society resulted in migration schemes, as settlement was seen as essential for the British Empire in order to build up its colonies (Roberts, 1979). During the fur trade, positive relationships between the First Nations were supported by the British Empire as a means of creating and sustaining trade alliances. Many of the European men who came to Canada as early fur traders married women from First Nations tribes. However, these practices would later be frowned upon as a result of "nation-building" ideologies involving the notions of racial purity and the arrival of British women (Bush, 1994). White, English speaking women were also brought into Canada in order to put a halt to a period deemed immoral in the colonies because of mixed marriages and high

levels of alcoholism in order to promote Victorian principles of morality (Bush, 1994). In 1841, the Native population began to decrease dramatically due to war and disease, making up only 10% of the Canadian population (Henderson, 2009). Eventually, due to land signing decrees which began in 1764, the Native free lands were converted into reserves, tracts of land given to Native tribes by the government which were usually inadequate in supporting them in their traditional society and were extremely segregated. Henderson (2003) argues that “Nineteenth century Canada was thus a privileged testing ground for the liberal democratization of political rule, characteristically coupled with the institution of a diffuse new mechanism of coercion and constraint” (pg.7).

Women & Travel Writing

For the most part, the early colonizers were not interested in writing literature and it was not until the middle of the 19th century that women's travel writing began to emerge in Upper Canada. Kear (2002) contends that "In pioneer Canada, few women had the time, education, or inclination to write about their own experiences. But the handful that did brought an uncommon perspective to life in a new and extraordinary land" (pg.15). In reading the works of 19th century women writers the reader must remain aware of their reflective position as participants in the colonial project. The depictions of themselves and others are symbolic of their superior status within society. The dominant literary forms during the 19th century in Canada consisted of journals, letters, chronicles and documentary records as most if not all of them were designed to send impressions from life in the colonies to an authority or an audience back home (Hanson, 2009). Writing letters was an extremely important way of staying connected across oceans and maintaining overseas connections in an Imperial world (Hanson, 2009).

Although men in the colonies did write, most of their writing was focused on official Colonial reports and business. Women on the other hand were more concentrated on maintaining familial relationships across time and space which was not only their duty as women but also as subjects of the Empire (Hall, 2008). Mills (1993) points out that women's writing, unlike that of men, was more fixated "[...] on personal involvement and relationships with people of the other culture and in the less authoritarian stance they take vis-à-vis narrative voice" (pg.21). Letter writing became increasingly popular in the eighteenth century, a period when more women were travelling the Empire and beyond (Hall, 2008). Henderson (2003) states that "Nineteenth-century imperialism was sustained by the 'massive official documentary system that grew up alongside' it, a system to which the protosociological observations of the travelling

woman of letters contributed” (pg.66). Devereux and Venema (2003) suggest that women were establishing themselves as gendered and racialized subjects as they naturalised their surroundings and also differentiated themselves from the colonized subjects.

Buss (1993) discusses the difficulty of reading female autobiographical writing due to its subjectivity. It is an exercise in discovering a story hidden in dominant discourses of the time. A very popular topic in these autobiographical works was the experience these women had with the Aboriginal population. This record of ‘contact’ can be found in Jameson and other women writers such as Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill. The experiences these women had with Natives and the way in which they depicted them in their works can also be considered as ‘contact narratives’ (Gerson, 1997). Pickles and Rutherford (2005) point out that women in British settler society were uniquely positioned at the axis of the colonial encounter as both colonizer and colonized, in this so-called "contact zone". The term “contact zone” was defined by Mary Louise Pratt (1992) in her work *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* as “social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination- like colonialism, slavery or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today” (pg.4). This concept emphasizes the understandings and practices often found within unbalanced relations of power. It is in this space that Native-Canadian relationships are conducted. Further, it is the space in which the ideas and representations of Native peoples are formulated and constructed. The notion of the “contact zone” will also be important to this paper as Jameson’s book is in large part a reproduction of the experiences emanating from these encounters with influences from colonial discourse and Jameson’s own readings of the time. Pratt (1992) also argues that works from the

‘contact zone’ have “engaged metropolitan reading publics with (or to) expansionist enterprises whose material benefits accrued mainly to the very few” (pg.4).

Henderson (2003) points out that “The failure of literature to acknowledge literature’s relation to colonial practices has allowed the ideal image of the women (British, Christian, English speaking) to be recycled and presented as the mothers of the nation and their writing as the voice of the colony in the process of becoming a nation” (pg.15). Further, the works of these women are recognized by literary critics such as Marian Fowler to be foundational and representative of Canada. For example, Fowler (1982) contends:

[...] these women... became representative Canadians. These women are our foremothers. In their attitudes to nature, to society, to the Indians², to themselves, we can perceive their individual and our collective profile. In their writing, they established the forms and prototypes for a much later Canadian literature (pg.11).

Fowler’s position is of course problematic as she supports the colonial ideologies of Canada as a white society and British women as our “foremothers”. On the other hand, the voices and writings of Aboriginal women and those of other ethnic groups, which did not fit the colonial ideal, have been omitted from the canon.

Emigrants who came to Canada in a certain sense gave up their history while Natives had a history forced upon them (Gerson, 1997). Traditional Native history and storytelling was conducted orally through generations, and with the rapid decline of the Native populations much of their history perished with them (Gerson & Strong-Boag, 2005). The adaptation of Native languages to forms of writing was initially for the use of missionaries and considered dangerous for Natives to understand. This in the end nurtured a form of empowerment (Blodgett, 2003). Although First Nations writing and histories did emerge during the colonial period it is clear that these writings are a product of the ‘contact zone’ because they emerged as a result of colonialism

² Fowler’s use of the word ‘Indian’ to refer to the Native people is inaccurate and inappropriate however, it is typical of its time.

and in many cases as a means of ‘writing back’ (Gerson & Strong-Boag, 2005). In this context, First Nations writing is not a sign of a new start but rather a response to invasion. It becomes the means through which people in a dominated position may find agency. To use the terminology of Deleuze and Guattari (1986) the writings of the Native people are “deterritorialized” and expressed in the language and in the modes of the oppressor; many of the themes expressed in these writings are a response to colonialism. Therefore the various forms of writing emanating from Canada each occupied their own space as products of the ‘contact zone’.

Colonial Discourse Women and the Empire

Women occupied the spaces of colonial encounter between Aboriginals and newcomers as both colonizers and colonized (Pickles & Rutherford, 2005). All women were important in this great colonial project whether subjugated or exalted (Pickles & Rutherford, 2005). White, English speaking, educated women were rarely constructed as immigrants but were instead naturalised as true and ‘authentic’ British subjects and ideal Canadians (Folson, 2004). In their role as “Mothers of the Nation”, they were expected by the colonizers to strengthen Britain as an Imperial global power (Arat-Koç, 2006). What resulted was the demonization of Native women ignoring their contributions during the fur trade period as trade links and blaming both them and their male counterparts for the failures of First Nations society; for example, mass disease, alcoholism, failed attempts at farming and reduced life expectancy (Green, 1975).

Women have also been depicted as the reproducers of culture ensuring the survival of the nation (Dua, 2000). Women from the British Isles were considered the ideal candidates for life in Canada however; the struggles these women faced, which are also depicted in their travel works, display a completely different picture of life in the colony. Colonial expansion was fueled in part by ideas of superiority and inferiority as it pertains to racial types (Pickles and Rutherford, 2005). European-Canadians were regarded as racially superior especially in relation to the Aboriginal people who, in the process of the colonization of Canada, were constantly constructed as inferior to all new waves of immigrants and treated as such (Pickles & Rutherford, 2005).

Native people were not welcome in Canada by the colonial authorities once they no longer were useful to European society during the decline of the fur trade. Perry explains the

prevailing belief of that historical period: “Without woman's restraining influence, the young colony risked becoming a disgrace to the English race itself” (pg.501). To the reform-minded it was not simply about promoting railroads and markets. The goal was also to develop a community (Roberts, 1979). Roberts argues that “The building blocks of this nation were to be her people, her families and her homes” (pg.186). The family was the cornerstone of the nation, the woman's role as wife and mother was central to the development of the family and to the spreading of culture and morals. “On her shoulders rested the future of the race –or so thought the Canadian reformers involved in female immigration work” (Roberts 1979, 186). Women in the colonial scheme were to uphold Victorian standards of morality which emphasized sexual restraint, monogamy, low tolerance for crime and proper social conduct (Bush, 1994). However, the men in colonial society were not held to the same standards, a subject which Jameson makes a point of discussing when she talks about the laws in place to keep women from having illegitimate children. Western norms of morality, as they concerned women, imposed a double standard and affected not only white women but also Aboriginal women.

Many of the European men who came to Canada as early fur traders had married women from First Nations tribes for personal reasons but also to promote friendships and trade alliances. However, what functioned in fur trade society was no longer acceptable in establishing a Canadian society. White men without white women were thought to adopt morally problematic habits such as drinking and gambling (Perry, 1997). Although these habits were also occurring in Britain attention was brought to it to a greater degree in the Colony. One observer of the Colony in 1962 went as far as stating that if men were allowed to flock in large numbers in the absence of white women, the Colony would become the a place of demoralization and a disgrace to England (Perry, 1997). Single British women were encouraged to marry as a means

of improving their status and also to create a moral outlet for their new husbands some of whom had previously taken Native women as their wives. Many Aboriginal women also saw their marriages deemed illegitimate by the courts, allowing their husbands to take “actual settler” wives, which fell in line with improving Canada’s colonial moral standards (Carter, 1986).

What is central to the experiences of British immigrant women is that they were not seen as a threat to British Imperialism and Canadian “white” society. They were embraced as they perpetuated the idyllic morals which were seen as the foundations for nation building. The Canadian government had adopted rigid segregation policies towards Aboriginal people of the West with women at the center of this negative discourse (Carter, 1986). Roberts (1979) points out that the Imperialists not only saw themselves as more brilliant than other races but above all more moral, and British gentlewomen played a key role in spreading this “morality”. In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, Jameson tackles this subject as she discusses the morality of the First Nations tribes, particularly their women, as well as the double standard between the expected morality of the white women of the colonies and the morality expected of white men. As a feminist liberal writer, Jameson takes a rather realistic view of life in the colonies, particularly in relation to the Natives and herself vis-à-vis the state despite her position as a white, English speaking woman (Roy, 2005).

Although British women were embraced by colonizers, those women arriving independently were put through a rigorous selection process to ensure their success as “mothers of the nation”. The process involved medical screening, interviews, and reference checks by the recruiting agencies supporting British Imperial ideologies. The most desirable women were not only those who were willing and able to do domestic or other modest work, but also those who had the right character to become and reproduce the future citizens of the nation and empire

(Roberts, 1979). Moral expectations for these women were very high to the point that those who strayed from the path of righteousness sometimes faced deportation. Women's groups were very willing to work with aid in the deportation of those women deemed 'unsuitable' (Arat-Koç, 2006). As Bush (1994) argues, "They ensured that she arrived at her destination with virtue intact and strove to enhance British and colonial appreciation of her Empire-building qualities" (pg.401).

Perry (1997) states that: "The obsession with the political nature of white women's reproduction, their role as 'mothers of the race'...white women's primary colonial utility lay not in their maternity but in their sexual and familial status. Although high wages and good working conditions were offered to women, white working-class female independence was not very compatible with the colonial project" (pg.515). Jameson however, does not fit into the typical model for the "female settler" as she did not end up permanently settling in Canada and was part of political society as the Chancellor's lady which allowed her a great deal of independence. Jameson discusses and sheds light on many of the discourses on the morality of women and what was expected of them in colonial society. As a good feminist of course, Jameson breaks down and criticizes many of these ideologies especially as they relate to the morality of the Native women. While other contemporary women writers such as Catherine Parr Traill blame the Native people's worsening situation during the time on their lack of Christianity (Carter, 1997), Jameson in some ways comes to their defense.

Prior to her first encounters with the Native people, Jameson, coming from a very affluent background, had read about the customs of the Natives from the works emerging from the colonies. Jameson states,

Now when a traveller goes into a foreign country, it is always with a set of preconceived notions concerning it, to which he fits all he sees, and refers all he

hears: and this, I suppose, is the reason that the old travellers are still safe guides; while modern travellers may be pleasant reading, but are withal the most unsafe guides one can have (I: 277).

Some of the people she quotes as having authority on the manners of the Native people are, “James Fennimore Cooper, Washington Irving and Charles Hoffman” (III: 85). However, the narrative that had the most influence on her was Alexander Henry’s *Travels and Adventures in the year 1760-1776*, because Henry in Jameson’s opinion could be classified as an old traveller and thus a reliable source on the explorations of Canada (Roy, 2005). Jameson was quite concerned with the notion of authenticity and objectivity in travel works. Jameson admits that the Natives were not only different from what she had expected, the images from her readings made it difficult to approach them without bias:

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, and more particularly the true position of their women (I: 26-27).

There is a change in Jameson’s perspective from the beginning to the end of the book, to the point where one can say that during her time in Canada she developed a hybrid-self emanating from her experiences in the colonies. Homi Bhabha considers cultural hybridity in the form of an in-between space, which he calls the “Third Space”. In this “in-between space”; new cultural identities are formed and reformed (Easthope, 1998). In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* Jameson begins by establishing an air of difference between her and the Native people until she meets the McMurray and Schoolcraft family. During her stay with them, Jameson develops a relationship with those she refers to as her “adoptive family” and even acquires an “Indian name” “Wah, sah, ge, wah, no, qua”, which means “woman of the bright foam” (II: 235), as she rode down the rapids in a canoe, undertaking an adventure other European women of her time

had not done before. Roy (2005) argues that, “Jameson’s renaming presents her own transformation and metamorphosis, including her entry into a new culture and her adoption of a new identity through cross-cultural contact” (pg.36).

By the end of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* Jameson begins to bring into question many of the Imperialist ideologies. She recognizes how poorly the Natives were treated by the white European settlers and colonial authorities. Throughout the book Jameson expresses her frustrations towards both, the poor treatment of Native people by settlers and the colony as well as the position of women. It is impossible for Jameson as a white, English speaking woman in colonial society to view her situation out of its socio-historical context. However, despite her Romantic views on the fate of the Native populations, she makes observations in a manner unique for a woman of her time;

You must not imagine, after all I have said, that I consider the Indians as an inferior race because they have no literature, no luxuries no steam engines, nor yet because they regard our superiority in the arts with a sort of lofty indifference, which is neither contempt nor stupidity, look upon them as a cast beyond the pale of our sympathies. It is possible I may on a nearer acquaintance, change my opinion but, they do strike me as an untameable race. (Jameson 1863, II: 273-274).

Although Jameson believes the Natives are "untameable" by the Europeans and doomed as a race, she becomes much closer to them than to other Canadian women from a similar socio-economic status that she also sees as beneath her. For example, she makes rude comments regarding the women of Upper Canadian political society. Jameson does, however, name some of the Native women she meets, such as Mrs. McMurray and Mrs. Schoolcraft, as her kindred, where a writer such as Susanna Moodie (1989) in her encounters with the Native people in the bush for only goes as far as allowing some women take refuge in her home during a snow storm and has superficial conversations with some of the men. Nonetheless, both women refer to many of the Native women as “squaws”. For Jameson, there is a dichotomy between who is

considered kindred and who is not among the Native people. It is clear that the “Pocahontas” image which is attached to Mrs. Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray is how she differentiates them from the rest of the “squaws”. Although the "Pocahontas perplex" (Green, 1975) is primarily an American construction of how the Native women were viewed, it is also useful when examining the ways in which Jameson depicts Mrs. Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray.

On Winter Studies and Summer Rambles

As previously noted, the paper will now examine in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* in greater detail in order to analyze Jameson's perceptions and representations of the First Nations people, colonial society, and the position of women.

The Travel Narrative

In Jameson's view courage was an exceptional characteristic for a woman to possess. As she states in her work *Characteristics of Women: Moral, Poetical, and Historical*, "A man's courage is often a mere animal quality, and in its more elevated form, a point of honour. But a woman's courage is always a virtue, because it is not required of us" (pg.34). *Summer Rambles* presents Jameson's tangible display of her outright courage in the face of many dangers. Groening (2004) however, affirms that Jameson and her counterpart Moodie have been accused of exaggerating their experiences in their autobiographical works for the purpose of entertaining the reader, since the authors hoped not just to educate readers but also to achieve literary success. As a result, argues Groening, critics of these works, "[...] read these 19th century women as being incapable of rendering "truth" or being "objective" (pg.52). Roy (2005) and Fowler (1982) both argue that Jameson exaggerated the depictions of her courageous adventures and her fearlessness. As stated above, in some sense Roy's and Fowler's argument is valid as Jameson wished to establish herself as the heroine of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, adapting some of the events to add a greater degree of excitement and suspense for her readers. All historical texts are subjective in one way or another. One must simply bear in mind the presence of this subjectivity despite that fact that Jameson in the preface of book states: "[...] I have only to add, that on no subject do I wish to dictate an opinion, or assume to speak as one having authority: my

utmost ambition extends no farther than to *suggest* matter for inquiry and reflection” (I: xi). Her strong opinions throughout *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, however, suggest otherwise.

To support her heroine adventurer theme, what is constantly emphasized by Jameson is that she was not only the first European woman to embark on such a journey but also that her voyage was largely solitary. Jameson boasts that in regard to her adventure, “I was the first European female who had ever performed it” (pg.3:199-200). Jameson’s depictions of herself as both alone and in danger emphasize her bravery (Fowler, 1982). Fowler (1982) argues that Jameson as a white, English speaking woman, “[...] continued to view herself as far braver than other women like herself and never lost an opportunity at parading before her chosen audience, either friends or readers” (pg.140-141). Roy (2005) points out that Jameson, in her emphasis on being first in this venture also draws attention away from the fact that other women, in particular Native women, had already done what she had. Jameson constantly brings attention to the dangers she could encounter being a white woman on such a journey as she states:

To undertake such a journey *alone* is rash perhaps - yet alone it must be achieved, I find, or not at all; I shall have neither companion nor man-servant, nor *femme de chambre*, nor even a ‘little-foot-page’ to give notice about my fate, should I be swamped in a bog, or eaten up by a bear, or scalped, or disposed of in some strange way (II: 8).

Roy (2005) points out that Jameson was in fact not alone during any part of her journey as she asserts; she was however without the companionship of friends or acquaintances who were of her own economic and social status and at times she was also without any female companionship.

In a patriarchal colonial society, women are very much dependent on their husbands and their presence. Jameson however, hardly acknowledges her husband in her work. Further, her travels were done in the absence of her husband as she was seeking separation during her time in

Canada. The fact that Jameson did take on this whole trip without her husband does greatly distinguish her as one of the most intrepid of her female contemporaries. Also, although she does have people with her during her journey, at some points she was alone with her driver, a man she did not know, travelling through the wilderness without any of the luxuries an upper class woman would have been accustomed to. Such a situation may make even the modern woman uncomfortable and therefore it is fair to say that her bravery in that sense was not always an exaggeration. Fowler (1982) states that Jameson's journey serves as a metaphor for her breaking out of "[...] society's artificial fences which keep women dependent, delicate, and sexually innocent" (pg.159) in patriarchal colonial society. Jameson, by both undertaking this journey in the absence of her husband and seeking to venture among the Aboriginals and replicate the ways of the "old travellers", was defiantly uncommon among other women of her class.

On the 'Fated Race'

In *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* Jameson's initial encounter with "[...] the first specimens I have seen of that fated race..." (I: 26) was unsettling as she taken by emotion due to the sadness she perceived in their faces;

On the whole, the impression they left, though amusing and exciting from its mere novelty, was melancholy. The sort of desperate resignation in their swarthy countenances, their squalid, dingy habiliments, and their forlorn story filled with pity and I may add, disappointment; and all my previous impressions of the independent children of the forest are forever disturbed (I:26).

Jameson is clearly shaken by her initial meeting with the 'specimens' she continually refers to as the 'fated race'. The use of the word 'specimen' to describe the Aboriginal people is worth noting as it depicts them as something to be studied scientifically and makes them almost inanimate. Roy (2005) maintains that,

Jameson's use of the word "specimen" to describe even her adopted relatives indicates the powerful influence of a discursive inheritance that, while it might posit nobility, also implies its corollary, savagery, and includes a tendency to categorize aboriginal peoples in the language of natural history inquiries. (pg.39)

There is a definite air of sadness in Jameson's description as she believed that their populations which were in constant contact with the white man were destined for corruption and eventually unavoidable extinction. Morgensen (2010) presents the concept of homonationalism as an intersection between heteronormativity and nationalism which he extends to the intersections of queer studies and Native studies. The term homonationalism can be defined as: "an effect of U.S. queer modernities forming amid the conquest of Native peoples and the settling of Native land" (Morgensen 2010, 106). Morgensen (2010) contends that "Colonists interpreted diverse practices of gender and sexuality as signs of a general primitivity among Native peoples. Over time, these policies produced a colonial necropolitics that framed Native peoples as queer populations marked for death" (pg.106). Well before the arrival of the British woman in colonial society, Natives ceased to be a threat to the European population's existence in Canada (Hanson, 2009). Numerous politicians in Canada, such as Sir Francis Bond Head as previously noted, strongly believed that Aboriginals were doomed to extinction and should be left to their own ways until they all died out as it was inevitable in their current situation (Hanson, 2009).

Jameson in many ways supported Sir Francis Bond Head's views and the Romantic image of the 'Noble Savage'. She believed that the Native and white man were incompatible in white man's society. Jameson's Romanticism is clear when she discusses the 'noble' and fated' race and the uselessness of the First Nations' fight to free themselves from the grasp of the European populations controlling and corrupting them: "These attempts of a noble and fated race, to oppose, or even to delay for a time, the rolling westward of the great tide of civilization, are like efforts to dam up the rapids of the Niagara" (II: 240). However, unlike her literary

counterparts such as Moodie, Traill, and even Bond Head, Jameson refers to the numerous occasions in which the white European populations made conscious efforts to cheat and corrupt the Natives with alcohol without the state intervening to protect them. As she states, “In the same manner the severe law against selling intoxicating liquors to the poor Indians, is continually eluded or violated, and there is no redress for the injured, no punishment to reach the guilty” (II:147). Further, knowing Native peoples’ weakness towards alcohol, many of the European settlers used this weakness to unscrupulously deceive them.

One story which was particularly saddening was that of the hardworking Native man who had gained “prosperity” and “civilization”; 18 months later, “how dreadful the change!” (II: 260). When the Native went into town to sell his extra furs he was overtaken by the immorality of the white man who wanted the furs, “He was marked as his victim, and not expecting to be able to impose upon him unless he made him drunk, he determined to accomplish this by any direct means” (II:263). Sometime later, the “poor Indian” was found dead of consumption, leaving his wife and child to starve. This tale in particular would have a strong impact on the reader, especially those back in England. Jameson makes it clear that alcohol consumption took a very strong toll on many people in Canada, especially the Native populations. During Jameson’s journey she spends some time at the property of an unnamed army General. During this time Jameson recounts the situation of the Native family settled on the General’s land and their decline as a result of alcohol consumption. Initially when they arrived and settled there were seven members of a family but as time passed most succumbed to consumption, “their appearance and situation was wretched and their indolence extreme. Within three months five out of seven Indians were dead of consumption; two only were left- languid squalid, helpless, heartless” (II:129-130).

Gerson (1997) states that “The figure of the disappearing Indian inherited by late nineteenth-century Canadian poets... allowed them to construct freely Native characters whose fictionality serves the ideology of British-Canadian supremacy” (pg. 4). Jameson, however, is using these images not to display British-Canadian supremacy but instead to show how even those Natives who attempted to blend into white civilization could not do so not because they were inferior but because they were deliberately corrupted. Armstrong (1992) argues that “Indigenous peoples in [colonial] North America were rendered powerless and subjugated to totalitarian domination by foreign people”, (pg.202) and from these conditions the ‘social problems’ of the Native people emerged. Not only were they made weak by their situation as colonized subjects but they were also pushed toward extinction.

Survival of the Noble Savage

Although Jameson's comments on the Native peoples are at times contradictory in nature, she nonetheless recognizes and acknowledges the problematic nature of their relationship with European society, which has had lasting and damaging effects on Native culture. This could have been the result of her greater degree of contact with Native peoples which other women such as Traill and Moodie did not have. Being a woman of the 19th century, however, as pointed out earlier Jameson was also influenced by Romanticism throughout *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* as she discusses the possibilities of survival for the Native peoples. According to Jameson, their only means of survival was to remove and isolate themselves from the corrupting influence of the white settlements. In her discussion of the Delaware population living amongst the Moravians³ Jameson states that, “they lay in the midst of the white settlements, and were

³ Jameson discusses the settlement of the Delaware tribe near the river Chatham (II:241-252). The tribe had been under the care of the Moravian Missionaries from 1735 and during that time there were 752 Native people had been baptized however very few were considered Christian. Their lands, which were very rich and continuously

continually exposed to the illegal encroachments as well as the contagious example of the whites...there seemed no hope for them but in removing them as far as possible from the influence of the whites". (II: 244-245). Such a statement by Jameson could be considered an argument for the creation of the reserves. However, Jameson does discuss the horrid conditions of the reserves and the Natives' deteriorating situation as a result of the lack of resources available to them.

There were missionaries who felt that with civilization and Christianity the Natives would be able to survive and assimilate into society (Hanson, 2009). Jameson constantly challenges the colonial law makers to come and actually visit the colony and experience what she was seeing with her own eyes. She points out the impossibility of the success of their ideologies. She felt as though civilization would never be possible, "I can no more conceive a city filled with Mohawks and Chippewas, than I can imagine a flock of panthers browing[sic] in a penfold" (II: 274). Jameson's perceptions were that the nature of the Native was not compatible with that of the Europeans and the two could not live in harmony without the corrupting influence of the European on the Indian;

To say that they cannot live in amicable relations with the whites without deprivation of their morals, is a fearful imputation on us Christians; - but thus it is. And I do believe that those benevolent who have taken cause of the aborigines to heart, and are making appeals on their behalf to the justice of the government and the compassion of the public, would, instead of theorising in England, come out and behold the actual state of things with their own eyes- and having seen all, let them say *what* is to be done, and what chances exist, for the independence, happiness, and morality of a small remnant of Indians residing on a block of land, six miles square surrounded on every side by a white population (II:240-241).

Jameson's belief that the only salvation for the Natives was to be thrown back into the wilderness far away from Western civilization supports Hutching's and Bouchard's (2012)

purchased and sold by the British. In her discussion with one of the missionaries Jameson states that according to him their conversion was hopeless.

argument that despite acknowledging the deliberate attempts made by whites to corrupt and cheat the Natives with alcohol, Jameson also echoes Sir Francis Bond Head's Romantic rhetoric of 'colonial contamination' of the 'Noble Savage'. Jameson acknowledges the degrading situation of the Native people and their 'social problems' as emanating from the negative example of the Europeans and affirms that their salvation was only in their removal from contact. Although she does recognize that many of the Natives were pushed into very small areas of land in Upper Canada, she also discusses the corrupting influence of the white settlers on the morality of the Natives with whom they came in contact. Hanson (2009) points out that although the First Nations had been stripped of their lands, the truly important agency discussed in much of the 19th century travel writing of women was moral agency of the Natives.

On Morality

Strong-Boag (2005) points out that under the Imperial gaze, Native women have been regarded as symbols of sexual depravity and exploited labour, abused first by their own people and then by the European conquerors. Jameson takes a very interesting position on the morality of both Native men and women. Conversion to Christianity played a large role in the perceived morality or lack thereof of the Natives. Their conversion symbolized a new beginning and an abandonment of savage behavior and the embracing of Christian morals. In the 1830s, missionary Herbert Beaver attempted to raise a moral panic about mixed relationships but was not very successful (Perry, 1997). However not much later, during the 1850s-60s those like Beaver began to receive attention and mixed marriage came to be seen as "hindering the creation of an orderly white settler colony" (Perry 1997, 510). This period saw a moral panic founded in notions of Victorian morality (Carter, 1996). The colonists above all else viewed themselves as morally superior, and this standard of morality as previously noted, was more exclusively

imposed on the women. As a feminist writer Jameson does not let the issue of morality pass by unnoticed. Jameson points to the new law against illegitimate children;

The new law passed during the last session of our provincial parliament, ‘to render remedy in cases of seduction more effectual’, has just come into operation. One person said it was to guard against infanticide; and I recollect hearing that same sort of argument used in London against one particular clause of the Poor Act, viz. that it would *encourage* infanticide. This is the most gross and unpardonable libel on our sex ever uttered. Women do not murder their children from the fear of want, but from the fear of shame... As long as treachery to woman is honorable in man; as long as we women cannot protect ourselves, their protecting laws are a farce and a mockery (II:29).

Jameson clearly displays her frustration with the passing of this law, its impact, and the assumptions it makes about the actions of women.

Jameson also recognizes the problem of mixed marriages during this time and the lack of respect shown to the Native wives in many cases by their white partners. Jameson in fact seeks to present not how the Native women are corrupted by the Native men but rather how they are corrupted by the white man. Jameson states;

I should observe that when an Indian woman gives herself to a white man, she considers herself as his wife to all intents and purposes. If forsaken by him, she considers herself as injured, not disgraced. There are great numbers of white settlers and traders along the borders living thus with Indian women. Some of these have been persuaded by missionaries or magistrates to go through the ceremony of marriage; but the number is few in proportion (2:273).

There was condemnation during Jameson’s time over the fate of Native women’s relationships with European settler men. It is very interesting that Jameson does not condemn the Native women in this situation. In fact it appears as though she is on their side. Native women were generally seen by many as the corrupting influence on European men bringing them to a state of immorality, not the other way around. Compared to the Native women, the settler women were seen as the “true wives” (Carter, 1996). It is clear that Jameson had a general concern for the

well-being of women in general despite her clearly defined upper-class status. She looked towards reform for the treatment of women by men and also by the state.

Jameson also discusses marriages in the Ojibway and Ottawa tribes and the issue of polygamy within the community. Jameson states that “Polygamy is allowed, but not common; the second wife is considered as subject to the first, who remains mistress of the household, even the younger wife should be the favorite” (III: 73) Polygamy was of course considered immoral by the Europeans as it goes against Christian principles, which created a problem for colonial authorities attempting to spread morality through the colony. It was such heteronormative ideologies that allowed for the domination of the Native people as the Native women were labeled as over-sexualized and deviant (Carter, 1996), while other practices such polygamy were seen as immoral and unorthodox in a realm of Christian values of purity, chastity and most of all monogamy. Jameson states that,

Women sometimes perish of grief for the loss of a husband or a child, and men have been known to starve themselves on the grave of a beloved wife. Men have also been known to give up their wives to the traders for goods and whiskey; but this, though forbidden by no law is considered disreputable or, as my informant expressed it, ‘only bad Indians do it’(III:74-75)

It is interesting that Jameson points out that “no law” in Canada considers the act of selling a wife disgraceful. Further, through what was told to her by Mrs. McMurray and Mrs. Schoolcraft, Jameson utilizes the stereotype of the ‘Noble Savage’ when she states that only the corrupt Natives would do such a thing.

Jameson also describes the owning of property and the fact that Native women of the Chippewa and Ottawa tribes held their own lodges: “I should not doubt, from all I see and hear, that the Indian squaw is that absolute slave, drudge, and non-entity in the community...She is despotic in her lodge, and everything it contains is hers; even of the game her husband kills, she

has uncontrolled disposal” (III: 75). Jameson finds that what has traditionally been said in colonial discourse about the relationships between men and women in Native tribes is quite untrue. Further, Jameson goes on to describe the manners of a Native couple which very much reminded her of couples in Italy,

I have seen here a woman scolding and quarrelling with her husband, seize him by the hair, in a style that might have become civilized Billingsgate, or christian St. Giles, and the next day I have beheld the same couple sit lovingly together on the sunny side of the wigwam...just such a group as I remember to have seen about Naples, or the Campagna di Roma, with very little obvious difference either in costume or complexion (III: 75-76).

Jameson compares the emotions and modes of conduct between the Native and Italian couples she had seen, both groups appearing exotic but not unsympathetic to British eyes. She makes this observation near the end of *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles*, possibly realizing through her contact, the similarities rather than the differences found between Europeans and Native people. As a result Natives become more like herself and less like the ‘Other’ prompting her discussion over the defense of the Native woman and their value within their society.

A Woman’s Worth

Gerson (1997) discusses how frequently the Native characters in travel autobiographies are female and states that issues of gender seemed to offer a space of reflection that allowed for the possibility of cultural difference. Further, she states that Native women and their perceived lack of morality played a key role in what the Europeans viewed as the inevitable and necessary disappearance of their people. As a feminist writer taking a trip through a colonies Jameson admits that the main purpose of her adventure was in fact to not only gain insight into the way of the Natives but more specifically into the position of women in Native society. Jameson tackles the stereotype of Native women and how they are generally viewed. However, unlike other writers such as Moodie and Traill, Jameson not only takes an original position but she challenges

both her position and that of the Native women in relation to the state. This is of course influenced by her feminist stance and her relationship to patriarchy in her own society.

Further, Jameson investigates the position of Native women with respect to their own society. She points out: “The women they say are ‘drudges’, ‘slaves’, ‘beasts of burthen’, victims, martyrs, degraded, abject, and oppressed; that only the cares of the household and maternity, but the cares of labours proper to the men, fall upon them; and they seem to consider no expression of disapprobation, and even abhorrence, too strong ...” (III:299). Henderson (2003) argues that “the colonial setting allows Jameson to postulate a future moment in the progress of 'civilization' that necessitates the cultivation of new qualities in women” (pg.70). By Jameson’s comment it is clear that Native women were considered by the Europeans as oppressed by their men as they took on many duties in their tribes. Jameson, however, does not agree with this discourse and sees that Aboriginal women play an essential function within their society: “But it does appear that 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” (III:302). Further, Jameson states:

Then, when we speak of drudgery of the women, we must note the equal division of labour; there is no class of women privileged to sit still while others work. Every squaw makes the clothing, mats, moccasins, and boils the kettle for her own family. Compare her life with the refined leisure of an elegant woman in the higher classes of our society, and it is wretched and abject; but compare her life with that of a servant-maid of all work, or a factory girl, - I do say that the condition of the squaw is gracious in comparison, dignified by domestic feelings, and by equality with all around her (III: 305).

In this passage Jameson is breaking down the dominant discourses and truly displaying her feminist beliefs. Fowler (1982) argues that Jameson’s most daring words come with her final comparison between the state of European and Native women as it truly distinguished her from

other women writers of the time. Jameson also points out that in their own society the Native woman, unlike the British woman, is:

[...] permitted to speak freely among the men, to whom indeed they sometimes address themselves in a tone of authority. On many subjects their judgement and opinion are respected and in matters of trade their advice is generally asked and pursued... This seems to be a case in point (III: 305).

Jameson is unique in her interpretation not only of the role that Native women play in their society, but that of women in general. Jameson recognizes the necessity and value of their work alongside that of the men. According to Jameson, the true value in a woman is essentially not determined not by her status, but by her function in society:

[...] do you not think...that the true importance and real dignity of a woman is everywhere, in savage and civilized communities, regulated by her capacity of being useful; or in other words, that her condition is decided by the share she takes in providing for own subsistence and the well-being of society as a productive labourer? (III: 311-312).

Fowler (1982) argues that Jameson's comments on the position of women in indigenous life were merely a convenient context for exposing the unhappy group of white women in civilized society. Further, she argues that her comments on women are simply propaganda to promote the cause of the white woman. There was a great deal of unhappy women among many of the British settlers, as Jameson states: "I never met with one woman recently settled here, who considered herself happy in her new home" (pg.133). However, her discussions on the condition of Native women go beyond the cause of the white woman. Jameson never seeks to lose her "civility" as she states, "God forbid that I should think to disparage the blessings of civilisation! I am a woman, and to the progress of civilisation alone can we women look for release from many pains and penalties and liabilities which now lie heavily upon us" (3:196), but rather she uses discussions on the position of Native women in their society to break stereotypes enforced on

them and generally demonstrate that a woman's worth is found not in one society but in many, just in different forms.

Jameson's final words in the section 'The Indian Women' in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* bravely affirm:

The two extremes in this way are the Indian squaw and the Turkish sultana; and I would rather be born the first than the last: - and to carry out the idea, I would rather, on the same principle, be an Englishwoman or a Frenchwoman than an American or German woman, - supposing that the state of feeling as regards women were to remain stationary in the two last countries - which I trust it will NOT (III: 312).

Therefore to Jameson, a woman's worth is not in whether she is idle or not but rather whether she actively fulfills her role for the survival of her society. Jameson looks up to Native women's position in their own society but at the same time she does not seek to forfeit her own position as a "refined" and "civilized" woman. Roy (2005) states that: "As someone 'refined', she is different from most British women in Canada, who are settlers from the lower classes. As someone 'civilized' she is distinguished from the Aboriginal woman she encounters" (pg.21). Throughout her journey Jameson never lost her status as an upper class woman, nor did she seek to do so despite the adoption of her "Indian name". In fact Roy (2005) argues that, with reference to written records of Mrs. Schoolcraft, Jameson was not simply given the name but rather she asked to be given such a name, as a means of "authenticating her travels" (pg. 37). However, it could also be argued that Jameson was embracing a new part of herself, a hybrid identity.

Schoolcraft, McMurray, Pocahontas

Despite the fact that Jameson in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* adopted a view which was much different than that of most other contemporary women writers, she could nevertheless not separate herself completely from the discourses of the time. The book is a

conglomeration of her feminist ideologies and colonial discourses/experiences in a 'contact narrative' setting. Upon first meeting Mrs. McMurray, Jameson is struck by the fact that "the specimens of Indian squaws and half-cast[sic] women I had met with, had no wise prepared me for what I found in Mrs. McMurray...Her features are distinctly Indian, but softened and refined" (2:33). Jameson then goes on to compare Mrs. McMurray's accent to that of a European woman: "She speaks English well, with a slightly foreign intonation, not the less pleasing to my ear that it reminded me of the voice and accent of some of my German friends" (2:33-34). Mrs. McMurray was the wife of one of the missionaries in Upper Canada who had hopes of bringing Christianity and agriculture to the Native tribes so that they could live in unison with the settlers. Mrs. Schoolcraft, Mrs. McMurray's sister, was married to one of the Native agents in Michillimackinac. Upon meeting Mrs. Schoolcraft, Jameson says that, "[...] she received me with true lady-like simplicity..." (3:36). Further, her features, in comparison to Mrs. McMurray's, were "more decidedly Indian". (3:36). Jameson compares Mrs. McMurray and Mrs. Schoolcraft's accents to those of European women. Although German women were still exotic to Jameson they were more on her socio-cultural level than Native women. Jameson depicts Mrs. Schoolcraft as a pious Christian woman, an image which she does not allocate to the other, "dirty" and "dingy" looking "squaws" (III:136). Further, she presents Schoolcraft's concern over the future of her people;

She is proud of her Indian origin; she takes an enthusiastic and enlightened interest in their welfare of her people, and in their conversion to Christianity, being herself most unaffectedly pious. But there is a melancholy and pity in her voice, when speaking of them, as if she did indeed consider them a doomed race (3:69-70).

Jameson's choice of words however, is interesting in this passage as she says that Mrs. Schoolcraft considers "them" a doomed race. Jameson does not see these women in the same light as the rest of the Native people she encounters.

Much like Green's (1975) 'Pocahontas Perplex', these two women embraced Christianity and became in some way part of the colonial project. They are considered refined and closer to Jameson than to the "squaws". Green (1975) argues that the only way for the Native woman to be 'good' is to "defy her own people, exile herself from them, become white, and perhaps suffer death" (Green 1975, 704). These women are not isolated from their societies but they are however both married to settler men and working towards the conversion of the Native people. Roy (2005) argues that "[...] the women possessed elements of Jameson's definition of refinement, including softened features, graceful movements, delicate health, easy manners, and eloquent speech" (pg. 36). This is especially evident when Jameson discusses Mrs. McMurray and her child: "Mrs. McMurray and her baby- looking like Madonna and child in the 'Repose in Egypt,' were seated under a tree" (3:250-251). Jameson compares Mrs. McMurray to the Madonna and her child to Christ, representing their purity and elegance. In society however, Mrs. McMurray and Mrs. Schoolcraft were most likely oppressed in some way as half-caste women. As previously noted, mixed marriages between white settlers and Native or half-caste women during the colonial period in Canada were not condoned and were seen as immoral by colonial authorities. Groening (2004) argues that Jameson's relationship with Mrs. Schoolcraft and Mrs. McMurray is "[...] crucial to breaking down the stereotype of otherness" (pg.57). Jameson states that "While in conversation with her, new ideas of the Indian character suggest themselves; new sources of information are opened to me, such as are granted to few, and such as I greatly appreciate" (3:69).

What is not referenced, however, in Jameson's idyllic depiction of these women was their oppressed status despite their "conversion". Mrs. Schoolcraft wrote poems in the Ojibway language and translated them into English and was one of the earliest Aboriginal women on

record to write poetry in English (Parker, 2007). However, she never published any of her works while in Canada, but rather she lived a literary career with her husband. In her husband's memoirs, it is noted that when she moved to the United States she was received in New York as "a northern Pocahontas" (Parker, 2007). Parker (2007), in his work *The Sound the Stars Make Rushing through the Sky: The Writings of Jane Johnston Schoolcraft*, points to the colonial racism which has obscured Jane Schoolcraft as a writer and artist and kept her unpublished. It is clear that even within the Pocahontas Perplex there is also a dichotomy. Women like Schoolcraft and McMurray embraced "civilization" and conformed to colonial ideologies of the "good" Native woman, they nonetheless lacked a voice. Women like Jane Schoolcraft were not highly-considered by colonial authorities and Upper Canadian society in the same way that white, English speaking women were.

Conclusion

Winter Studies and Summer Rambles is Jameson's navigation not only through Upper Canada but also through her own beliefs, colonial policies and practices, and Native peoples. The 'contact zone' provided a unique space for Jameson to examine the travel works she had read firsthand and to determine their validity. Further, the colonial setting also provided Jameson with a space in which to experience different definitions of femininity and build on her feminist beliefs and evaluate the position of both white and Aboriginal women. Jameson presents a different position on the status of women, one that was different from that of other women writers of the time such as Moodie. However, as a woman of her time in an elevated socio-economic position, Jameson was nonetheless influenced by popular discourse and at times adopts common stereotypes towards Native people based on the image of the 'Noble Savage' and the noble Pocahontas. Nevertheless, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles* is truly unique in that Jameson was able to note many of the colonial realities, most importantly the deliberate mistreatment and corruption of the Native people by the white settlers. She displayed a genuine concern over their fate. Despite Jameson's claim of objectivity, her book was even so a reflection of her feminist beliefs, her background knowledge and colonial discourses and the 'contact zone' in a Canadian colonial setting.

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