#### UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

## Unveiling Aboriginality in Contemporary Canadian Children's Literature

by Non-Aboriginals

by

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#### ABSTRACT

Since children's literature presents particularly abundant grounds for exploring the attitudes and ideologies of a society, this thesis examines various forms of contemporary Canadian children's literature written by non-Aboriginals to see what they reveal about Canada's current relationship to Aboriginal peoples: in other words, what has the apparent decline of Anglo-centrism in Canadian society (as manifested generally in policies that champion cultural pluralism, such as Canada's 1971 policy of multiculturalism, and more particularly in the evolution of Aboriginal people resoundingly rejected the White Paper of 1969) meant, if anything for Canada's Aboriginal population? Canadian literature pre-1987 demonstrates that the dominant society used and appropriated the image of the "Indian" for its own purposes. Such images have consistently misrepresented Aboriginal people and revealed more about the hegemonic society than about Aboriginals. Thus, I explore whether or not contemporary Canadian children's literature portrays Aboriginals in a significantly different way than in the past.

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iv

for Mom and Dad: for your love and support over all the years

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#### TABLE OF CONTENTS

| Approval page     | ii  |
|-------------------|-----|
| Abstract          | iii |
| Acknowledgements  | iv  |
| Dedication        | v   |
| Table of Contents | vi  |
|                   |     |

## INTRODUCTION

| It's All About "Us": Al | boriginality in Contemporary Canadian Children's |
|-------------------------|--|
| Literature by Non-Abor  | iginals1   |

#### CHAPTER ONE

| The "New and Improved" | Canada: Non-Fiction for | Children20 |
|------------------------|-------------------------|------------|
|                        |                         |            |

.

#### CHAPTER TWO

,

#### CHAPTER THREE

The Other Side of Multiculturalism: Young Adult Novels......80

WORKS CITED......115

#### INTRODUCTION

# It's All About "Us": Aboriginality in Contemporary Canadian Children's Literature by Non-Aboriginals

The present trumpets itself as the age of "cultural pluralism." The term itself seems to assume equality and respect between different cultures and that no culture is superior to any other. "Cultural pluralism" thereby also suggests that imperialism, ethnocentrism, and even cultural (mis)appropriation are coming to an end. Of course, one of the concepts closely associated with, and sometimes even considered the equivalent of, cultural pluralism is "multiculturalism." Among nations proud to be multicultural, probably none is so proud as Canada, who in 1971 became the first nation to declare multiculturalism an official policy. According to the Canadian Heritage website this policy "affirmed the rights of Aboriginal peoples" ("Diversity").<sup>1</sup> In addition, according to the federal government's Canadian Heritage website, multiculturalism is supposed to allow "all citizens [to] keep their identities, take pride in their ancestry and have a sense of belonging" ("Multi"). Canada, under the Multicultural Act, is to be a place that "encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages ghettoization, hatred, discrimination and violence" (CH "Multi"). In other words, beyond offering equality and respect, multiculturalism was meant to ensure that every Canadian has the "right" to define her/himself and her/his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For explanation of the terminology I use relating to aboriginal people and non-Aboriginal people please see page 17.

culture. It all sounds wonderful, but what, in terms of the hegemonic society's views and attitudes, has multiculturalism meant for Canada's Aboriginal peoples?<sup>2</sup>

I want to argue, by examining representations of Aboriginal people in contemporary Canadian children's literature (1987-2003), written by non-Aboriginals, that Canadian multiculturalism is not as lofty as it sounds. In light of historical and literary examinations of the idea/image/representation of the "Indian" or "Indianness," I find that little has changed in how non-Aboriginals understand and treat Aboriginal people in literature. The "Indian" remains an Other in the eyes of the non-Aboriginal population: representations of Aboriginal people continue to speak more about White identity than about Aboriginal peoples.

As J. R. Miller argues in *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada* (2000), *why* non-Aboriginals and Aboriginals interacted has the largest impact on *how* they interacted from the point of contact onwards (xii). Thus Miller outlines that the relationship between the two groups begins as one of "Cooperation" (circa. 1000-1800) and becomes one of "Coercion" on the part of Euro-Canadians (19<sup>th</sup> c.). The type of relationship emerging in the 20<sup>th</sup> century and existing until at least the late 1990s, Miller describes as "Confrontational."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It should be noted that "Canada's aboriginal peoples dismiss federal multiculturalism as a solution to their problems" (*Engaging* Fleras and Elliot 78). This is largely because they do not wish to be integrated into the larger Canadian society. Rather, they wish to do everything possible to maintain "their status as a fundamentally autonomous political community" ("Diversity" Fleras and Elliot 78). I choose Official Multiculturalism as a beginning point in my thesis not because of its (in)significance to Aboriginal people but because it is the policy most widely associated with the notion of Canada as a pluralistic, equal, and just society, both inside and outside of Canada.

Although the first period is largely mutually beneficial because the newly arrived Europeans and Aboriginals find that on the "frontiers of commerce, faith, exploration and [military] alliance" they must depend on each other, things change drastically in the second era (398). Euro-Canadians no longer view the original inhabitants as useful because the fur trade declines, the American threat all but disappears, and the numbers of Anglo-American and British colonists burgeon. In fact, Euro-Canadians come to regard Aboriginals as a hindrance to agricultural settlement (104). Moreover, an ideological shift occurs: non-Aboriginal people begin to view Aboriginal people, "not as culturally different, but as racially distinct or 'other'" (399). Accordingly, Robert F. Berkhofer describes the nineteenth century as the era of "scientific racism" (55). Thus, Euro-Canadians develop authoritative policies aimed at acquiring land and destroying Aboriginal cultures; they force Aboriginal people from the lands they desire (Miller 399).

In the twentieth century, the Aboriginal population grows in numbers, begins to organize politically, and increasingly pushes for greater autonomy (311). Although it becomes more and more apparent that government policies aimed at devastating Aboriginal cultures are failing, amendments come slowly, in part because of the hegemonic society's attitudes towards Aboriginal people (311-12). One of the most significant ways Aboriginals confront federal government policy in this era is through their resounding rejection of the 1969 White Paper on Indian Policy. The paper, supposedly done in "the name of equality and justice" for Canada's Aboriginals, was integrationist based and recommended that Indian status and the Indian Act be done away with (334). Major changes in Aboriginal policy begin to happen as a result of this rejection. For example, Aboriginal people are included in the 1982 constitution (350). Further, meaningful consultations with Aboriginals take place during the Royal Commission on Aboriginal People in the 1990s (384). The result of such occurrences is that Aboriginal policy evolves from integration to conditional autonomy during this period. There are several other milestones in Aboriginal policy in the twentieth (and twenty-first) century but these are some of the major ones and they serve to underline that the relationship between Aboriginal peoples, the federal government, and the dominant society is largely confrontational.

What Miller highlights in the conclusion of *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens* is that the relationship and policies sought by Euro-Canadians were shaped by their motives. So Aboriginal peoples are needed for the newcomer's desires to exploit natural resources such as fish and fur, explore the land, and evangelize; they become irrelevant and an obstacle when European immigration increases, the economy becomes increasingly agricultural, and the military threat from the south decreases; and, finally, the Native peoples become a problem when efforts to obliterate Aboriginal cultures are unsuccessful and Aboriginals begin organizing politically, speaking up for their rights, and seeking to control matters concerning Aboriginal people in Canada. In other words, the dominant society created "Indian" policy according to how they perceived Aboriginals could be of use to them: from a Euro-Canadian perspective. Aboriginals were not important and valuable in their own right, but only in relation to White society's desires and needs.

Miller presents a viewpoint from a historical perspective of Aboriginal-White relations. Robert F. Berkhofer, Phillip J. Deloria, and Daniel Francis, historians who

write about the "Indian" in relation to White, American, and Canadian societies respectively, make similar conclusions. Each author has a slightly different focus: Berkhofer's The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present (1978) analyses the image of the American Indian in religion, anthropology, science, art, literature, philosophy, and politics-from the time of Columbus to the late 1970's; Deloria's Playing Indian (1998) examines the significance of "playing Indian" to various conceptions of American Identity from the Boston Tea Party to The Grateful Dead "Indians"; and Francis' The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture (1992) explores visual, material, and literary images of "Indians" in Canada from before Confederation to the early 1990s. Still, they all argue that history shows North Americans treat Aboriginals as the Other, and that the idea of the "Indian" cannot be separated from constructions of White, American, and Canadian identity. In different time periods, non-Aboriginals place the "Indian" Other in more and less positive or negative lights, according to current power structures, economic needs and desires, and the strength of the national and/or cultural identity.

In other words, whether the idea of the "Indian" was positive or negative is not of central significance. Either way, the image of the "Indian" has little to do with actual Aboriginal people. According to Deloria and Francis, ambivalence in the desire to be Indigenous is central to American and Canadian identity (5; 222). The positive and negative images of Indigenous people reflect this ambivalence, not the actual cultures of Indigenes. On the one hand, Americans and Canadians sought separation from their former homelands and previous ways of life. By constructing an "Indigenous" closeness

5

to the land, newcomers felt attached to their new environments and, at the same time, distinct from Europeans. White society also appropriated many other aspects of Aboriginal cultures to become more 'Indigenous' (Francis 223). Positive images of the "Indian" are the result. One very common method of "becoming native" was by "playing Indian" which often occurred when non-Natives dressed up or enacted "Indian" rituals or chants, as both Deloria and Francis record.

On the other hand, immigrants to the New World wanted to distinguish themselves from "Indian" savages: thus the negative images of the "Indian." Furthermore, by painting Aboriginals as the Other, the new society justified its occupancy of the land and domination of its peoples: the lands surely should not be left in the hands of 'inferior, depraved peoples.' Notable too is that as Canadians and Americans go through times of guilt for their treatment of Indigenous people, or frustration and disappointment with the state of civilization and their national identity, the image of the "Indian" tends to takes on positive signifiers. In short, historical investigations reveal that the idea of the "Indian" does not reflect actual Aboriginal people but the fears and hopes of the dominant society in the New World (Francis 8). As Orientalism was and is largely for and about Europeans, so is Aboriginalism in Canada primarily for and about Euro-Canadians.

Literary studies that have focused primarily on the representation of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginals make similar conclusions. Several prominent works deal with the subject of Aboriginality in literature: Jon C. Stott's *Native Americans in Children's Literature* (1995); Beverley Slapin and Doris Seale's *Through Indian Eyes: The Native* 

*Experience in Books for Children* (1992); Leslie Monkman's *A Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature* (1981); Terry Goldie's *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (1989); and Clare Bradford's *Reading Race: Aboriginality in Australian Children's Literature* (2001). Each book treats the representation of Indigenous people in texts uniquely, but all find that such representations serve the purposes and biases of the dominant culture, much like the historians I cite deduced by examining the image or idea of the "Indian" and "Indianness." The works also point to the need for additional studies and creative texts. My project builds on the findings of these critics, offering a different approach than some and examining different material than all.

Jon C. Stott's *Native Americans in Children's Literature* underlines "how authors and illustrators select, alter, and arrange details and manipulate language and pictures to create *their desired* and generally inaccurate and biased portraits of traditional Native Americans" (5, my emphasis). He devotes one chapter to examining stereotypes and misrepresentations and also finds that there were two central images of the "Indian": one negative where "Indians" were immoral, irrational, and "savage"; the other positive such depictions saw "Indians" with a special relationship to nature, as pure and blameless, remnants from a former, nobler (though primitive) time (3). Such misrepresentations, he concludes, occurred largely because of the religious and sociopolitical beliefs existing at the time that saw European ways of life as the standard for all human beings (2). Much of the rest of the text considers children's books of various genres with common Aboriginal characters or themes. The books are written by both Native and non-Native authors and Stott identifies some of the problems and strengths of these texts. Stott's work concludes with advice about incorporating Aboriginal stories into school language arts programs.

Stott's book is remarkable for several reasons. It demonstrates a breadth of research in both primary and secondary texts by Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal authors, as well as source materials for many retellings of traditional stories. Stott also examines not only words but pictures and makes many insightful observations. However, the book is not without its weaknesses. Stott's stated goal in the book is "to see how fully and accurately they [retellings of traditional stories and original fiction about Aboriginal peoples] reflected the cultural values and beliefs of the Native peoples the books presented" (xviii). Clare Bradford, in an analysis of Australian critical practice and Aboriginality, observes that reviews of children's books about Indigenous peoples often fail to discuss "the *how* of discourse, reducing texts to a cluster of ideas" (138). The effect of such reductions, she says, is to create "polarized readings" which relate to similarly "polarized ideological positions" (138). *Native Americans in Children's Literature* is one text that overlooks the *how* of discourse and, I think, the absence is crucial.

In fact, as Clare Bradford deduces by examining a section of Stott's book alongside Paula Giese's critique of Stott on the *Big Baddies (NatAm Brand) for Kids* website, Stott is not in tune with the ideology that informs his own work (135). But, he is ready to critique Aboriginal peoples for their ideologies. Invoking colonial processes, Stott goes almost as far as speaking on behalf of "Native militants" and the American Indian Movement in his discussion of *Brother Eagle, Sister Sky* (135). Plus, as Bradford notes, Giese also underlines how Stott suggests that Pan-Indian radicals are discordant and fanatical unlike (nice) "tribal Indians" (Bradford 135, *Big Baddies*).

Beverly Slapin and Doris Seale's *Through Indian Eyes*, as they intended, is a book of the heart. Through a collection of essays, poems, book reviews, and a guide for evaluating books about Native Americans, the editors' goal is to help children "grow up to create a more equitable, bias-free society" (2). With that objective, the pieces in this book range from personal anecdotes, to revisionary histories; some parts are emotionally charged, others seemingly void of emotion. Several works are informative in style; all present important perspectives, mostly from Aboriginals.

What *Through Indian Eyes* requests of non-Aboriginals in general, and specifically in children's books about Aboriginal people, is "honest[y]" (12). The editors believe that the stereotypes prevalent in so many aspects of North American society, including children's literature, are the result of "economics" (15). Constructions of indigenous people as inferior rationalized and rationalize European immigrants taking the land and resources from their original inhabitants. What's more, Slapin and Seale emphasize, Americans (and Canadians, I might add) must ensure that inaccurate representations of Indigenous people persist because "When Native peoples are allowed to speak of their history and their lives," White society will have to tell their children that their nations were "built on slavery and genocide" (13).

*Through Indian Eyes* is particularly notable for uncovering inaccuracies about Indigenous stories, ways of life, and histories—largely through almost one hundred book reviews and numerous examples meant to guide evaluations of books that represent Indigenous people. The text is also accessible and engaging, and presents a range of issues, through several methods, on misrepresentations and their impact on children and nations. Yet, I think *Through Indian Eyes* clearly leaves room for a study of contemporary Canadian children's literature. Published first in 1987, with the third edition released in 1992, the book does not consider literature later than 1989. Furthermore, American books and the American situation are the main subjects of the Slapin and Seale text. Finally, *Through Indian Eyes* does not contain sustained examinations of Aboriginality in children's literature. Perhaps for that reason, like Stott's book, it too does not address the *how* of discourse.

Leslie Monkman's *A Native Heritage* is possibly the first book that examines images of the "Indian" in literature written by Whites. Monkman shows in this text, much like the other historians and literary critics I discuss, that images of the "Indian" created by White authors reveal little about Aboriginal people. Instead, representations of Aboriginals created by the dominant society reflect aspects of Euro-Canadian culture and thought (3). Focusing on Canadian fiction, poetry and drama, written between 1766 and 1977, Monkman's book presents the four most common images or themes he finds the hegemonic society associates with "Indians." The book also includes a chapter on how White writers have used "Indian Myths and Legends" (127-160). Her research, also like that of other critics, shows that the dominant society uses both positive and negative images of "Indians" to think about themselves and their culture. Monkman's book, focused on literary criticism and written almost like a series of literature reviews in essay format, is significant for the huge amount of Canadian literature it covers. Moreover, Monkman recognizes most of the "Indian" images created by Whites that critics after her in literature and history (only Berkhofer is around the same time period) would later bring under further examination. But, Monkman's work has little theoretical or political framework. As a result, though he recognizes several common representations of "Indians," he does not discover *how* these images work. Correspondingly, Monkman also does not consider the power relations that enable White authors to use images of "Indians" to reflect upon themselves and their own cultures. Therefore, her analysis opens up possibilities for the study of appropriations and misrepresentations that occur when the hegemonic society uses images of Aboriginal people and cultures for its own purposes. Finally, Monkman's text, written nearly twenty-five years ago, obviously does not explore what is now contemporary literature; its focus is also not children's literature.

Terry Goldie's *Fear and Temptation* is an important stepping stone for my project. He studies many of the same images as Monkman, only in a different context and with more consideration of the theory and politics behind the representations of Aboriginals created largely by the hegemonic society. Using primarily semiotics and Said's *Orientalism*, Goldie argues that "The indigene is a semiotic pawn on a chess board under the control of the white signmaker" (10). The image of the indigene has little to do with indigenes themselves: "[it] does not lead back to the implied signifier, the racial group usually termed Indian or Amerindian, but rather to other images" (4-5). In Goldie's view, White society gained semiotic control over the Indigene by taking Indigenous lands and oppressing Indigenous peoples (5). Thus, he believes, the image of the Indigene says much about the hegemonic culture (12). In postcolonial language, "The Other is of interest only to the extent that it comments on the self, a judgment that could quite correctly be applied to the present study"—not only Goldie's study but my own (11).

Goldie sees the need for Whites in all three nations to become "Native" as the main impulse for non-Aboriginal people to write about Aboriginals. They think such a process will "indigenize" them (13) after realizing that the Other has stronger ties than themselves to the New Worlds (14). Using Said's concept of "standard commodities," (*Orientalism* 190) Goldie identifies five commodities— "sex, violence, orality, mysticism, the prehistoric," all of which are tied closely to the indigene's relationship with nature—as the semiotic scope within which the image of the Indigene may operate (17). The rest of the book primarily examines each commodity and its function in indigenization and imperialism, in numerous texts from each country.

Goldie's commodities are clearly recognizable in contemporary Canadian children's literature by non-Aboriginals. However, Goldie does not consider children's literature specifically and his book, published in 1989, is no longer contemporary. Plus, I wish to relate my study more closely to Canadian national identity and power relations in Canada. Although my project will not have as much semiotic emphasis as Goldie's, his work is foundational to mine. I believe the present study will show that the image of the Aboriginal remains a "pawn" in the hands of non-Aboriginal writers, that the dominant society only cares about the Other to the extent that s/he is useful to the self, and that Canadians are still trying to become "Native."

The final work I wish to discuss, also of great significance to my study, is Clare Bradford's *Reading Race*. Bradford underscores the value of children's literature for revealing the ideology of the dominant culture. Much as notable children's literature critics Peter Hunt and Jacqueline Rose argue, Bradford believes that children's books are more than a reflection of reality: "they formulate and produce concepts and ideologies" which necessarily grow out of what adults think "children should know and value" (Bradford 5). Adults almost exclusively write children's literature and the field remains largely pedagogical. Therefore, as Bradford asserts, children's books offer "sociocultural values that incorporate views about the past [...], about the moral and ethical questions important to the present, and about a projected future, in which child readers will be adults" (8). For all these reasons, Bradford declares that "children's books offer a rich resource for considering how Australians have been positioned to understand Aboriginal culture, relations between Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, and relationships between Aboriginality and national identity" (8-9). Similarly, I think that contemporary Canadian children's literature presents a unique insight into the perspective non-Aboriginal adults are providing for children to know Aboriginal peoples and their cultures, correlations between Aboriginality and Canadian identity, and current interactions between the dominant society and Aboriginal peoples.

Like the other academics I cite, Bradford finds that representations of Indigenes created by non-Indigenous people serve to construct or theorize "white identities" (9). In examining contemporary children's literature that depicts Indigenous characters, Bradford pinpoints two important issues: the representation of Indigenous people and the positioning of readers (10). Bradford continuously returns to these two considerations in each of her eight chapters. She makes use of many close readings, and studies texts by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous authors over several time periods. Her work is insightful, thorough, and thought provoking, to say the least. But, she focuses almost exclusively on Aboriginality in Australia.

My study differs from Bradford's because I am considering the Canadian situation. My project is also, necessarily, not nearly as broad as hers. Still, my reasons for studying children's literature, and the things I hope to accomplish, are very similar to those she sets out in her book. Moreover, I follow some of the strategies Bradford uses to approach her texts, particularly in my first chapter. I do so less because of the similarities between Canada's, Australia's, and their Indigenous peoples' histories and more because the combination of content *and* form creates literature.

Finally, before I outline my argument and the direction each chapter takes, I must briefly note some of the valuable work that has been done on literary representations of Indigenous people in article format. Amazingly, all of the articles I located on this subject have similar conclusions as the historians and literary critics I discuss above. Gordon Johnston's "An Intolerable Burden of Meaning: Native Peoples in White Fiction," Opal Moore and Donnarae MacCann's "The Ignoble Savage: Amerind Images in the Mainstream Mind," and Magda Lewis' "'Are Indians Nicer Now?: What Children Learn from Books About Native North Americans" were all published either one or two years prior to Goldie's *Fear and Temptation*. The latter two articles examine children's literature, in one form or another. Each text, obviously with its own unique emphases, demonstrates how images of Indigenous people in literature—presumably all by non-Indigenous people—misrepresent their subject. In fact, all of the critics suggest that depictions of Indigenes in the texts they studied are stereotypical. Similarly, each article implies that the works under study are more concerned with the author's purposes than the impact of their writing on Indigenous people. Essentially, these articles show that little has changed in how non-Indigenous people are portraying Indigenes; in so doing, they point to the need for a contemporary exploration of representations of Indigenes in children's literature by non-Indigenous people.

I also came across two recent articles that address depictions of Indigenous people in literature: Melissa Kay Thompson's "A Sea of Good Intentions: Native Americans in Books for Children" and Beverley Haun's "The Rise of the Aboriginal Voice in Canadian Adolescent Fiction 1970-1990." Haun's text considers works written by both Aboriginals and non-Aboriginals in Canada. Of the novels written by non-Aboriginals, Haun discovers a large number that appear to be about Aboriginals, yet are more reflective of "the values of the middle class" (38). However, her article is short and so she devotes little space to explaining these findings. Thompson's article focuses almost exclusively on the American situation and children's books written in the United States. Her interest is systemic racism. And, in this study of contemporary children's texts, Thompson discovers overwhelmingly that representations of Indigenous people in texts by non-Indigenes are stereotypical; she finds such depictions, quoting Ward Churchill, have "assumed a documented authenticity in the public consciousness [...] For stereotyped and stereotyper alike, it becomes dehumanization and a tool justifying genocide" (372). In other words, both articles not only reiterate the findings of other critics who have explored the White image of the "Indian," they also highlight the absence of a study that examines representations of Aboriginals in contemporary Canadian children's literature.

I will argue that representations of Aboriginal people, created by the hegemonic society, in contemporary (1987-2003) Canadian children's literature demonstrate that historical trends for the image of the "Indian" in Canada are ongoing, and that representations of Aboriginal people still reveal more about the hegemonic society than Aboriginal people. Neither the policy of multiculturalism, nor the inclusion of Aboriginal peoples in Section 25 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982, nor the evolution since that time of Aboriginal policy toward devolution and selfdetermination have transformed the way that non-Aboriginals use images of Aboriginal people in their writing: such literature still stereotypes, appropriates, and marginalizes Aboriginal people and cultures. In the process, these representations of Aboriginals: affirm the dominance of the hegemonic society; use Aboriginals to build Western values and a sense of Canadian national identity; and work to keep Aboriginal people and cultures in an inferior, Othered position. I have broken my study into three chapters. The first chapter identifies the promulgation of Aboriginalism in a non-fiction series.<sup>3</sup> The

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> "Aboriginalism" refers to the (mis)construction of ideas and images about Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal people, just as Said's term "Orientalism" refers to the ways Europeans perceived and created notions of "The Orient" and "Oriental" people. The term "Aboriginalism" should not be confused

second chapter uncovers the appropriation of Aboriginal people and cultures through several picture books, and the final chapter discovers a snapshot of the power relations multiculturalism sustains in a handful of young adult novels.

I will inform each of my chapters with the work of several theorists and critics, in addition to those already named. In "The 'New and Improved' Canada: Non-Fiction for Children," I will use the work of Stephen Muecke, James Clifford, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith to underline anthropology's colonialist tendencies. Furthermore, Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen's work on images will form a vital part of my critique. In "Picture Books: Non-Alternative Representations," I am indebted primarily to Linda Tuhiwai Smith for her research on Indigenous peoples. But, Thomas King and Kateri Damm also contribute fundamentally to my findings. Finally, Himani Bannerji, Eva Mackey and Neil Bissoondath provide the grounding in critical multiculturalism needed for my last chapter: "The Other Side of Multiculturalism: Young Adult Novels."

Lastly, as in any discussion that involves indigenous people and the largely European population that began arriving in the New Worlds shortly after the first millennium A.D., some clarification of terminology is necessary. First, as Miller states in the introduction to *Aboriginal Peoples of Canada: A Short Introduction* and as Olive Dickason implies in *Canada's First Nations: A History of Founding Peoples from Earliest Times*, I recognize that no single general term for the first peoples of Canada has gained unqualified acceptance. That being said, it is my desire to use terms that will be satisfactory to most, and that will also allow for clarity within this thesis. Therefore, I

with "Aboriginality" which in socio-political circles can be construed as a positive term referring to the unique relationship Aboriginal people have to the Canadian state.

will primarily use "Aboriginal people" as a general name for the first peoples of Canada. I choose this term because, as Dickason writes, "Aboriginal' is becoming widely used by Indians as well as non-Indians" (xv). Moreover, as Miller points out, "Aboriginal peoples' according in the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms includes status Indians, non-status Indians, Metis and Inuit," whereas "First Nations" is the term usually chosen by the people previously referred to as "status Indians" (Aboriginal 8). I hesitate to use a term for the first peoples as defined by the Canadian government. Yet, because I am mostly using the term to speak about misrepresentations of Aboriginal people that have not sought to distinguish between different Aboriginal groups or nations, I find it the most appropriate term because it includes all Indigenous peoples of Canada. I will also use "Native people" to refer generally to all Aboriginals in Canada; this term is fitting because it too is commonly used in Canada (Dickason xiv). In fact, most of the texts that I read for this study by Aboriginal authors refer to Aboriginals as "Natives." Of course, wherever possible and suitable, I will refer to Aboriginal peoples by the name of their specific group or nation.

I wish to clarify my use of a few more terms relating to aboriginal peoples. To avoid ambiguity, I will employ "Indigene" or "Indigenous people" when speaking of aboriginal people from more than one nation (i.e.: Canada, the U.S.A., Australia, and/or New Zealand), or from a nation other than Canada. In addition, I choose the term "Indian" to refer to the White image of Aboriginal people. Although, as Dickason notes, many Aboriginals use "Indian" to refer to themselves it, of course, came from "a case of mistaken identity" (xiv). Moreover, for many Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people, the word "Indian" carries strong connotations of hegemonic conceptions of Aboriginal people, not the actual peoples and their cultures. When I do use the term, I will place it in quotations to emphasize that I am referring to the dominant society's common misrepresentations of "Indians."

I will use several names for the people new to Canada; generally, I will call them "White society," "dominant society," or "hegemonic society." But I will refer to Canada's newcomers as "Euro-Canadians" occasionally, particularly in reference to the early periods of immigration. I use "White society" primarily to emphasize the binary opposites created between the two people groups by the immigrants, and because "Whites" still form the largest majority in Canada. Similarly, I employ "dominant society," or "hegemonic society" to underline the power dynamics in play since the decimation of Aboriginal populations and increase of non-Aboriginal (initially Anglo-French) populations with augmented immigration.

#### CHAPTER ONE

### The "New and Improved" Canada: Non-Fiction for Children

Canadians today take pride in being a multicultural country. And if you were to randomly interview Canadians, I am sure most would tell you that the hegemonic society and the government of Canada today treat Aboriginal people with equality and justice overall. Certainly some things have changed in relations between Natives and non-Natives. For example: we no longer wage war against Aboriginal peoples; residential schools are a thing of the past; Aboriginal peoples have gained conditional autonomy; and the courts are reviewing land claims. Does this mean that, in Canada, Native people now enjoy equal standing with non-Native people? Perhaps. But I think one way to explore the degree to which relations between the dominant society and Aboriginal peoples have improved, as far as non-Aboriginal members of the general population influence it, is to consider perception. Therefore, I will examine point of view in a Canadian author and illustrator's four part non-fiction children's series on Aboriginal homes, published between 1989 and 1992.

Bonnie Shemie's series includes *Houses of Bark: Native Dwellings of the Woodland Indians* (1990); *Houses of Hide and Earth: Native Dwellings of the Plains Indians* (1991); *Houses of Snow, Skin, and Bones: Native Dwellings of the Far North* (1989); and *Houses of Wood: Native Dwellings of the Northwest Coast* (1992). It has been published in French and English (each book has a different translator). The series describes in remarkable detail traditional Aboriginal homes that were found largely in North America and primarily in Canada. As the titles suggest, these texts depict residences according to the type of building material used, which corresponds to the region each group occupied. The texts focus primarily on how these four Aboriginal groups constructed their homes, but they also speak about, for example, the weaknesses of the buildings and the activities carried out in them. Each book includes diagrams that mainly detail the construction process. Colourful double spreads also appear every second turn of the page, depicting Aboriginal people in the context of their homes.

The series probably intends to show the diversity of homes and the ingenuity Native people exercised when they created dwellings using the limited materials available in nature, and it achieves some success in this goal. Yet, a close examination reveals much more: Shemie is guilty of Aboriginalism. In Shemie's *Native Dwellings* series, the point of view is that of the sympathetic expert giving an anthropological report. The series creates Shemie as the kindhearted, knowledgeable authority. Aboriginal peoples are her subject matter; consequently, she represents them as primitive and doomed and their cultures as strange and somewhat violent.

Not so incidentally, Shemie's portrayal of Aboriginal peoples has much in common with the representations of Indigenous peoples by the mostly non-Indigenous authors Goldie writes about in *Fear and Temptation*. Goldie examines representations of Indigenous peoples in a large sample of texts from Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, written as early as 1769 and as late as 1987. In so doing, he defines five "standard commodities."<sup>4</sup> The significance of these commodities is they contain all the representations of Indigenous people in the books Goldie studied (16). Goldie deduces that through British imperialism and the oppression it brought for indigenous peoples, White society gained "semiotic control" over the image of the indigenous person (5). Thus there are boundaries or "standard commodities" that depictions of the indigene cannot escape, which are all inextricably tied to nature. The commodities are "sex, violence, orality, mysticism, and the prehistoric" (17). Each commodity can represent an indigenous person positively or negatively (15). However, a positive image is not better than a negative one. The presence of the image remains central (11) because the image "does not lead back to the implied signified, the racial group usually termed Indian or Amerindian, but rather to other images" (3-4). All the images reflect the needs of White society (Richon and Pearson, gtd. in Goldie 11).<sup>5</sup> The fact that Shemie's portravals of Aboriginal peoples fit into Goldie's "violence" and "prehistoric" commodities reveals that her representations are no more about Native people than images by authors or illustrators in the past. Shemie's depictions, therefore, uncover more about the hegemonic society and its position of power and control than about Aboriginal peoples. Though much of the series outwardly praises Aboriginal people, an underlying Othering occurs that forbids equal voice and value to Aboriginals and their cultures, probably despite Shemie's noble intentions.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Standard commodities" is a borrowing from Said's Orientalism (190).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pearson, Bill. "Attitudes to the Maori in Some Pakeha Fiction." *Fretful Sleepers and Other Essays.* Auckland: Heinemann Educational Books, 1974. 46-71.

Richon, Olivier. "Representation, the Despot, and the Harem: Some Questions Around an Academic Painting by Lecomte-duNouy (1885)." *Europe and Its Others*. Ed. Barker et al. Colchester: University of Essex Press, 1985. 2: 91-112.

Before examining Aboriginalism in Shemie's series, I will briefly explain the meaning, significance, and characteristics of Aboriginalism. Clare Bradford's work is essential to my understanding of an Aboriginalist text. The fourth chapter of *Reading Race* carefully uncovers Aboriginalism in both older and contemporary Australian children's books. According to this chapter, one of the key identifying characteristics of Aboriginalist texts is a deep sympathy for Aboriginal peoples and the loss of their cultures, from the perspective of a seemingly knowledgeable authority (110). However, the apparently benevolent or benign side of Aboriginalism hides its "appropriating and controlling strategies" (110). Bradford finds that Aboriginalism has much in common with Said's concept of Orientalism. In particular, "There is an order to these [texts] by which the reader apprehends not only 'Aboriginality' but also the Aboriginalist, as interpreter, exhibitor, personality, mediator, representative (and representing) expert" (Said qtd. in Bradford 110; italics Bradford). Although Aboriginalist discourses differ from colonial discourses in their air of kindness and sympathy, the belief that Aboriginals cannot achieve the White ideals of agency and progress underpin both (111). Thus, contradictory representations, admiring and despising Aboriginal peoples, embody Aboriginalist discourses (111).

Bradford turns to Hodge and Mishra to define another "double movement" that is very characteristic of Aboriginalism<sup>6</sup> in children's books (Hodge and Mishra 27); it is "a fascination with the culture of the colonized along with a suppression of their ability to speak" (Hodge and Mishra 27). Instead of Indigenous people being given a voice, the white, sympathetic, expert speaks for and about Indigenous peoples. As Stephen Muecke writes in *Textual Spaces: Aboriginality and Cultural Studies*, anthropology in its traditional forms had no space for "dialogue with the Others" (26). Aboriginalism then means that primarily non-indigenous people gaze upon and learn about Indigenous peoples through the lens these experts offer. The propensity for Aboriginalist texts to replace Indigenous voices with a White voice is quite high.

It is particularly characteristic of Aboriginalist discourses to position readers alongside an informed and kindhearted expert who both admires and despises Indigenous cultures, while displacing Indigenous voices. Still, Bradford recognizes several other characteristics of Aboriginalism; the other one I will focus on is the tendency for the discourse of anthropology to dominate educational accounts of Indigenous peoples (120). As Muecke asserts, the expression of knowledge "is the domain" of anthropological approaches to Indigenous peoples (30). Bradford furthermore highlights, through the examination of a primary text, that anthropological accounts usually represent Indigenous peoples as objects of study, as only "authentic" when living traditionally, and as primitive peoples whose rituals are bizarre or exotic (120-24). Other critics also underline anthropology's colonialist tendencies. For example, Linda Tuhiwai Smith in Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples also emphasizes how anthropological approaches have tended to treat indigenous peoples as objects of study. She criticizes Western theories "driven by anthropological approaches" for the way they have carelessly and inappropriately "analysed, [...] dissected, measured, torn apart, and distorted" indigenous cultures (38). In the process, Smith suggests, Western research and theory show no understanding of or concern for, "what it means to be an indigenous person" (38). Likewise, James Clifford, in his introduction to *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, underlines the relationship between cultural study, especially traditional forms of it, and disparities in power (9, 22). Obviously, when Westerners are writing about Indigenous peoples as material to be digested and grasped through anthropological accounts, illustrations, and diagrams, the former is in the position of power. The result is that such texts treat Indigenous peoples as inferior.

In my examination of Shemie's series, I choose to focus on point of view for reasons in addition to its deft ability to reveal Aboriginalism. As John Stephens writes in *Language and Ideology in Children's Fiction*, narrative point of view plays a vital, if potentially frightening, role in literature: "subject positions are constructed and ideological assumptions inscribed" (81).<sup>7</sup> Therefore, probably more than any other aspect of a book, point of view has the potential to influence readers. Point of view is one of the "*how[s]* of discourse" that Bradford urges critics to consider when examining representations of Indigenous people (138). Point of view goes deeper than the surface level of texts; it is frequently subtle and only recognizable to the informed reader. Bradford finds that in Australian children's literature "the dynamics of Aboriginalism, knowledge and power operate by positioning child readers to assent to the versions of Aboriginality proposed by knowledgeable and sympathetic experts, who speak about and for Aboriginals represent Aboriginals in Canada. As a result, I will examine the multiple

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Although Stephens addresses fiction and Shemie's series is non-fiction, I think the point still applies; writers also construct narratives in non-fiction and such positions are no less ideologically loaded.

ways Bonnie Shemie's series on dwellings of the Woodland, Plains, Far North, and Northwest Coast Aboriginal peoples creates point of view: through narrative, illustrations, layout and content.

I will explore point of view in Shemie's *Native Dwellings* series using several different approaches. I begin by investigating how the texts create a point of view that would be similar to those fashioned in traditional anthropological approaches; the texts depict Aboriginal peoples primarily as objects of study, but also as inferior, and as stuck in the past. I will then underline how the point of view appears to be that of a kindhearted, sympathetic expert. Since the point of view is that of a seemingly caring and compassionate authority, the narrator often appears to admire Aboriginal peoples. However, a subtle devaluing of Aboriginal people and their cultures is necessary to portray the expert's sympathy. She laments because she assumes that Aboriginal peoples and their cultures will disappear. After discussing the presence of the vanishing tribe theme, I will focus on two other methods through which Shemie's series uses point of view to treat Aboriginal peoples as anthropological study matter; the texts portray Aboriginal peoples and their cultures as primitive, strange, and even somewhat violent.

Since point of view begins with what an author chooses to include and exclude in their text, I will take a moment to consider the subject of Shemie's series. An examination of *Native Dwellings'* focus reveals an anthropological influence: each book 'tears apart' Aboriginal peoples and their homes for the purpose of study. As mentioned earlier, the main subject of Shemie's series is the material used to build Native homes in particular ecosystems and the construction process for each type of home. Other topics the narrator discusses are the clothes, tools, and household items of each people group. Sometimes there are brief elucidations of ceremonies or rituals, generally those conducted in one of the buildings described and those that are "strange." Basically, Shemie dissects the building processes of the various kinds of homes and then discusses what each house looked like on the inside. Finally, she describes a small number of interesting rituals and/or other items made from the same substance as the house. The lives of Aboriginal peoples appear fragmented and this fragmentation, alongside the omission of intellectual, spiritual, and emotional complexities of Aboriginals, prevents any understanding of "what it means to be an indigenous person" (Smith 38). Instead, as is typical of traditional anthropological approaches, four Aboriginal people groups are taxonomically presented as specimens for study. Thus the anthropological approach in *Native Dwellings* influences what material, and therefore what perspective, child readers receive of Native peoples.

What the texts exclude also says something about point of view and reveals ties to the discourse of anthropology. Shemie's books on *Native Dwellings* imply that Aboriginal peoples are stuck in time. First, she does not describe the changes and progress in the structures that surely occurred over the years. The tipis, earthlodges, longhouses, wigwams, igloos, tupiqs, and plank houses appear to have always been the same. They are not "Native dwellings of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century" or "Native dwellings from 1850-1925." They are "Native dwellings." The only differentiations Shemie notes occur between books in the series: where various types of homes were common and what materials comprised them. There is also no hint of what might have come before these structures or what residences replaced them. Therefore, Shemie offers a very narrow perspective on Aboriginal homes. The viewpoint she provides encourages an anthropological outlook. For example, since dwellings such as those described in the series are now rare, Shemie suggests that few Aboriginal people are still alive and indirectly invokes the vanishing race theory. What's more, the exclusion of details about present day Native people highlights the idea common in anthropology that Aboriginals are only authentic when living traditionally (Bradford 120).

The point of view Shemie offers in her illustrations provides additional proof of *Native Dwellings*' anthropological and Aboriginalist nature. Most of the illustrations unmistakably represent Aboriginal peoples as inferior and/or objects of study. First, the characters in the book rarely face the reader. When they do, it is in depictions of several Aboriginal people where they are so small that the pencil crayon style of the drawings does not allow the characters to gaze decisively outwards. As Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen write in *Reading Images: The Grammar of Visual Design*: "All images which do not contain human or quasi-human participants looking directly at the viewer [. . .] 'offer' [. . .] represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case" (124). And, the images in *Native Dwellings* offer exactly that point of view; they invite the reader to know Natives and four Native peoples by studying and observing them as an anthropologic subject.

Other points of view created by the illustrations also support the idea that Aboriginal people are inferior and objects of study. For example, each book contains at least one double spread that looks down into the house under discussion. The act of looking down places the viewer in a superior position and encourages her/him to judge and take in what s/he observes. Moreover, by removing a portion of a wall in every book except *Houses of Wood*, Shemie allows the reader to peer into a Native dwelling, usually with its occupants. Generally, it is a very personal thing to see the inside of someone's home. The opportunity to do so in a book makes the people seem less human and more on display. In addition, the person who does the viewing is in a position of power. Thus, the points of view provided in such illustrations also highlight the features of anthropological discourses outlined by Bradford, Smith, and Clifford.

The style of the illustrations also betrays an anthropological point of view. Diagrams depicting building processes are the most common kind of drawing that accompanies full pages of text. These diagrams, more than any other form of illustration in the series, dissect the building process. As Shemie narrates the building of an igloo, a longhouse, or some other kind of Native dwelling, black and white drawings appear along the bottom of the page that illustrate the stages of construction described above. If she is explaining the inside of an abode or a ritual, there might be a picture of a household object or an item that is a part of that custom. The diagrams clearly serve the purpose of teaching the reader about the subject, and not so much allowing the reader to experience and understand Aboriginal peoples' lives. The colourless nature of the pictures further underlines the textbook quality of the series. Moreover, if several materials compose the structure, lines point to and name each type of material. Often, once the description of the building process is complete, there will be a picture of a house with one side removed and various parts of the house, or items inside the building, named. Thus, Shemie divides the construction process in a mechanical fashion, and breaks the whole into its parts. These divisions distance the reader from the real people who lived in these homes; they offer Aboriginal peoples of the Far North, Plains, Northwest Coast and Woodlands and their homes as a subject to be grasped through dissection and disconnected analysis. Therefore, the diagrams featuring the construction of Native dwellings definitely treat Aboriginal people as objects of study.

Some of the pictures which accompany written text strangely have nothing to do with the text. The form of these drawings distinctly reveals the series' appropriation of Aboriginal peoples as objects of study. What is particularly noteworthy about such drawings is that they represent every item as virtually the same size. For example, in *Houses of Snow, Skin, and Bones,* a soapstone cooking pot, a soapstone oil lamp (10), snow knives (11), and a sewing needle and needle case (18) have similar dimensions. As Kress and van Leeuwen write, pictures that do not distinguish the sizes of obviously dissimilar objects create a relationship of connection between the items: "The picture says [... they] all belong to the same overarching category" (43). Thus, even the "cultural artifacts" the text represents are not conveyed respectfully. They all fall into the category of "objects for the reader to study." Again, Shemie's approach to illustrations does not emphasize Aboriginal people as subjects to know. Early anthropological reports did not either.

Evidently then, the point of view Shemie's series creates through the subject matter and illustrations is Aboriginalist in nature, by way of their links to traditional anthropology. I now turn to issues of Aboriginalism that uncover themselves through narrative point of view. The dominant narrative point of view in all the books in *Native Dwellings* is that of an omniscient narrator, as is common in most pointedly pedagogical children's books. Only *Houses of Wood* offers a second narrative point of view. However, not only is the omniscient narrator primary in *Houses of Wood*, but this second perspective is also a third person point of view. The omniscient style of narration portrays the narrator as one who knows everything about the subject and peoples under discussion; moreover, it causes the narrative to appear objective and factual, concealing that behind the "facts" is an author with an ideology. Therefore, through the narrative point of view, Shemie portrays herself as an expert on Aboriginal peoples and their dwellings. Interestingly, Clifford notes that ethnography also used to be characterized by a single authorial voice (9,15). Thus, Shemie's choice of an omniscient narrator implies that the content of the series is unbiased and factual; it also links the series to anthropology again.

The details Shemie offers in the series and the language with which she frequently describes Aboriginal peoples and their dwellings further constructs Shemie as an expert. The series provides many details pertaining to the building process for each type of home, the effectiveness of the different building materials, the strengths and weaknesses of the various houses, and the inside of the abodes. The extent of these details, provided through language, diagrams, and color illustrations, also establishes Shemie's expertise. In addition, Shemie almost exclusively uses definite language. For example, she states such things as "There were no windows in earthlodges," (*HoH&E* 18), "The search for

usable bark went on all year round" (HoB 6), and "The house of a chief was transformed during the long winter" (HoW 19). These statements offer no possibility that things were ever any different than Shemie describes them. But chances are that there were at least attempts to make windows in earthlodges, that sometimes a home belonging to someone other than the chief was used for winter festivities, or that harsh winters or disease occasionally meant the regular winter celebrations did not occur at all. However, the near absence of indefinites alongside the details Shemie provides implies that she is a rare specialist on Aboriginal dwellings.

There is one other central method by which the texts uphold Shemie as authority. Shemie acknowledges very few sources within the text and only a single, brief Aboriginal perspective appears—that of the Oglala Sioux/Lakota "holyman" Black Elk<sup>8</sup> (*HoH&E* 23). As a result, the series implies Shemie is the source from which all information flows. Plus, not only is Black Elk's voice limited, but Shemie also places little emphasis on it. In the short quotation *Houses of Hide and Earth* includes from Black Elk, he speaks about the importance of the circle forming the base of tipis, earthlodges, and other buildings (23). Shemie attempts to introduce the quotation with a statement affirming its truth. However, her introduction has the effect of making the quotation repetitive and placing primary importance on her voice. Thus the Aboriginal speaker becomes

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> The sources she does cite are almost exclusively European explorers. De Champlain, whom Shemie quotes at some length, particularly underlines her Aboriginalist leanings. As Smith observes, the journals of early travelers were often treated as "research," even though the authors were untrained and, therefore, either "hobbyist researchers or adventurers" (8). What's more, these documents were tainted by their author's own cultural views (8). Really, de Champlain's observations prove nothing more than his own ethnocentrism. And, unfortunately, the value placed on de Champlain's observations in Shemie's book shows that it is not a far gone thing for non-Aboriginals to treat the experiences of early travelers as facts.

secondary and the text once again affirms Shemie as the expert. In other words, as in early ethnography, Shemie functions as the "pervasive authorial" figure while Black Elk is merely an "informant' to be quoted or paraphrased" (Clifford 15). Besides, the section on the circle is of small significance to the book's central theme: how Aboriginals of the Plains built dwellings of hide and earth. Shemie has not quoted an Aboriginal person in a way that is particularly meaningful to the book as a whole. In not doing so, she places a much lower value on Black Elk than on the narrator, affirming herself as the specialist.

But a series does not become Aboriginalist with merely the presence of an expert. The tone of the texts, however, is not cold and disconnected. Shemie appears as the seemingly sympathetic and kindhearted authority that Bradford finds common in Aboriginalist texts. Shemie appears caring largely by praising her subjects for being ingenious, resourceful, and artistically talented while she concurrently appears to despair over their plight. Of course, the qualities that Shemie recognizes in Native peoples are closely interrelated and she praises all four of the people groups for their ties to nature, ingenuity, and resourcefulness. Still, she emphasizes the ingenuity required to build snow houses and longhouses, the resourcefulness of the Plains peoples (HoH&E) and Far North peoples (HoS,S&B), and the artistic talents of the Northwest Coast peoples.

Shemie marvels at longhouses mostly because she recognizes that it was an "architectural feat" for the Iroquois to construct them (*HoB* 18). Her comment clearly follows from the frequently vast size of longhouses, as the diagram illustrating one of the largest longhouses ever found demonstrates—its size shown in relation to human figures

(18-19). Shemie explains that it was complex to build these structures in part because they were made out of bark. She remarks how bark requires careful attention or else it will split (6). In addition, Shemie describes how, when building a longhouse, the workers must reinforce the bark and tie it down: the first to strengthen the houses and the latter to prevent the wind from carrying the bark away (18). Beyond the construction of the longhouses, Shemie emphasizes the cleverness of the Northern Woodlands peoples by remarking on innovations developed within the longhouse, as she does with each of the various dwellings. In particular, she notes how food and clothes were hung out of reach of dogs and mice (21), and how the platforms on each side were multifunctional: good for working, sleeping, and storage (18). Thus, by marveling at the size, complexity, and functionality of longhouses, Shemie portrays the Iroquois peoples of the Woodlands as ingenious.

Though Shemie wonders at the cleverness of the longhouse, this praise cannot rival her exaltation of the snow house. Her commendation matches the severity of the climate. She finds Inuit ingenuity in their development of homes that used the harsh climate to their advantage, allowing the Inuit to thrive for hundreds or thousands of years. Shemie writes: "The dome shape of the snow house is the secret of its success as a northern dwelling" (6). By referring to the effectiveness of a snow house's shape as a "secret," Shemie implies that Aboriginal peoples of the Far North have an uncommon knowledge. What's more, the repetitive "s" sound in this sentence subtly emphasizes the power of this secret. Shemie then goes on to detail why the dome is effective: any other form would not withstand the Artic hurricane winds because the wind would push over posts, beams, walls, and roofs. But, because the wind sweeps over and around the snow house, it actually exerts a downward force on the walls; as they push deeper into the earth, the snow house grows sturdier (6). And so Shemie underlines the superior construction of snow houses by declaring: "No wonder it has been called 'the most ingenious shelter in the world'" (6).

Shemie praises all the Native dwellings for the ingenuity, as well as the resourcefulness, they reveal. Like her reports on the brilliance of the longhouse and igloo, Shemie finds ingenuity in other Native dwellings through the ways each group created homes appropriate to their surroundings. In much the same way, Shemie underlines the resourcefulness of Aboriginal peoples by accounting how they built homes and made everything necessary for survival, despite the limited materials available in their surroundings.

Shemie allots the peoples living in the most barren settings the premier acclaim for resourcefulness. She reports that the peoples of the plains had to endure cold winter temperatures and construct homes using very little wood; tipis also needed to be transportable by dog (HoH&E 3). Still, Shemie finds that the Plains peoples managed to build comfortable dwellings out of animal hides and earth that served the needs of their makers (HoH&E 6,18) Thus, she gives the Plains peoples added admiration. Not surprisingly, the other group whose resourcefulness Shemie especially commends is the Inuit. According to Shemie, besides having months of darkness and being "blanketed" in ice, the Artic has "the coldest and driest weather known" (HoS,S&B 3). Here the use of the adjective "blanketed" and the extremes "coldest and driest" are striking; they underline how inventive peoples would have to be to survive. Shemie also foregrounds the resourcefulness of the Inuit by noting the limited number of materials available to them for building shelter (3). Moreover, one may deduce that despite the lack of building resources, Inuit peoples did not necessarily live in cramped spaces. For example, several snow houses could be built in a row and be joined by tunnels, allowing plenty of living space (7). And so, Shemie emphasizes how, from few materials, Arctic peoples built homes suited to their needs, their particular surroundings, and the changing seasons.

The Northwest Coast peoples receive Shemie's attention for their artistic richness. On several occasions, Shemie stresses the beauty of the art created by the Northwest Coast peoples by remarking on how, for example, it "awed" or "dazzled" early European explorers (3, 15). Both adjectives express a high level of amazement, the kind that leaves a person dumbfounded. Since few humanly created objects have such an effect, Shemie assigns a rare beauty to the artwork of the Northwest Coast peoples. She also emphasizes the Northwest Coast peoples' skill in creative arts by relaying how a "master carver" not only oversaw the carving of totem poles, but had several apprentices (18). In fact, he was freed from other duties, to devote himself to carving and training his helpers (18). By including these facts, Shemie indicates that the art of the Northwest Coast peoples was so advanced that one could be a specialist in art.

So the narrative point of view appears benevolent largely by portraying positively several of the skills Aboriginal peoples developed. The sympathetic tone of the series emerges primarily in the representation of Aboriginal people and their cultures as doomed and, thus, has a double effect. One characteristic Bradford recognizes in Aboriginalist texts is their tendency to treat Indigenous cultures as disappearing (110). Therefore, the creation of a sympathetic tone not only causes the author to appear compassionate, it also implies that Native peoples and their cultures are inherently weak. Deloria and Francis (for example) document the prominence of the vanishing "Indian" theory in representations of North American Indigenous peoples over the decades (Deloria 64, Francis 16). The doomed race theory proclaims that "less advanced societies" will cease to exist in the presence of "more advanced" societies (Deloria 64). Thus, on the one hand, Shemie seems sympathetic by portraying Aboriginal people and their cultures as fading away. On the other hand, in her creation of a sympathetic expert, Shemie places the series firmly within both Bradford's classification of Aboriginalist texts, and conventional representations of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginals.

Shemie suggests that Aboriginal people and their cultures are disappearing or a thing of the past in three ways: by depicting Aboriginals as passive and unable to survive in the face of the advancing Europeans, by implying that Aboriginal people are struggling to preserve their cultures, and by using the past tense throughout most of the series. I will demonstrate how each kind of representation creates a seemingly compassionate narrator while devaluing Aboriginal people and their cultures. Shemie seems sympathetic partly because of the language she uses to represent Aboriginal people as doomed. However, the doom of Aboriginals is necessary if the narrator is to appear sympathetic: the sympathetic tone arises from the suggestion that Aboriginal peoples and their cultures no longer exist. What I mean is that Shemie, as a person from the race who "prevailed," appears sympathetic because she is writing about the "weaker peoples" and portraying them positively.

Shemie's representations of Aboriginals in relation to early Europeans distinctly depict Native peoples as inert and weak in comparison to their European counterparts. For example, the opening page of Houses of Hide and Earth states that "When Europeans began to move westward two hundred years ago, they found the prairies occupied by powerful and organized Indian tribes. But not for long. The white man brought with him war, alcohol and diseases like smallpox. By 1900, most Indians who were still alive were on reservations" (3). At first glance, one might think the narrator is speaking positively about Aboriginal people by describing their nations as "powerful and organized." Yet, with the cryptic sentences that follow, Shemie completely changes that perspective. If, as the passage suggests, the "white man" could wipe out most Aboriginals and pacify the rest on reservations in a short period of time, these tribes could not be powerful, or at least not in comparison to the Europeans who arrived; and, the short sentences emphasize the speed with which Aboriginal people died and lost their land. By omitting the facts about Native resistance, the deception that was a part of so many treaties and so much more, *Houses of Earth* portrays Aboriginal peoples of the Plains as powerless, feeble and lacking autonomy.

The narrator, though, appears concerned or sorry about the plight of Aboriginals, in this example the Plains peoples. The sympathy comes across largely in her representation of Aboriginal peoples as passive. In the extract above, Native peoples do not act; the White man acts upon Native peoples. As a result, the sense is that Aboriginals thrived until, through no fault of their own, Europeans brought disease, war, and alcohol. And, since the text includes no evidence of Aboriginal resistance, it appears that there was nothing Native peoples could do to defend themselves against these evils. Consequently, most Aboriginal peoples quickly ended up on reserves. Again, it does not seem like Aboriginals choose to live on reserves, but that they had to passively accept the fate the White man offered. In other words, Shemie's portrayal is paternalistic. Moreover, because human beings usually feel more compassion for those who are vulnerable and helpless, the representation of Native peoples as weak magnifies the apparent sympathy Shemie has for Aboriginal people.

The series on Native dwellings also treats Aboriginal cultures as vanishing by implying that there have been no developments in Aboriginal ethos and traditions. Instead, the texts suggest that most traditional Aboriginal cultures have disappeared and Aboriginal people are struggling to preserve what remains. Though several instances within the pages of the series depict Native customs as dying out, and show that these practices are mostly found in museums now, the most startling representations of these ideas occur on the last page of each text. For example, the final sentence in *Houses of Wood* reads, "Replicas of the great wood houses are being built by Native groups all along the coast as cultural centres, where people can preserve and re-create the arts and ceremonies of their ancestors" (24). The existence of these cultural centres is undoubtedly true. What I take issue with is the implication that Aboriginal customs and ethos are dead or only a thing of the past, and that the only way for such practices to survive is for Aboriginals to "re-create" that past. First, Native cultures are not dead,

though Europeans sought to extinguish them. Second, as Thomas King writes, "Native culture, as with any culture, is a vibrant, changing thing" (37). Cultures usually maintain elements from the past, but also naturally develop and transform over time. However, the final page in each of the books on Native dwellings suggests that culture is something fixed, that Aboriginal cultures all but vanished when traditional dwellings were abandoned, and that there must be a return to traditional practices for Native customs to continue.

By suggesting that Aboriginal peoples have lost much of their cultures and are now attempting to revive them, Shemie aligns herself with earlier writers and places herself in a sympathetic position again. If there really is a fight to preserve Aboriginal cultures and a chance that they might be lost, then Shemie is part of preventing that loss; her series is about traditional Native dwellings with Aboriginal arts and rituals as secondary subject matter. However, by invoking the doomed race theory, Shemie causes her series to have much in common with older texts that represent Aboriginal people. Goldie writes that, "The inevitability of the demise of indigenous peoples [...] permeates nineteenth century images of indigenes [...]" (153). However, Shemie's texts demonstrate that the phenomenon of the vanishing race theory in literature by non-Aboriginals is not only something of long ago.

Finally, Shemie presents Aboriginal peoples in the four books she writes on Native dwellings as "vanished tribes" by using primarily past tense in her narratives. Past tense is suitable to events that occurred before now or are no longer happening. Sometimes, by using the present tense, Shemie shows that things which were true during the times of traditional homes are still true now. For example, she writes "Bark requires careful handling or it splits" (*HoB* 6). The qualities of bark have not changed over time; thus, the present tense is most appropriate. Yet, Shemie does not always display such sensitivity when writing about Aboriginal people or their cultures; rather, she often inaccurately places things that are still true of some Aboriginal people in the past tense. In *Houses of Snow, Skin and Bones* she declares that, "The Inuit *were* not afraid of cold" (my emphasis, 11). Thus, she denotes either that the Inuit now fear the cold, or that she is talking about a people who went extinct. Similarly, *Houses of Wood* explains that, "The art of the Northwest Coast peoples [...] *was* not mere decoration. It *was* their religion, the history of their tribe" (my emphasis, 15). It is true that Aboriginal peoples of the Northwest Coast do not paint their houses as much as they did in the past. Still, the quotation misleadingly suggests either that the Northwest Coast peoples are no longer alive, or that something of their cultures has died, and their art is therefore no longer tied to religion and history.

Depictions of Aboriginal people in the past tense have a similar impact as the treatment Aboriginal cultures as disappearing and needing to be preserved. First, insinuating that Aboriginal people and customs are something of the past disrespects and devalues Native people and their cultures because it simply is not true. Second, it causes the narrator to seem benevolent. If Aboriginal cultures and peoples are extinct or nearly extinct, then the only way they will survive is with the assistance of non-Natives. Shemie, then, by writing about Native dwellings and customs must be a philanthropist who is doing what she can to allow the continuation of Aboriginal traditions and peoples.

The depiction of Shemie as a kindhearted, sympathetic expert and Aboriginal people as a doomed race reveals how Shemie's series on Native dwellings is Aboriginalist, as does the way she treats Aboriginal peoples like an anthropological subject. But there are also other ways the texts are Aboriginalist in their relationship to anthropology. Bradford finds that the influence of anthropology appears in non-fiction books for children, in part, through representations of Aboriginal people as primitive and their cultures as strange or exotic (120); Shemie's series contains exactly such images. What's more, her depictions of Aboriginal peoples as less advanced and as enacting frightening rituals create binaries between Aboriginal people and European Canadians. Therefore, Shemie's representations of Aboriginal peoples emphasize the relationship between her texts and Goldie's commodities.

Shemie's representations of Aboriginal people as primitive and their cultures as irrational work in more than one way. In his study, Goldie finds that "the Other is of interest only to the extent that it comments on the self" (11). Through binaries, the colonizer defines what he is by what he is not. As a result, creating binaries is one of the simplest ways colonial discourse invokes the Other to highlight his (the colonizer's) superior features. The representations of Aboriginal peoples in *Native Dwellings* as primitive and strange reflect Goldie's "historicity" and "violence" commodities respectively.<sup>9</sup> Furthermore, Shemie sets these depictions of Aboriginal people against delineations of the dominant society. Therefore, the representations of Aboriginal

Though I will not delve more into the images associating Aboriginal people with nature in the series, the portrayals I have already discussed clearly relate Aboriginal people to nature, as is so common in representations of Indigenous people by non-Indigenous people. The series certainly "define[s Aboriginal people] most clearly in association with nature" (Goldie 14).

peoples as prehistoric and bizarre do more than affirm that the series bears much in common with an anthropological study.

Since Shemie represents Aboriginal peoples as primitive, we can conclude that her series fits into Goldie's "historicity" commodity. According to Goldie, the defining characteristic of the prehistoric commodity is that "all indigene images contain at least a residue of a pre-white past" (148). The *Native Dwellings* series focuses on the traditional homes of four Aboriginal people groups; it also portrays these Aboriginal peoples not only as historically primitive, but still primitive. What's more, Shemie's series ties non-Native peoples to modernity. In other words, Shemie's series clearly shows the relationship of Aboriginal people to North America before European settlement.

One of the ways Shemie depicts Native peoples as primitive is through coloured illustrations of Aboriginal people wearing little or no clothing. Every book in the series contains at least one double fold drawing that includes scantily clad Native people. I do not want to argue that the bodies of Aboriginal people were always covered with clothing. However, by examining one visual image alongside the written text that accompanies it, I will show that Shemie's depictions of Native people wearing little clothing serve an ideological purpose, not necessarily an actuality. The last page in *Houses of Hide and Earth* illustrates several presumably Aboriginal people inside a large ceremonial structure. Most people are clothed; however, the person in the centre of the group and illustration, the only adult standing, catches the reader's eye because of his prominent positioning and upright stance. He wears only a loin cloth. His lack of clothing might not seem unusual if the drawing depicted Aboriginal peoples' traditional

ways of living. Yet, the accompanying text informs me that such buildings are occasionally constructed in contemporary times (24). Therefore, the assumption which naturally follows is that the illustration represents contemporary Aboriginal people in a recently erected building. If this is the case, it would be extremely unlikely that a Native person would only be wearing a loin cloth; the fact that someone is enforces the idea that Aboriginal people were not primitive only in the past: they still are.

In opposition to the primitive Natives are the advanced Europeans. Although the *Native Dwellings* series does not contain any illustrations of European settlers or speak of their clothing, the texts emphasize in other ways that the newly arrived Europeans' attire was superior. For example, *Houses of Hide and Earth* explains how, for traveling purposes, tipis needed to be cut and then later rejoined (10). The text informs us that Plains peoples accomplished the rejoining with brass buttons obtained from the Hudson Bay Company (10). But, the Hudson Bay Company came into existence in 1670. As a result, the Plains Aboriginals must have needed to sew their tipis back together before that time. Obviously, after attaching the buttons to the hides, it would be far less labourious to reconnect the hides by fastening the buttons than to join them with stitches. In other words, by describing how a product brought by Europeans enriched Aboriginal life, without explaining how extensively early immigrants depended upon Native peoples, Shemie portrays the Europeans as more technologically sophisticated than their Aboriginal counterparts.

Shemie also represents Aboriginal peoples as primitive and Europeans settlers as modern by emphasizing how small and rudimentary Native peoples' tools were. These depictions frequently offer some praise of what Aboriginal people accomplished with the tools. Then again, Shemie almost always speaks of the tools in relation to the "modern." As a result, the overall effect is still that Aboriginal people appear primitive. For instance, as Houses of Bark describes how Woodland Natives built wigwams, Shemie writes: "The tools used by the Indians, made of stone and bone, look very crude to the modern eye" (10). Immediately, the text sets up a comparison between the instruments traditionally used by Woodland peoples and those used today. The passage goes on to expound how the "Indians" amazed the early explorer Samuel de Champlain with how effectively they used the tools and how "modern scientists" have also discovered that the tools excavated from "Indian sites" are remarkably practical (10). Clearly, comparing traditional tools to contemporary ones is unfair because such a comparison can do nothing other than portray Aboriginal people as primitive. If Shemie wishes to show the ingenuity of the tools Native peoples developed, she should discuss the tools in their own right, or at least in comparison to similar instruments existing at the time; a European's tools from the same period would also be "primitive" compared to tools today. Moreover, one can identify the "modern eye" as non-Native. Shemie does not include Aboriginal people in either de Champlain's or the "modern scientists" gazes; rather, Aboriginal people are the subject of these gazes. Therefore, not only does this passage emphasize the primitiveness of Aboriginal people, it also places non-Aboriginals in the "modern" category.

Besides suggesting that Aboriginal peoples are primitive, the texts represent some of their rituals as strange, and even dangerous or frightening. The result is that several of the Native practices, as Shemie portrays them, fit within Goldie's "violence" commodity. Goldie mainly discusses extreme representations of violence, usually involving blood. However, the distinction he identifies between representations of Aboriginal violence and the brutality of White society in such texts indicates the commodity has wider applicability. Goldie claims that when the latter acts evilly, texts seem to maintain they are "evil only in methodology" (100). In sharp contrast are Indigenous peoples, who appear "intrinsically violent" in similar texts (100). Shemie represents Aboriginal peoples as violent by relaying some of their customs. Because such practices are a regular part of the Aboriginal peoples' lives, the implication is that Native people are customarily, or maybe even intrinsically, violent. Therefore, I think that Shemie's representations of Aboriginal cruelty and aggression allow the text to fit into Goldie's violence commodity.

Suggestions of regularly occurring practices that involve fear, danger or cruelty appear on several occasions, in more than one book in the series. For example, *Houses of Bark* explains that the Algonquin Aboriginals would bind their shaman by her/his hands and feet and leave her/him alone in a small hut. After a while, "the hut would begin to shake and sometimes various articles would fly out of the smoke hole" (22). The text describes this binding practice as though it commonly occurs within the Algonquin community. Moreover, the quotation suggests violence on two accounts. First, without the proper context, readers would certainly view the act of making a person immobile through binding cruel. Second, the fact that objects "flew out" of the hut, insinuates that they were thrown violently or at least forcefully and carelessly. In the same book,

Shemie also elucidates a ritual where boys were left alone, one at a time, in a small structure for many days without food or water; the ritual was one way of marking progress into manhood (22). Again, without a deep understanding of this practice, which the book does not provide, such a custom seems akin to starvation. Since Western cultures believe that children need to be protected and cherished, it seems especially pitiless to fail to provide an adolescent with the necessities of survival.

Another way that the *Native Dwellings* series implies that violence may be a part of Aboriginal cultures is through the descriptions of the Northwest Coast peoples' paintings and carvings. Shemie claims that early European explorers were "awed by [these] beautiful, and sometimes frightening [...]" creations (3). Evidently, the Europeans did not find all the artwork fear inducing. Still, since Shemie uses only two words to describe the paintings and carvings, she implies that a reaction of fear was prominent. Would a non-violent people create frightening artwork? Very possibly. Still, it is not a far leap to say that "frightening" artwork intimates that the makers of this art are also terrifying, or violent. Thus, there are a number of instances in Shemie's series where she suggests that Aboriginal people have a propensity for violence.

In contrast, the series does not present Euro-Canadians as essentially violent. *Houses of Bark* indicates that tragedy came to many Iroquois homes with the arrival of Europeans. Nevertheless, with the language Shemie uses, it seems as though non-Natives did not play an active part in this destruction: "The arrival of the Europeans meant the days of the longhouse were numbered [. . .] bark had serious drawbacks [. . .] It could withstand neither the heat nor the firepower of the new weapons the invaders brought" (19). The text does not say directly that Europeans recklessly destroyed many Aboriginal homes. The reader may conclude either that non-Aboriginals are to blame for the destruction of these homes, or that the Iroquois should have built their houses out of a more durable material. In other words, Shemie does not directly associate the Europeans with immorality.

Moreover, the series even presents Europeans as kind. For instance, *Houses of Hide and Earth* depicts Spanish explorers as generous and a godsend. After explaining how life was difficult on the western plains, Shemie declares that when the Spanish explorers "brought horses," the Plains people "welcomed the horse as a miracle" (3). Shemie's failure to relate how the Plains Aboriginals acquired the horses leaves open the possibility that the animals were all gifts from the Spanish. The fact that the text calls the horses "miracles" increases the chance that a reader would assume the horses were given. The word also immediately associates the Spanish with benevolence and holiness, implying that the lives of Plains peoples were supernaturally improved through the good deeds of the Spanish. There are many more examples of Shemie portraying Europeans settlers as kind, but I believe this example distinguishes how the author contrasts representations of Native violence with portrayals of non-Native benevolence.

Shemie evidently represents Aboriginal peoples as intrinsically cruel and primitive, in opposition to non-Aboriginals who may do wrong things but are basically kind and are also more technologically advanced. I draw several conclusions from these observations. Knowing that texts influenced by the discipline of anthropology treat Aboriginal people as primitive and their cultures as strange (Bradford 120), I deduce that the prehistoric and violent depictions of Native peoples in Shemie's series underlines her treatment of Aboriginal peoples as an anthropological subject. In other words, Shemie's text is undoubtedly Aboriginalist. Moreover, the primitive and violent images fit into Goldie's standard commodities; these are the boundaries from which images of Indigenous people cannot escape (15). Thus, though Shemie's series is contemporary, it does not represent Aboriginal people in a remarkably different way than earlier Canadian authors.

So what does all this mean? It means Aboriginalism, in its original form, is still alive in Canada. Non-Aboriginals even now speak for and about Aboriginal people. What's more, these contemporary representations of Aboriginal peoples may not precisely mirror previous images, but White sign makers still portray Aboriginal people as the Other. In addition, especially through the use of binaries, images of Native people continue to reveal the belief that Aboriginals cannot achieve the White ideals of agency and progress; these images also say more about non-Aboriginal people than about Aboriginal peoples. And, what they say is that the dominant society is still in control, superior, advanced, kind, and rational—not like Aboriginal people.

## CHAPTER TWO

## Picture Books: Non-Alternative Representations

My first chapter focused on a contemporary non-fiction series by a Canadian author. I now shift my attention to contemporary Canadian fictional picture books. Many people assume that if Indigenous people appear in a children's book and are not pictured savagely, then the books are "good." Yet, as I noted in my introduction, a number of historians and literary critics demonstrate that images of Indigenous people created by non-Indigenous people usually serve the purposes of the dominant society. Principally, depictions of Indigenous people by non-Indigenous people meet the hegemonic need for self-definition and a national identity. According to Deloria, Goldie, and Francis, and as implied by Berkfhofer, immigrants to the New Worlds used the image of the "Indian" to create a sense of nation and/or to "indigenize" and thereby legitimate their place in the new land. My examination of several contemporary Canadian children's fictional picture books written by non-Aboriginals shows that this genre as a whole still works towards creating a sense of Canadian identity. Authors appropriate Aboriginals and Aboriginal peoples as well as their stories, beliefs, languages, and traditions to promote Western or Canadian values and features of textuality, as well as things of pride to Canadians.

One can explore in different ways whether children's picture books written by non-Aboriginals reveal more about Canadian identity and values than about Aboriginal peoples and values. Smith offers insights that I will use to approach my subject. Throughout *Decolonizing Methodologies*, Smith argues for the right of Indigenous peoples to represent themselves. She claims: "Representation of indigenous peoples by indigenous peoples is about countering the dominant society's image of indigenous peoples, their lifestyles and belief systems" (151). Smith resists research on Indigenous peoples by non-Indigenous peoples because she feels it is laden with Western ideologies, methodologies, and methods (chapter one). Although she addresses primarily research on Indigenous peoples, many comparable issues arise as non-Indigenous people write stories about Indigenous peoples. What's more, most non-Indigenous people writing stories about Indigenous people will necessarily have to do research.

It is easy to say contemporary Canadian children's picture books that are really about Aboriginal peoples and not about Western values and Canadian identity should offer alternative representations of "Indians," i.e.: representations that do not merely reproduce hegemonic conceptions of Aboriginal people. But it is much more complex to define "alternative representations." It is equally difficult to characterize "Aboriginal literature." As Kateri Damm underlines in her article, "Says Who: Colonialism, Identity and Defining Indigenous Literature," the challenge comes because Aboriginal individuals and peoples are so diverse; they do not have "a cohesive, unitary basis of commonality" (Damm 13). Considering the dominance of the image of the "Indian" in North America, it is easier to define what NON-alternative representations of Aboriginal peoples are.

As Goldie writes, because the image of the "Indian" is so prolific such images no longer, "lead back to the implied signified [...], but rather to other images (3-4). I would like to consider first what physical features, forms of outerwear, and means of living compromise this easily recognizable image. Damm suggests that Aboriginal writers are not considered authentic unless they are "'traditional' in appearance and dress, dark skinned and raven haired" (13). But it is also common for Native people to be referred to as "red skinned." Similarly, Magda Lewis in "Are Indians Nicer Now?: What Children Learn From Books About Native North Americans" identifies "fringed buckskin, headbands, feathers" and bare upper bodies for men, as some of the stereotypical ways of representing Aboriginal peoples (136-37, 141). Furthermore, probably because of the dominance of "cowboy and Indian" fiction and movies, the Plains Indians' generally nomadic traditional lifestyle, which involved living in tipis, is most readily considered the "Indian" way of life. These are not all the visual signs that have come to signify the "Indian," but they are certainly prominent ones.

Obviously, not every Aboriginal person has red skin and black hair, nor does every Aboriginal person wear fringed buckskin and live in a tipi. As Berkhofer underlines, one of the most common ways the dominant society has misrepresented Native North Americans is by applying an understanding of one Native nation and culture to all Natives (25). According to Muecke, appropriation occurs "when meanings 'lose their cultural specificity by becoming part of a more general culture" (qtd. in Bradford 146). In other words, when non-Aboriginals fail to distinguish between Aboriginal peoples and individuals, they are appropriating. It follows that using "Indian" symbols, when the story is not really about Aboriginals, is also appropriation.

Thus, non-Natives cannot provide alternative representations of Aboriginal peoples if they make generalizations between Native groups or nations and between

Native people. I would argue, in fact, that stories about Native people living within their nations or groups should make the distinctiveness of the nation or group very clear. If the uniqueness of a culture is not emphasized, the portrayal will be lost into generalizations about "Indians" because of the dominance of such images over the centuries. Moreover, if a non-Aboriginal author uses "Indian" symbols but the story promotes Western values, or conforms to Western conventions of textuality, this is also appropriation: the cultural specificity of Aboriginal peoples is being lost into a general Western or Canadian culture.

Unfortunately, the nine children's books I explore in this chapter: Sue Ann Alderson and Ann Blades' A Ride for Martha (1993), Connie Brummel Crook and Scott Cameron's Maple Moon (1997), Veronika Martenova Charles' Maiden of the Mist: A Legend of Niagara Falls (2001), James Oliviero and Brent Morrisseau's The Fish Skin (1993), Ted Harrison's The Blue Raven (1989), Andrea Spalding and Janet Wilson's Solomon's Tree (2002), Jan Truss, Nancy Mackenzie and Philip Spink's Peter's Moccasins (1987), W.D. Valgardson and Ian Wallace's Sarah and the People of Sand River (1996), and Rudy Wiebe and Michael Lonechild's Hidden Buffalo (2003) do not provide alternative representations of Aboriginal peoples. Though most of the texts resist conventional images of Aboriginal peoples on one level, they all use symbols common to images of the "Indian." What's more, though most of these books characterize Aboriginal peoples living traditionally within their nations, they do not tie the people or the cultures they represent strongly to specific nations. These texts also do not emphasize the cultural diversity of Native peoples; they appropriate Aboriginal peoples and choice aspects of Aboriginal cultures and traditions. The effect of the appropriation is that

books seemingly about Aboriginal people generalize and misrepresent their subject and/or support Western ideals and notions of Canadian identity: the stories are overwhelmingly about individual triumph, many bear features of twentieth century Western fairytales and/or promote Canadian values—such as multiculturalism—or things of pride to Canadians, like maple syrup and "Indian" artwork.

Since I cannot write in detail about each of the nine texts, I will concentrate on three texts and make notes or references to the others. I will discuss Harrison's *The Blue Raven* primarily because it strongly exemplifies a text that ties itself to Aboriginal peoples, beliefs, and traditions, but is more reflective of Western hero narratives, with their emphasis on individual achievement. Charles's *Maiden of the Mist* is more supportive of community values than *The Blue Raven*. However, it conforms to some conventions for twentieth century Western fairytales. *Maiden of the Mist* also features one of the most renowned aspects of the Canadian landscape. Lastly, I will consider Valgardson and Wallace's *Sarah and the People of Sand River (SPSR* from here forward) which, much like *The Blue Raven*, centres on an individual. Still, I would like to focus more on how the text weaves Canadian multiculturalism into its pages.

Before I begin my examination of *The Blue Raven*, I must explain my conclusion that the theme of individual triumph is predominantly a Western, and therefore Canadian, one. As Bradford implies, when non-Indigenous people write texts about Indigenous people, the ideas must flow through a Western sieve and appropriation inevitably occurs (131). Smith, in the second chapter of her book, indirectly expands on Bradford's observation by identifying the specific concepts she believes form the "filter" of the West's (Imperial) research. Among other things, Smith speaks of how Western traditions treat the individual, "as the basic social unit from which other social organizations and social relations form" (49) and how this affects Western research. The implication is that because Indigenous people do not consider the individual the basic social unit, Western style research is inappropriate for Indigenous peoples. The fact that research built on individualism is not Indigenous in approach suggests that stories promoting individuality also do not reflect Indigenous epistemologies.

Thomas King's *The Truth About Stories*, the text produced out of the five addresses he did for CBC's Massey Lecture Series, affirms that Western and Native stories generally differ in their perspectives on the importance of community and individuality. King demonstrates the divergence in Native and Western views by comparing two creation stories—because such tales contain "relationships that help to define the nature of the universe and how cultures understand the world in which they exist" (10). The two stories King weighs—surprise, surprise—are a Native creation story and the prevailing Western one found in Genesis. Through King's explication of these two stories, he shows that the former promotes community and cooperation, while the latter upholds individual deeds (24-5). Later in the series, he also points out that *Porcupines and China Dolls*, a novel by Aboriginal author Robert Alexie, appeals to many Native readers in part because it is about characters' inabilities to create order in their lives and about a community effort to get back on its feet (117). Clearly, what underpins King's argument is that stories about community reflect a common thread in Aboriginal peoples' worldviews.<sup>10</sup>

I will begin my study of primary texts with Harrison's *The Blue Raven*. Harrison's story is an example of appropriation: it does little to provide an alternative representation of Aboriginal peoples; instead it upholds Western characteristics of textuality, which are reflective of Western and Canadian values. First, though *The Blue Raven* uses several devices that cause readers to link the story to Canada's Aboriginal peoples, it does not acknowledge any Aboriginal sources and the story bears no evident ties to a specific Aboriginal group, place, tradition, or language. In addition, the tale does not reflect the strong value Aboriginal peoples place on community; in fact, the story, which centres on Nik, strongly resembles hero narratives that are common in Western literature and Hollywood movies.<sup>11</sup>

Harrison depicts the way of life of the Yukon River Basin characters in *The Blue Raven* accurately—in respect to traditional means of living, clothing, and dwellings—as far as Williamson outlines in *First Nations Peoples* (47). As a result, in some ways Harrison's story, particularly the artwork, defies conventional images of "Indians." For

Penny Petrone's Native Literature in Canada: From Oral Tradition to the Present also names "the importance of community life" as a common Native "ancient tradition" that often appears in works by Native authors (183).

Joseph Campbell's *A Hero with a Thousand Faces* underlines the similarities between stories about the heroic journey from many cultures. Native groups are included within those that have hero stories. However, Campbell's purpose is to highlight what these myths show about the heroic self and her/his relationship with the outer world (Estes xxiv), not that all stories are about the individual triumphing. In fact, Estes writes "in tribal groups, whether stories of the journeys of the heroic soul end humourously, tragically, or grandly, each kind of terminus is still considered an object lesson" (xlvi). This is unlike Western hero narratives where, in order for a narrative to be called a "hero narrative," the individual must overcome in the end.

example, the homes in the village are not tipis but, rather, log cabins. Still, Harrison's text contains many readily identifiable "Indian" signifiers.

Several cues in *The Blue Raven* easily allow readers to identify the subject of Harrison's story. For example, an obvious visual indicator of Nik's "Indian" identity is his usually reddish brown skin and wild looking black hair. Braided hair is a very common symbol for White images of Aboriginals. But Nik's loose, flowing hair also coincides with what most children know about "Indians": they have a close tie to nature. As Goldie explains, to be natural means freedom, and Nik's hair embodies this freedom (Goldie 23). Furthermore, towards the end of his journey, Nik builds a lean-to for shelter. Though not as strong a signifier of "Indians" as tipis, lean-tos are also commonly known to be traditional Native dwellings. The illustration of the lean-to in *The Blue Raven* becomes a particularly strong indicator of an "Indian" subject because: Nik's red tunic, reddish brown face, and black hair provide some of the only contrasting colours in the painting; and, the animals watching Nik sleeping in the lean-to, under a moonlit sky, further remind the reader of Nik's close ties to the natural world.

*The Blue Raven* obviously features "Indian" characters. But, Harrison's story does not link the people to a specific Aboriginal group or language, nor does he mention traditions of a particular nation, nor does he use any words from a Native language. His failure to do so is further evidence of appropriation. The only reference to Nik's Aboriginal group in *The Blue Raven* occurs on the inside front jacket of the book. The fact that the book only reveals that Nik is Athapaskan on the jacket suggests that Harrison does not place much importance on the reader knowing what group or nation Nik belongs

to. So, though Nik can readily be identified as "Indian," one has to search to discover that he is Athapaskan. Plus, "Athapaskan" refers to an Aboriginal language group consisting of several nations (Williamson 52). In other words, Harrison does not give Nik the identity of a specific nation. Furthermore, the fact that the story does not include words from an Athapaskan language or any Athapaskan traditions means that even Nik's identity as an Athapaskan is unimportant to the story. The book is largely about Aboriginal peoples in general: most any Canadian could readily see the story is about an "Indian" and some knowledgeable people would know that the villagers are from the Mackenzie and Yukon River Basin cultural groups. Yet, it is impossible to know what nation Nik and his people belong to. What's more, the absence of traditions or language from a particular Aboriginal group or nation has the effect of making the story seem familiar to readers from the dominant society.

An examination of the story's central theme makes obvious how the story has more in common with Western cultures than Aboriginal cultures: *The Blue Raven* idealizes individualism much more than cooperation and community living. The story is a quest narrative: Nik sets out on a journey to seek help for himself and his fellow villagers; he returns home only after he gains the needed knowledge. Throughout the story, Harrison highlights Nik's heroic qualities—first as he is amongst other people from his nation, then as he faces numerous hardships and obstacles along the path of his journey. However, the story's closing best underscores that *The Blue Raven* is a text that hails individual achievement, not the importance of community life. The gifts Nik receives upon reaching his destination will benefit the community but they make the village dependent on Nik. The shaman Nik sought gives him a cloak and pair of mukluks to protect him from the coldest winters (n.p.). Yet, according to the shaman, the gifts will also "serve to remind you and others of what you have done, and encourage even braver deeds in the future. Remember the magic will always be within yourself. The happiness these gifts will bring depends on your own courage and leadership" (n.p.). Apparently, the future of Nik's people lies entirely on his shoulders. The shaman directs his words to Nik; although the gifts are to serve the community, the power of the gifts lies in Nik and the memory of his deeds. Thus, Nik's importance to the village, not the significance of the people to each other, underpins the shaman's plan for the community's recovery.

The final pages of *The Blue Raven* also reveal the story's support of individualism through Nik's first re-encounter with his family: Nik appears to be the nonchalant, admired hero. "NIK'S FAMILY WAS JUBILANT to see their son return," the text reads, with the first part of the sentence not only appearing in capitals but in a larger, blue font (n.p.). Apart from the story's opening phrase, the text does not depart from its standard font size and colour. Thus, Harrison places great significance on the joyous feelings of Nik's family upon his arrival. The term "jubilant" further emphasizes Nik's family's high level of elation; "jubilation" far exceeds "gladness" or even "joy." Not only is Nik's family ecstatic to have him home but Taku, the dog who accompanied Nik on his journey, is also happy to be home again. Still, no mention appears describing Nik's reaction to coming home after many months away. Thus the story subtly suggests that Nik is more imperative to his family than they are to him.

The changes that occur in Nik's village after his return also imply that Nik's worth far succeeds the worth of the community. It is Nik who devises new trails for hunting and the people learn from his "hard-earned experience" (n.p.). Therefore, it seems that Nik shows leadership and people benefit from his adventures and new found knowledge, but that no one teaches Nik anything. Nik's journey was hard. Yet, his people also faced difficult times over the months of his journey. There must have been ways that Nik grew by living in community again. Furthermore, though the text now extends the "magic" the shaman spoke about to "Nik *and* his people," the separation of Nik from "his people" still places a higher prominence on the power within Nik (n.p., my emphasis). Moreover, the story continues by stating that it was Nik's modeling of bravery and self-denial that enabled the people to prosper again (n.p.). Clearly, Harrison places much more emphasis on the significance of Nik's individual deeds and character than on the need of people for each other.

Finally, the story's account of future years firmly establishes Nik as an individual hero. The reader discovers that after some years Nik becomes "a great and wise chief" (n.p.). It is apparent that Nik's accomplishments are what gain him this position. Still, Nik's status as a chief does not alone show the emphasis on Nik as a self-made hero. The text also informs the reader first that an annual celebration comes to commemorate Nik's brave journey and deeds, then that Nik's grandchildren enjoy his story so much they want to hear it over and over again, and finally that the tale grows so much over the years that it eventually becomes a "treasured legend" (n.p.). In other words, Harrison uses many different means to highlight the greatness of Nik in the years ahead. If any single one of these honours commemorated Nik's trek, they would underline the value of his journey and the lessons learned on it. Thus, Harrison's choice to name four different long-term results of Nik's expedition represents Nik as a resounding hero. Plus, the fact that there are only minimal mentions of Taku, the Great Shaman, and the blue raven—who aided in the success of Nik's journey—when Nik returns home, downplays their roles and makes Nik the true, independent hero.

On the surface then, *The Blue Raven* appears to be a story about Aboriginal peoples. However, a closer examination reveals otherwise. Though the illustrations depict "Indian" characters and some aspects of the traditional lives of Aboriginal people from the Mackenzie and River basin cultural groups, the story does not connect itself to any particular Aboriginal nation, language or traditions. What's more, the central theme, which could be summed up as "the individual willing to face hardship will be commemorated forever" does not reflect the common Aboriginal value of cooperation and community. Rather, it parallels the value Western cultures place on individualism. I thus conclude, much like Bradford does about Patricia Wrightson's work, that *The Blue Raven* "simultaneously appropriates [Native] traditions and diminishes them" (148).<sup>12</sup> In other words, it does not provide an alternative representation of Aboriginal people.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The Fish Skin and Hidden Buffalo have non-Native authors—James Oliviero and Rudy Wiebe but Native illustrators—Brent Morrisseau and Michael Lonechild—respectively. Though I would say both are more about community than The Blue Raven, Hidden Buffalo is still strongly about individual growth. What's more, apart from Lonechild, Wiebe does not acknowledge his story's Native sources, though he

Charles' *Maiden of the Mist* has its similarities to *The Blue Raven*. Charles' tale also obviously features "Indians" living traditionally and bears evidence of research into how the Seneca nation used to live.<sup>13</sup> However, *Maiden of the Mist* bears some positive characteristics that *The Blue Raven* does not. *Maiden of the Mist* more clearly explains the roots of its story, gives more clues about its relationship to an Aboriginal nation within the pages of the story, and more strongly shows the importance of community than *The Blue Raven*. Still, Charles' tale promotes a different aspect of Western textuality, as well as the most celebrated feature of the Canadian landscape. The story is essentially a retelling of Iroquoian and European myths about the origin of Niagara Falls, a retelling that bears significant similarities to Western folktales featuring young maidens that have been rewritten in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

The illustrations in *Maiden of the Mist*, like those in *The Blue Raven*, clearly identify the subject of the story as "Indians." Though the skin tone of these characters is less red than in Harrison's book, most of the women appear with braided hair while the men all tie their long hair loosely back. In addition, everyone in the story wears animal skin clothing with fringed edging. Animal skin clothing alone is a signifier of Native peoples, but the fringed edging is an even stronger symbol of "Indian" clothing. Moreover, the men in the story often appear wearing only loin cloths. Though it is possible that loin cloths were a common type of dress for Woodland peoples, it seems

names the nation and place his story focuses on. *The Fish Skin* suggests a relationship to the Cree in a note at the end of the story but this relationship is left unclear both in the story and the note.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> The illustrations in *Maiden of the Mist* depict Seneca people wearing animal skin clothing, living in longhouses, and preparing corn—presumably for eating. According to Williamson such things were a part of Iroquois life (45); the Seneca nation is one of the six nations of the Iroquois confederacy (Seneca).

unlikely considering the average summer temperature in the region is only twenty degrees Celsius ("Travel").

Although Charles includes some typical signifiers of Aboriginal people, she also states or implies the story's relationship to the Iroquois several times. First, Charles briefly enumerates the sources of her tale. In a note following the story, she mentions the long history of Niagara Falls mythology and that the European version of the Falls' origin developed from an Iroquois legend. Charles goes on to summarize both the Iroquois and European Niagara Falls origin stories; the author also explains where she sees her version fitting in. In other words, Charles shows the connection of both her story and other European accounts of the story to the original Iroquois legend. However, Charles never identifies which particular nation the story developed in, but perhaps the information was not available in her sources. Additionally, Charles specifies her relationship to the story on the title page of the book. The words "retold and illustrated by" appear before her name. Thus, Charles clearly does not claim sole authorship of the story. Her final note and clear indication that the story is a retelling are solid efforts to link the story with its Iroquois roots.

Moreover, there are some efforts within the pages of the story to link this retelling to the Iroquois people who told the original tale. For example, the first line of the book reveals that the story focuses on a Seneca nation. Immediately then, readers know that the story is about a specific Aboriginal nation, not Aboriginal people in general. In addition, *Maiden of the Mist* maintains the original name of at least Hinu the thunder god, as Charles' note suggests and Lewis Henry Morgan affirms (159). Obviously, this name will not be familiar to children from the hegemonic society. In addition, some aspects of the illustrations are not typically "Indian," such as the longhouse in the background of two illustrations. Still, these three attempts by Charles to distinguish an Iroquois nation do not allow the story as a whole to strongly contrast images of "Indians." However, Charles' efforts are seeds that might cause the curious reader to ask more questions and possibly lead her/him to discover something about Aboriginal peoples that is not generally known by non-Natives.

Maiden of the Mist also bears ties to Aboriginal peoples through the themes of community and cooperation. Lelawala is the main focalizer in the story. But the tale makes clear that she goes over the falls seeking the good of her people, not her own good. The nation is suffering under a sickness that has taken many people, including Lelawala's mother. Thus, the leaders conclude that they must send a better gift to the thunder god, Hinu, who protects them: they must offer "a thing of youth and beauty" (n.p.). Upon overhearing the elders' conclusion, Lelawala remembers the people who have already died from the disease and those who are left to mourn, especially her own father. Then the text simply says, "Lelawala made a decision," and that is the end of the paragraph (n.p). She does not consider her own well-being or hope for personal exaltation. Plus, the crispness of the sentence emphasizes that Lelawala makes the decision confidently and with a clear mind. The reader does not discover exactly what Lelawala's decision is until the next page; she will offer herself to Hinu, Lelawala tells her father (n.p.). Thus, Charles successfully shows the heroine does not seek personal gain. Lelawala's focus is the community's suffering.

The fact that a single kinship group could not destroy the monstrous poisonous snake further underlines the theme of cooperation. Lelawala's village thinks their people are dying because the thunder god, who protects them from giant snakes in the river, is angry. However, upon Lelawala's arrival in Hinu's cave, the thunder god's son tells her that they are unable to destroy the enormous beast alone. As a result, only when the chief and warriors of the Seneca nation join forces with Hinu and his sons is the monster slain. In other words, Charles weaves a picture where Lelawala is not the only hero. Her journey was necessary to facilitate communication between the two communities, but everyone must work together to achieve their common goal.

Maiden of the Mist further emphasizes community by only subtly applauding Lelawala's bravery. The book does not portray Lelawala as being courageous. No other character ever admires Lelawala for her fortitude. There is simply the evidence of her actions: she makes her decision to go over the falls without hesitation and she does not look back after setting out on her voyage. Even when the waters swallow Lelawala, she demonstrates no fear. And, though her journey was necessary to free the nation of the enormous venomous snake which was killing them, the celebrations after the death of the snake are not focused on Lelawala. According to the story, the singing and dancing is a response to the community's victory and a return to regular life. Therefore, *Maiden of the Mist*, unlike *The Blue Raven*, does not promote individualism by repeatedly proclaiming the deeds of the main character.

Finally, Charles' tale upholds community values by focalizing Lelawala's father briefly. In that moment, the father does not rejoice in his daughter's deeds. Instead, he mourns her absence; in fact, he leaves the celebrations to do so. Moreover, what the text describes, the double fold illustration vividly paints. Lelawala's father is by himself, sitting on the rock cliff at the edge of the raging Niagara Falls. He sits with his back to the reader in a corner of the picture, making him seem small and alone—mirroring his feelings. His shoulders are slightly hunched and his head slightly tilted, underlining his grief. As a result, the reader sees that though Lelawala did something brave, her actions separated her from the community. If the moment had been focalized through Lelawala, it would have highlighted her heroism and self-sacrifice. But, because it is her father's grief the story shares, the reader better grasps that an essential family tie has been broken.

Despite these strong points of the story, *Maiden of the Mist* is not free from appropriation. The strongest example of Western textuality occurs through Charles' introduction of elements common in rewritten Western folktales involving young maidens; the stories I'm speaking about primarily have origins long before 1900 but continue to be reproduced in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. In recent times, the most famous rewritten Western folktales with young maidens—such as *Cinderella* and *Snow White*—feature a vulnerable woman who is rescued by a man, usually richer and/or more powerful than her. The result is a couple that lives happily ever after. *Maiden of the Mist* is no exception, even though the original story, which Charles states was first recorded by Lewis Henry Morgan in *League of the Iroquois*, flows differently.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Obviously Morgan's version cannot be relied upon to reproduce the story in its precise original form. However, I hope that at least the general events of the story as he records them are correct. I will focus on those.

Charles' version of the Niagara Falls origin story diverges from the Iroquois legend in several instances. I will focus on Charles' ending because it best reveals Maiden of the Mist's relationship to twentieth and twenty-first century rewritten Western folktales. *Maiden of the Mist* ends on a happy note. Lelawala's people have been relieved of the sickness taking the lives of so many. And, since Lelawala promised to marry Hinu's son if he would reveal why her people were dying, the reader knows that the two are now married. Though the ending reveals that the chief misses his daughter, it also shows that she is content. The text states that the chief considers: "his daughter in her new life" (n.p). The words "new life" encompass change, but they also connote hope and a bright future. Plus, the rainbow, running almost from corner to corner of the double fold illustration, codifies this hope visually and with a distinctly 'Western' trope. Finally, the very last lines of the story encourage readers "Even today [...to] listen carefully" should they visit Niagara Falls because "You just may hear Lelawala and her children calling to each other behind the curtain of water that hides their home" (n.p). Thus the final picture the story creates is of Lelawala frolicking eternally with her children. An ending doesn't get much closer to "happily ever after" than that.

Morgan's recording of the original version has a significantly different ending it is not the kind of ending Western audiences today would expect from a rewritten folktale. After her marriage to one of Hinu's assistants, the maiden, who is not named, bears a son (Morgan 159). The child is half-human and half-celestial being. By boyhood, he can release lighting bolts at will and, before long, he strikes a playmate with one during a tiff (160). The boy's grandfather responds by removing him from earth, which is how Morgan's account of the story ends. By implication then, Hinu separates the boy from his mother. In other words, Lelawala does not live happily ever after with her children in the original version; she is on earth, her son is in the "clouds," and there is no mention of other children (160). What's more, the original does not even make clear where Lelawala lives after her marriage, but it does explain that Hinu's home behind the falls is destroyed when the serpent's body becomes lodged in the rocks (160). Clearly then, Lelawala did not continue to live behind the falls, as she does in Charles' version.

Charles enables *Maiden of the Mist* to work towards creating a sense of Canadian identity by altering the Iroquois legend to fit into conventions for rewritten contemporary Western folktales. There is another very important way the book promotes Canadian pride: Niagara Falls is at the centre of the story. The second largest waterfall in the world and probably the biggest tourist attraction in Canada, Niagara Falls is certainly something recognizably and distinctly Canadian. Because the story is about Niagara Falls, something many Canadian children will have heard of, it is probably more likely to be read. At the same time, the fact that the creation of Niagara Falls' unique shape is an important part of the story reinforces one of the reasons Canadians take pride in the falls.

Still, I might hesitate to argue that a contemporary story about Niagara Falls builds a sense of Canadian identity. That is, if I didn't also find other contemporary children's fictional picture books featuring subjects that are widely identifiable as Canadian. From my selection of nine books, three are about things of Canadian pride. Besides *Maiden of the Mist*, Connie Brummel Crook and Scott Cameron's *Maple Moon*, as the title suggests, is a fictional story that combines a coming of age theme with the discovery of maple syrup. A wooden mask that a boy makes from his favourite maple tree is at the centre of Andrea Spalding and Janet Wilson's *Solomon's Tree*. It is significant that *Solomon's Tree* focuses on the creation of a mask because, though masks are specific to certain nations (and a Tsimpshian carver creates the one featured in the story), the broader Canadian public views mask as a form of "Indian" art. Moreover, there is a strong association between "Indian" art and Canada: both maple syrup and various forms of "Indian" art can be found in most any store featuring goods considered uniquely "Canadian." But the fact that the mask is made from a maple tree increases the "Canadianness" of the mask. Not only are maple trees the source of the well-known Canadian maple syrup, but the maple leaf forms the centre of the Canadian flag. Thus, these books that outwardly appear to be about Aboriginal peoples reinforce the pride Canadians take in various symbols of their country.

What I have not discussed about the texts in this chapter yet is how their temporal settings can increase their author's sense of "indigenizing." As I recall in my introduction, newcomers to Canada sought to indigenize out of a desire to belong and have a connection to the new land (Francis 222, Goldie 13). One way Francis claims Canadians tried to become "Indian" was by appropriating aspects of Aboriginal cultures (223). Goldie also suggests that non-Indigenous people try to indigenize by writing about Indigenous peoples (13). The contemporary children's picture books I am exploring in this chapter are not only stories about Aboriginal people written by non-Aboriginals, they also appropriate various aspects of Aboriginal cultures. Thus we might conclude that the authors of the books in this study are seeking to "indigenize."

But the fact that almost all the books I include in this study have historical settings, as literature about Native people by non-Native people has for decades, gives their author's attempts to indigenize added significance. <sup>15</sup> First, depicting Aboriginal people only living in the past encourages the myth of the "vanishing Indian." If Aboriginal people are largely portrayed in the past, the implication is that few or none are still alive. And, by suggesting that Aboriginals are dying out, people from the hegemonic society who have sought to "indigenize" increase their sense of belonging to Canada.

Second, portraying Native people primarily living in the past implies that Native people who are still alive have little connection to the present. As Francis writes about movies featuring Native characters that are set in the past, "The result is that the Indians [...] seem marginal to modern life" (107). Goldie speaks in a like manner about images of Indigenous peoples placed in historical settings, saying that they "[shape] the indigene into a historical artifact" (17). If a book that is set in the past portrays Aboriginal people as "historical artifacts," the message is that Aboriginals have no relationship to contemporary times (17). And, Aboriginal peoples who have little connection to modernity cannot be progressing. Thus, historical portrayals of Aboriginal people render their subject either irrelevant or else, once again, destined to disappear. The result of Aboriginal people being made extraneous to the present or about to vanish is that those who have indigenized become the most "Indigenous" people.<sup>16</sup> The fact that most of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Both Goldie and Lewis highlight that most images of Native people by non-Native people portray Aboriginal peoples as a people of the past (Goldie 17, Lewis 144).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Moreover, as King highlights, most contemporary Native authors place their stories in present settings. He suggests, inconclusively, that this is because "by the time Native writers began to write in earnest and in numbers, we discovered that the North American version of the past was too well populated,

these children's books have historical settings confirms that they do not provide alternative representations of Aboriginal people.

Valgardson and Wallace's *Sarah and the People of Sand River*, the last children's fictional picture book I wish to explore in this chapter, is notable for tying Aboriginal people strongly to the past. The story also appropriates Aboriginal people, but in a different way than the previous two books. The narrative of *SPSR* centres not on a Native child but on an Icelandic child, now living in Canada. Cree people feature as secondary characters. Valgardson codes the Cree characters as "Indian" and overlooks the ways Cree cultures are different from the cultures of other Native nations. Moreover, the story subtly exemplifies Canadian multiculturalism, with few of its problems.

SPSR connects Aboriginal people to the past simply because it is set around the turn of the twentieth century. But the book also attaches Cree people firmly to the past by suggesting they are disappearing. There is only one live Cree person featured in the story, the rest are spirits of people who knew of, and probably lived in the same time as, Sarah's grandparents. These apparitions return to help Sarah. By mostly depicting Cree people as ghosts, the story suggests that they have vanished. When the Cree woman appears, she confirms this conclusion by explaining that the people who used to occupy the village nearby Sarah's home were wiped out by smallpox.

Furthermore, the closing of the story not only strongly implies that Cree people are fading away, but that White people can help the memory of them to continue. On the

too well defended" (105). King's observation underlines, first, that non-Native representations of the past were misleading. Second, it suggests that non-Natives are still misrepresenting Native peoples in historical settings. If they weren't, then Native peoples likely wouldn't perceive the "North American version" of the past as undefeatable.

closing page of the story, the focalization switches to the great-grandchild of Sarah, who reveals herself as the storyteller. She explains how her great-grandmother returned to the place of their family's first homestead as an elderly lady. The main purpose of the journey is to place a headstone on the graves of the Cree people who had died of smallpox under her grandparents' care: "so the people of Sand River would not be forgotten" (n.p). The story implies that if Sarah does not place the gravestone, then the people of Sand River will not be remembered. If this is the case, Sarah must be the only one who maintains a memory of these Cree people. Thus, the reader is left thinking that the other Cree people who also knew them must be dead too. Sarah's act is meant to demonstrate friendship but, considering the dominance of the vanishing race theory over the centuries, it just as strongly enforces the idea that Native people are disappearing.

As did *The Blue Raven* and *Maiden of the Mist, SPSR* also bears some common symbols for "Indians." When the story introduces the Cree spirits that help Sarah, the text always describes them as having "dark hair." It seems their hair colour is meant to signal they are related to the Cree whom Sarah's grandparents nursed. What's more, just like in *Maiden of the Mist,* the women in the story always appear with braided hair. The men, like Nik in *The Blue Raven* and the men in *Maiden of the Mist,* have long, wildlooking hair, even though the men in each story are from different Aboriginal groups. Moreover, the jacket given to Sarah has a fringed edging, not unlike the one on Lelawala's shirt. In other words, Valgardson and Wallace describe and illustrate their Cree characters in such a way that they are easily identifiable as "Indian." However, like Harrison and, to a lesser degree, Charles, the creators of *SPSR* fail to represent the Cree as having a unique culture. Though the story does not completely allow the characters to fade into the general designation "Indian" by identifying the group to which they belong, it does little else to distinguish their unique society.<sup>17</sup> For example, the Cree spirits occasionally repeat a phrase to Sarah, but the actual Cree words never appear. Thus Valgardson passes by an obvious opportunity to highlight cultural differences. And, *SPSR* also does not distinguish Cree culture by depicting the characters practicing their traditions or showing the way they lived. Additionally, the summary of the story on the dust jacket even refers to the characters with the general term "native." It is clearly not a part of Valgardson and Wallace's agenda to distinguish the Cree characters in the story as members of a distinct Aboriginal group or Cree nation.

Instead, the Cree people in the story play a vital part in exemplifying early Canadian multiculturalism. "Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship" highlights one of the central goals of multiculturalism (CH). It states that the establishment of multiculturalism "affirmed the value and dignity of all citizens" (CH "Diversity"). In addition, Canada under the Multicultural Act is supposed to be a place that "encourages racial and ethnic harmony and cross-cultural understanding, and discourages ghettoization, hatred, discrimination and violence" (CH "Multi"). Though multiculturalism was not an Official Act in the time *SPSR* is set, the story suggests that it is already in the making: the text portrays the relationship between Cree in Sand River and Sarah's family, both of minority groups, as one of interdependence and friendship.

17

I have not been able to identify whether "The people of Sand River" were an actual Cree nation.

Plus, the Cree are not the only people of a different culture with whom Sarah develops a significant bond. Finally, *SPSR* gives very little evidence of any animosity between people on the basis of race.

The story begins by emphasizing how the Cree of Sand River and Sarah's grandparents, new immigrants at nearby Frog Bay, needed each other for survival. Sarah's grandparents, Icelandic in background, are outsiders to the prevailing English-French settlements. Therefore, as Valgardson's historical note indicates, he sees Icelanders and Aboriginal peoples as being in parallel circumstances: both are "alien" to the hegemonic societies. Moreover, because Sarah's Icelandic grandparents were accustomed to subsistence through different means, the story tells how they only endured their early years in Canada because the Cree people brought them food and clothing. Similarly, Cree people grew to depend on Sarah's grandparents for food, a place to sleep, and a warm fire when the waters of Lake Winnipeg prevented them from continuing their journey across the lake. Thus, Valgardson emphasizes that the relationship between these groups began out of necessity and perhaps because they are both minority groups within the larger Canadian society.

Yet, he also shows that, over time, the link between these two peoples grew into a friendship. A canoe arrives on the shores of Sarah's grandparents' homestead. In it is a family of four, very ill with smallpox. Before this time, neither group had needed to put themselves at risk to help the other. But now, if Sarah's grandparents choose to help the Cree family, they are placing their own lives, and the lives of their children, in danger. A hired hand encourages them not to bring the boat ashore, but Sarah's grandfather refuses.

Her grandfather's actions signal his willingness to move the relationship beyond that of neighbours. In the end, the Icelandic couple is unable to return the family to health. But, before the woman dies, she gifts Sarah's grandmother with a pendant. The pendant, she says, will always reveal that the wearer is a friend of the Cree. Thus by the action of Sarah's grandparents and the reciprocation of the Cree family, a friendship grows between the two groups.

The rest of the story, which focuses on Sarah, shows that the Cree are faithful in honoring the friendship. Sarah's father moves her to the city to learn English and how to be a lady. But, the woman she stays with and her daughter Eugenie are reminiscent of Cinderella's stepmother and stepsisters. Soon, Sarah finds herself working hard in freezing temperatures without appropriate clothing. Cree spirits come to her aid. They give Sarah, who wears her grandmother's pendant, mittens, then moccasins, and, finally, a jacket. Without the clothes to keep her warm and the assurance that she has friends, Sarah would not have been able to continue on. Even so, Sarah eventually decides she must run away. When she nearly becomes lost in the deep and blowing snow and "could barely push her way forward" one of the apparitions appears again and "stay[s] just ahead of her, beckoning" (n.p.) until a boy brings Sarah to safety. That Sarah "could barely push her way forward" reveals that she was ready to give up; the Cree woman gave her the encouragement and the guidance to continue. Thus the Cree show sincerity in the commitment they made to Sarah's grandmother so long before.

But the story also demonstrates Sarah's part in the friendship. While Sarah is still back at Frog Bay, the narrator tells the reader that she considers the mounds covering the Cree family "the graves of friends" (n.p.). Accordingly, Sarah would sometimes place flowers on the graves and the accompanying illustration shows her doing exactly that. Sarah and her father live in Frog Bay in isolation. Thus, her actions are not for the benefit of anyone watching: they demonstrate a true sense of friendship with the Cree people. And, many years later, as a great-grandmother, she returns to the deserted site to place a headstone on the graves. Again, Sarah has no obligations to trek back to this uninhabited clearing as an old lady. Her deed marks a continued appreciation of the friendship that began long ago.

Sarah's family's friendship with the Cree is the main intercultural relationship highlighted in the story. Thus it might seem that Valgardson is emphasizing only "multicultural relationships" between peoples of minority cultures. Yet, Valgardson introduces a different ongoing cross-cultural relationship at the end of the story. Apparently, Sarah marries the boy who found her in the snow. Valgardson does not identify his ethnicity; yet, the storyteller who reveals herself at the end states that, after marrying Sarah, he "moved to New Iceland and became one of us" (n.p.). Clearly then, the boy was not Icelandic. And the fact that the story does not recognize his ethnic identity, though it acknowledges the ethnicity of Sarah's family and the Cree people, suggests he is probably a member of the dominant French or English societies. Thus, the relationship between the two is one that exudes ethnic harmony beyond that found between members of minority cultures.

Beyond exemplifying interdependence and friendship between people of different cultures, *SPSR* promotes multiculturalism by omitting occurrences of racial or ethnic

discrimination. The "Historical Note" that appears after the story suggests that Icelanders and Native peoples suffered the common burden of prejudice. Although this may be true, the story gives few clues that either group experienced such treatment. When people treat Sarah or the Cree poorly it does not appear to be on the basis of their ethnicity or race. The only people who approach Sarah with contempt are Mrs. Simpson and her daughter, the people she stays with in the city. However, the story depicts Mrs. Simpson as a mean and terrifying woman, who takes advantage of Sarah because she can, not because Sarah is Icelandic. On one occasion Mrs. Simpson belittles Sarah for her background, saying Sarah "did not need to learn music or other things because she was just going to live in the bush like her father" (n.p.). Clearly, Mrs. Simpson thinks her own city background is superior to "living in the bush." Still, there is no indication that Mrs. Simpson equates a life away from the city with any particular cultural or racial group.

What's more, the other people Sarah encounters are kind to her. The people she delivers laundry to provide her with pocket money. One lady even assists Sarah in making plans to run away. The same woman also stops using Mrs. Simpson's laundry services when she sees the bruises on Sarah's arms. These are signs that people who are not from minority cultures respect Sarah as a human being: they do not treat her differently for being an outsider. The boy who rescues Sarah is also not Icelandic. When he brings her to his parents' home, she is delirious for several days and only speaks her mother tongue. The family, who obviously is not Icelandic, responds by bringing a

translator to speak to her. There is no hint of them thinking less of Sarah because she is Icelandic.

Similarly, the story also does not portray the Cree people suffering ill because of their race or ethnicity. When the Cree family, ill with smallpox, arrives on Sarah's grandparents' shores, their hired hand urges them to push the boat back into the waters. The story goes on to say that he "was too afraid to help" when Sarah's grandfather hauls the boat ashore nevertheless (n.p.). Thus, though the man may not have been eager to help because the people were strangers, it seems that he mostly feared for his own life. In any case, there is no suggestion that his refusal to help occurs on the basis of race. There are no further implications of discrimination towards Cree people. In fact, the people who rescue Sarah welcome a Cree woman into their home; she translates the Cree words spoken to Sarah by her Cree helpers. The family's willingness to welcome the woman into their home evidences that they have no strong prejudices towards the Cree.

Sarah and the People of Sand River does not provide an alternative representation of Aboriginal peoples. Rather, it promotes the perspective that Canada is a multicultural country. <sup>18</sup> The Cree characters in the story are only recognizably "Indian"; they are not differentiable from people of other Aboriginal groups. Instead, Valgardson and Wallace's story paints a picture of early Canada where most people, despite their

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Two of the other stories I read for this chapter also encourage Canadian concepts of multiculturalism. Janet Truss, Nancy Mackenzie and Philip Spink's *Peter's Moccasins* has a contemporary setting and shows how a Native boy becomes comfortable wearing moccasins through a multicultural environment and a teacher that encourages understanding and acceptance of difference. Alderson and Blades' *A Ride for Martha* portrays a less overt multiculturalism. It's about three friends from African, English, and Scottish-Cowichan descent who live on Saltspring Island and almost accidentally lose Ida's little sister Martha en-route to a picnic. The story hardly acknowledges cultural differences and these differences clearly do not affect the girls' friendship.

different cultures, live together, respect each other, and even build friendships. It is a book which, like *Peter's Moccasins* and *A Ride for Martha*, would fulfill the role that Jerry Diakew envisions Canadian children's literature should: the books suggest "the culture and identity we all share is multi-faceted" (37) and they offer "stories in which they [children of various backgrounds] can see a reflection of themselves" (45).

In conclusion, I do not know how or if non-Aboriginals will ever be able to represent Aboriginal peoples without appropriating. I also do not know if *all* such appropriations are necessarily "bad." What I do know is that misrepresentations of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal people work towards decreasing the power of Aboriginal peoples and increasing the power of the hegemonic population by using Aboriginal people to promote Western and Canadian values and identity. And, as Opal Moore and Donnarae MacCann conclude in their examination of images of the "Indian" more than fifteen years ago: "It is vital that we tread gingerly upon the cultural territory of one another" (30). Therefore, I am cautious of any depictions of Aboriginals that work towards the same goals as such images always have. I think its time we spend less time writing stories about Aboriginal people (or perhaps refrain from doing so altogether!) and spend more time reading the stories *they* write.

## CHAPTER THREE

## The Other Side of Multiculturalism: Young Adult Novels

My chapters thus far show how representations of Aboriginals by non-Aboriginals have changed very little over the years, despite the common perception that Aboriginal people now enjoy equality and justice in Canada. Contemporary young adult novels allow a glimpse into some of the potential limitations of multiculturalism. Himani Bannerji, a critical multiculturalist, and Eva Mackey, a social anthropologist, provide evidence that Canadian multiculturalism serves to strengthen the centre, not to share power equally among all people groups; it promotes pluralism only to a limited degree: difference, they claim, is not mobilized within multiculturalism to the degree that it may challenge or change power structures (Bannerii 119).<sup>19</sup> Multiculturalism, Bannerii and Mackey argue, uses the discourse of tolerance and pluralism to buoy the hegemonic society while concurrently marginalizing Canada's "others." To my surprise, contemporary young adult novels by non-Aboriginal authors distinctly embody the dominant power relations. Accordingly, Aboriginal characters play essential but fixedly subordinate roles in such novels. They exist as stereotyped, marginalized characters that fall into Goldie's commodities and who, nevertheless, are very important to the main

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "Critical multiculturalism," according to Fleras and Elliott is "A populist multiculturalism that is focused on the need to challenge, resist, and transform those prevailing patterns of power and privilege that have marginalized minority women and men" (*Unequal* 378). As a social anthropologist, Mackey draws not only on a wealth of research that goes far beyond the fields of cultural studies and social anthropology and includes literary criticism and theory. She also conducts fieldwork, which in this case is primarily interview and participant observation based—some of the fieldwork occurs randomly but most is conducted at events or festivals that in one way or another celebrate 'Canada.'

(White) character's journey and for the way they add mystery or adventure to the story. In other words, the image of the "Indian" in contemporary young adult novels produced by the hegemonic society is also not unlike the representations of Aboriginal people that have appeared in writing by non-Aboriginals for centuries. Moreover, these representations suggest, like the criticism of multiculturalism, that equality and justice are yet to be the realities that all people living in Canada enjoy.<sup>20</sup>

Of course, as Augie Fleras and Jean Leonard Elliott emphasize in *Unequal Relations: An Introduction to Race and Ethnic Dynamics in Canada* "multiculturalism" does not have only one meaning and, since its beginnings in Canada, has had supporters, opponents, and everything in between (280-81). In fact, Fleras and Elliott describe five common meanings of multiculturalism and probably three times as many reasons for why people uphold it, dismiss it, or feel ambiguous towards it—and their lists are surely not exhaustive (280-81). I am focusing on some of the criticism surrounding multiculturalism in this chapter not because I think multiculturalism is "all bad." Rather, I found the connections between criticism of multiculturalism and my analysis of several contemporary Canadian young adult novels too uncanny to ignore: those who condemn multiculturalism frequently focus on its failure to address power relations and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> As I stated in a note in the introduction, "Canada's aboriginal peoples dismiss federal multiculturalism as a solution to their problems" (*Engaging* Fleras and Elliot 78). I choose to focus on multiculturalism in this chapter largely because the criticism available on it brought such remarkable insights into the young adult novels I studied. However, it should also be noted that the evolution in Aboriginal policy from integration to conditional autonomy began at approximately the same time as Official Multiculturalism (when Aboriginal leaders resoundingly rejected the integrationist approach of the federal government's 1969 White Paper). In other words, though I primarily explore the representations of Aboriginal people by non-Aboriginal policy since 1969 also have not yet been able to drastically alter the image of the "Indian" created by non-Aboriginals in young adult novels.

contemporary young adult novels that represent Aboriginal characters uphold the dominant power structures. In other words, the literature as a (if somewhat flawed) barometer of the general population's perception of Aboriginal peoples, points to what Official Multiculturalism and Aboriginal policy have yet to achieve.

Since multiculturalism became popularized in Canada after it was made official policy, I will focus on the definitions of multiculturalism promoted by the Canadian government. Multiculturalism, as established and trumpeted by the Canadian government, presents contemporary Canada as a place of ideal pluralistic harmony. As the Canadian Heritage website boasts in its section on "Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship," Canadian multiculturalism establishes equality between citizens and assures that "All Canadians are guaranteed equality before the law and equality of opportunity regardless of their origins" (1). The promise to "guarantee" the same rights to all citizens highlights the loftiness of official Canadian multiculturalism; it is possible to continuously work towards granting every Canadian the same privileges and freedoms, but it is impossible to "guarantee" these rights. What's more, an accompanying article on the same website, "Canadian Diversity: Respecting our Differences," speaks of how Canadian diversity "is viewed as one of Canada's most important attributes, socially and economically." Although the article makes a passing reference to how racism must be overcome if Canada is to continue prospering, it focuses on how Canada's multicultural policies: attract immigrants to Canada, increase the desire of newcomers to naturalize, and enable Canada to prosper in our increasingly global, information based world. With an absence of critical reading, or awareness of details about the Canadian government's

dealings with people from non-Western countries, one is left believing that Canada's multicultural policies have created the perfect, accepting, and diverse society.

"Canadian Diversity: Respecting our Differences" further implies that Canada has had essentially flawless multicultural policies since confederation. In fact, the article brags that "Diversity has been a fundamental characteristic of Canada since its beginnings" (CH). And here the article turns to Aboriginal people to establish its claims. First, it proves Canada's pluralistic beginning by mentioning the presence of "more than fifty-six Aboriginal nations, speaking more than thirty languages" when Europeans began establishing themselves in Canada (CH "Diversity). "Canadian Diversity" also declares that the treaties signed during the colonization of Canada affirmed "Aboriginal nationhood" (1). There is a grain of truth in this assertion; however, it omits much history, including: the assimilationist goals of the treaties, the resistances of Aboriginal peoples, how some Native groups understood the treaties differently from the way Europeans did, and the immense suffering and loss of lives endured by Aboriginals as a result of European diseases and colonization. Towards the middle of "Canadian Diversity" is a section which acknowledges Canada has not always protected the rights of Aboriginals. Still, the emphasis in this part of the article is governmental efforts to right the wrongs they inflicted on Aboriginal people. Moreover, the following section of the article again makes reference to Canada's "multicultural" beginnings; thus, statements that declare Canada has been accepting of diversity from the start frame the section addressing the violation of Aboriginal rights. In other words, "Canadian Diversity: Respecting Our Differences" promotes the idea of Canada as a multicultural country

historically, even though that means essentially erasing Canada's past infringements of human rights.

Bannerji's chapter "On the Dark Side of the Nation: Politics of Multiculturalism and the state of 'Canada'" and Mackey's *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* provide much more critical perspectives on Canadian diversity. Bannerji and Mackey argue that Canada created multiculturalism in order to address the Anglo-French conflicts that have existed since Canada's inception. Bannerji and Mackey underline how multicultural policies downplay Quebec's differences. Within multiculturalism, French Canadians are not the only people group wanting to maintain their distinct cultural and linguistic differences; they are one of many. But, under multiculturalism, all Canadians are "one people" with many different backgrounds. As Bannerji states so poignantly, "the unassimable 'others' [...] become a moral cudgel with which to beat Quebec's separatist aspirations" (94). So, multiculturalism is a way to minimize Quebecois grievances and hold the nation together (i.e.: sustain hegemonic power outside of Quebec). "Visible minorities" are necessary to this "unified" Canada.

Bannerji's work also complements Mackey's observation that the "institutionalization of difference" is essential to "a shared and hegemonic project" of Canadian nation building in a much different sense (Mackey 88). Bannerji finds that multicultural policies actually reinforce the control of Canada's two founding nations (100). Her ideas seem contradictory at first glance since she argues that multiculturalism strengthens Anglo power. However, Bannerji finds that multiculturalism, in reality, unifies the two European nations: within multiculturalism they are the "founding nations." Thereby, the French and Anglo powers are united by both "othering" and "tolerating" non-European "others" (Bannerji 99). Ingrid Johnston and Jyota Mangat in their article, "Cultural Encounters in the Liminal Spaces of Canadian Picture Books," confirm Bannerji's stance. They highlight the difference between Canada's multiculturalism on paper and the reality lived by those not part of "the white mainstream" (199). For non-white "others," Johnston and Mangat state, "power [still] rests in the hands of those of European descent" (199). In other words, these four authors underline that multiculturalism may not be everything it claims to be: desires besides the equality of diverse peoples influenced the development of multiculturalism; and, the Act did not eradicate the power of the centre.

The fact that the difference multiculturalism celebrates is so limited further suggests that multiculturalism, in some ways, preserves the hegemonic (Western) society. Neil Bissoondath in *Selling Illusions: The Cult of Multiculturalism in Canada* makes similar conclusions as Mackey in regards to multiculturalism's role in simplifying cultures. Mackey deduces that Canada defines non-British cultures by their features that can be seen, heard, tasted, and touched (89). Bissoondath similarly declares that ""ethnic' festivals" are emblematic of what Canadians consider 'celebrating our differences' (75).<sup>21</sup> Such festivals are "Culture Disneyfied" and "dependent as they are on superficialities, reduce cultures hundreds, sometimes thousands, of years old to easily

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Carole H. Carpenter in "Enlisting Children's Literature in the Goals of Multiculturalism" also finds, like Bissoondath and Mackey, that one of the effects of multiculturalism is that so-called "multicultural works offer a distinctly limited gaze on culture as either a concept or a practice, promoting stereotyping through essentialist uni-dimensional portraits of ethnic others" (5).

digested stereotypes" (77).<sup>22</sup> Clearly, as both critiques suggest, such demonstrations of culture cannot grant understanding of the cultures they are meant to represent. What's more, these elements of culture are "safe"; they will not challenge the status quo (Bissoondath 77). If multiculturalism largely recognizes superficial elements of cultures, it could not have "affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens" as the Canadian Heritage website claims ("Diversity"). Rather, multiculturalism will marginalize "other" cultures by making them appear exotic, while strengthening the Western normative centre.

The use of "other" cultures within the discourse of multiculturalism becomes particularly significant when Aboriginal peoples are one of those "other" cultures. As I explained in previous chapters, many critics show that representations of Indigenous peoples over the years primarily "work toward constructions of white identity" (Bradford 12). As Goldie and Francis outline about the Canadian situation, newcomers used the image of the "Indian" to create a sense of nation because of their need to "indigenize" or "belong." These images involve stereotyping Aboriginals and such images "[do] not lead back to the implied signified [...], but rather to other images" (Goldie 4-5). The discourse of multiculturalism suggests a change to the way Canadians view non-Western "others," and the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* acknowledges the rights of Aboriginal peoples in the official "Preamble" (Dept. of Justice). But if, twenty-four years after the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Smith also provides a very piercing critique on "Trading the Other" in relation specifically to indigenous peoples (88-90). She says the industry of "Trading the Other" developed through imperialism. It uses the "positional superiority and advantages" of the West with "no concern for the peoples who originally produced the ideas or images, or with how and why they produced those ways of knowing" (89). She is not discussing multiculturalism but is highlighting the West's appetite for commodifying and appropriating "other" cultures.

institutional establishment of multiculturalism in Canada, non-Aboriginal authors are still marginalizing Aboriginals in literature, and images of Aboriginal people continue to reveal more about White identity than Native peoples, I must unfortunately conclude that Canadian multiculturalism has not yet brought about much of what it promises. I even find myself wondering to what degree contemporary depictions of Aboriginal people in young adult novels by non-Aboriginals are the trickle down effect of multiculturalism's so described support of hegemonic power structures.

James Heneghan's *Torn Away* (1994) and Martine Leavitt's *Tom Finder* (2003) do not, like the Canadian Heritage website or some children's fictional picture books, strongly promote a vision of a harmonious, diverse Canada. In fact, they both reproduce the dominant power structures. Just as Bannerji and Mackey argue "others" are necessary to the continuation of Canadian multiculturalism, so are Aboriginal characters essential to both of these stories. Likewise, as critics claim multiculturalism subordinates visible minorities and sustains hegemonic power, so these texts marginalize Native characters and use them both to aid the journey of the central (White) character and make the story more mysterious or adventurous. In addition, as multiculturalism often simplifies and stereotypes the cultures of minority groups, so do these texts stereotype Aboriginal individuals. In fact, Native characters are not identified as belonging to specific nations and never escape Goldie's commodities.

In *Torn Away*, the Aboriginal character Joe Iron Eagle plays an important role in Declan coming to accept Canada as his home and the country's ways as his ways. The narrator never makes Joe's nation known and types him primarily as nature loving and a

sage. However, Joe also serves to make the story more interesting. In the process, the narrator represents Joe in other typically "Indian" ways that also fall into Goldie's commodities: as tough and warrior-like and as a noble savage. Nevertheless, Joe does not have a life of his own; he is a very flat and secondary character, who obviously exists only to affect Declan's growth. Martine Leavitt's *Tom Finder* is a much better written book than *Torn Away*. Still, Leavitt's text bears many similarities to *Torn Away* in its treatment of Aboriginal characters. Samuel, the dominant Aboriginal character in the story, is foundational to Tom's search for identity. Although the book tells us something of Samuel's story, he and his journey are still clearly subordinate to Tom and his. What's more, Samuel is not a complex character but a stereotyped, nationless "Indian" whose mystical spirituality and ties to nature cause Tom to treat him as the Other.

*Torn Away* is about Declan, an Irish Catholic boy. In the story, Declan's aunt and uncle bring the unwilling boy to Canada, after he loses his mom and sister in a conflict between the English and Irish.<sup>23</sup> Declan wants badly to return to Ireland to avenge the deaths of his family, but everyone in Canada is intent on showing him there are better ways and Canada is the place he should call home now. Joe is vital in helping Declan build deep attachments to Canada through nature; just as importantly, Joe allows Declan to recognize that violence is not the way to solve conflicts.<sup>24</sup>

The text implies that the main way Declan comes to love Canada is through his experiences in the Canadian wilderness. For one, he realizes some of his greatest

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Declan's father died many years earlier, also because of the discord between Protestants and Catholics.

The author does not wish in anyway to Other Ireland and its history. The near binaries set up between Canada and Ireland are, to the best of her ability, reproductions of those that appear in *Torn Away*.

moments of satisfaction and peace when surrounded by nature. For example, when Declan goes hunting with his uncle, Matthew, they spend some time lingering over lunch: "They ate and rested and listened to the chatter of squirrels and the songs of birds, and Declan turned his face to the sun and heaved a huge sigh of contentment" (163). Anyone who has spent time in a similar place can almost feel Declan's deep level of satisfaction as he leans back—soaking up the sun, breathing in the fresh air, and allowing the sounds of nature to gently soothe his worries away. Likewise, one day when Declan visits the lake that is near the school with Joe, the text describes him as "relaxed and happy" as he once again enjoys warm rays of sunshine and the grass beneath his stretched-out frame (138). There are few, if any, occasions when Declan is not surrounded by nature that he expresses contentment with life and his situation.

Declan's attachment to the Canadian landscape is also evident through his frequent retreats to the shorefront. He often goes there with Thomas and Ana—Matthew and Kate's adopted children. The three sometimes play along the beach, sometimes walk, and other times just sit. The text tells us "Declan liked to sit and watch the different moods of the sea and the sky" (168). The fact that Declan is able to gauge the "moods of the sea and sky" indicates that he must spend a fair amount of time observing them. The line also reveals Declan's growing attachment to the physical environment. In addition, Declan escapes to the shorefront when he is upset, or wants to be alone. For instance, when the days are winding down to the time Declan is supposed to return to Ireland, and he is no longer sure he wants to, "Declan took himself out and down the cliff to the beach where he sat alone on his usual rock and stared out to sea" (218). Declan's choice to turn to nature when he seeks solace demonstrates the deep fondness he is developing for the Canadian wilderness.

*Torn Away* confirms the significant role the Canadian landscape plays in Declan's decision to remain in Canada during the last few pages of the book. Declan is already sitting on a plane bound for Ireland; all morning he has prevented himself from considering the imminent goodbyes. As Declan "[looks] through the plane window at the snow-capped mountains" he can no longer stop himself from thinking about how he has grown to love Canada (252). As he continues to look across the landscape, he has to admit: "He would miss all this" (252). Therefore, the story forthrightly acknowledges Declan's ties to the land. Moreover, the reminder of how much contentment Declan has found in the Canadian landscape soon brings him to recall the people there he has come to love. That the sight of mountains is what triggers Declan's memories of the people in Canada who care for him further emphasizes the significance of the Canadian environment in his new found bond to Canada.

Considering the importance the story places on the role of the Canadian wilderness in Declan's eventual choice to stay in Canada, it is critical that the story suggests Declan spends more time in nature with Joe Iron Eagle than any other character. Joe and Declan meet at school, but almost all of their future encounters, that the text records, occur outdoors. It is with Joe that Declan walks to the lake nearby their school to spend lunch hours. And it is by that same lake that Declan and Joe wrestle "like a pair of wild animals" as the birds nearby "stood watching the two boys in astonishment" (141-42). Joe also takes Declan for his first whitewater river canoeing experience. The ride is thrilling for Declan, and the boys repeat the experience "many times" (253). If Declan spends so much time in the wilderness with Joe, one must conclude that Joe plays a large role in encouraging Declan's attachment to the Canadian landscape.

Still, the biggest clue to Joe Iron Eagle's influence on Declan's growing affection for the Canadian physical environment is his name. More than any other aspect of nature, Declan admires the eagle. When traveling to Otter Bay after arriving in Canada, Declan sees his first eagle: "It circled slowly over the hills. Declan could not take his eyes off it. Such freedom! To fly so high and swoop and glide in the streets of silent air!" (34). The phrase "could not take his eyes off it" perfectly captures Declan's awe of and respect for this magnificent bird. From then on, the eagle becomes a symbol of the freedom Declan longs for.

Declan thinks he will find the freedom he desires in Ireland, perhaps after he avenges the murders of his family members. As a result, the eagle initially symbolizes his return to Ireland. For example, when Declan attempts to runaway to Ireland, he sees an eagle. He takes it as a sign that God is with him and will bring him safely to Ireland (60). Declan also discovers that the calendar in his aunt and uncle's house features an eagle for the month of December. Since Matthew promises to pay for Declan's flight back to Ireland come December, Declan assumes the eagle "guard[s] that promise of freedom" (135). But, in the end, Declan does not find liberation in returning to Ireland; he de-boards the plane moments before it takes off. His move signals Declan's acceptance that violence is not the way to solve conflicts, an idea he has strongly resisted since coming to Canada. He chooses instead the peace and freedom offered to him in

Canada, among the people he has come to adore and in the Canadian landscape. Thus the eagle on the calendar actually comes to represent the liberation Declan finds by remaining in Canada.

If the eagle symbolizes the freedom Declan searches for and eventually finds in Canada, I suggest that Joe Iron Eagle also signifies the liberty for which Declan longs. In order to demonstrate that Joe represents freedom, I must first show the significance of Joe being a catalyst to Declan's blossoming love for the wilderness. Non-Aboriginal authors frequently associate the image of the "Indian" with nature and freedom. As Goldie and Francis write, non-Natives often turn to Native people to try and derive a legitimate connection to the land (13, 223). Goldie also states that, "The image of the indigene is perhaps most clearly defined in association with nature" (15). Moreover, if the hegemonic society identifies Aboriginal people so closely with nature, then exploring the landscape should offer non-Natives a great opportunity to "become indigenous" (Goldie 13). Joe obviously has a close relationship to nature. He can perfectly imitate the call of a redwing blackbird and maneuver the rapids of a white water river. Joe seems to spend more time in the wilderness with Declan than any other character. And, Declan not only enjoys being in nature with Joe, but he also admires the proficiency Joe has in the physical environment. What's more, Torn Away emphasizes the importance of nature in Declan's journey towards accepting Canada as his home. One could say that Declan's time with Joe in the wilderness "indigenizes" Declan to the point that he does not want to leave Canada. So, Joe brings freedom to Declan by enabling him to develop a special relationship with nature.

Furthermore, the hegemonic society frequently links representations of Aboriginal people with the idea of "natural freedom," which often means escaping "the negative aspects of western civilization" (Goldie 23). The loss of innocent lives in Ireland due to the conflict between the Catholics and Protestants is certainly a "negative aspect of western civilization." When Declan is in nature, he has relief from his sense of duty to avenge his family members' deaths. Thus Joe, in his role of drawing Declan to nature, grants Declan freedom. The wilderness is also vital in Declan's choice to remain in Canada. Because Joe plays a crucial role in Declan's development of a special relationship with nature; I think Joe is nearly synonymous with Declan's liberation. Thus, like many Aboriginal characters before him, Joe too represents "natural freedom."

But that's not all. Goldie also says, in relation to the image of the indigene being connected to "natural freedom," that "The view of nature as alien to the physical requirements of civilization connects to nature as an image of social liberation" (23). Joe offers Declan social liberation not only through nature but also through his perspective on conflict resolution; however, it takes Declan some time to open up to Joe's views. At one point in the story, Joe briefly shares stories of his people's battles to regain their land. The means of fighting he describes are non-violent: demonstrations, road blocks, and court action (184). But what is more significant in this context is Joe's confidence about the means of resistance his people have chosen, and his patience with waiting for the results. At the time, Declan cannot accept such techniques as effective means of resistance. Yet, he must admit that his friend is not a coward (185).

In contrast to Joe's calm assurance about his people's battles is Declan's impatience and agitation over the conflict in Ireland and his role in it. Declan feels he must payback the "cruel murders" of his family members: immediately, and by violent means (51). Thus, after the deaths of Declan's mother and sister and before he comes to Canada, Declan spends all of his time in actions of revenge and fleeing from the Protestants. In fact, he considers working with the IRA his "duty" (52). And so, Declan's sense of duty only allows him to enjoy life for brief moments. That is, until the end of the story: Declan chooses to stay in Canada, though he has the option of returning to Ireland. By remaining in Canada, he implicitly rejects violence as the best way to address the English-Irish conflict. Declan thus frees himself from a life of crime and running and, possibly, from an early death. Still, considering Declan's passion for the rights of the Irish, it is unlikely he will stop fighting for their cause. Since Joe offers the only alternative way of resistance in the story, it seems as though Declan must now believe that forms of peaceful protest may be effective. Consequently, Joe also plays an important role in this aspect of Declan's social liberation.

As my discussion thus far uncovers, the representation of Joe, like so many previous representations of Aboriginal people, fits into Goldie's "natural" standard commodity. But, as I have more subtly underlined, the narrator also gives Joe the qualities of a sage. Furthermore, as I have yet to discuss, a certain representation of Joe echoes other conventional depictions of "Indians." Joe seems tough and warrior-like upon his meeting with Declan and rather similar to a "noble savage" as the two boys wrestle: both qualities seem an extension of his Aboriginality. The depictions of Joe as tough in appearance, stature, and attitude serve the purpose of making the story more exciting. What's more, the portrayals of Joe as a nature-loving sage, warrior, and noble savage highlight that the novel is creating images that "[do] not lead back to the implied signified, the racial group usually termed Indian or Amerindian, but rather to other images" (Goldie 3-4).

Francis identifies the "wise elder" as one of the most prevailing images of the "Indian" (220). Although Joe is a teenager, the narrator depicts him as wise in his knowledge of nature and his favouring of non-violent methods of resistance, as I have shown. Goldie does not specifically identify sage images within his commodities; however, the narrator's use of Joe fits into Goldie's "mystical" commodity. According to Goldie, the mystical commodity relates to the spirituality of indigenous peoples (127). Frequently, the non-Aboriginal characters need "to gain it [spirit] from the Other" (16). And Joe certainly aids in the renewal of Declan's spirit. He helps Declan find peace by encouraging his attachment to the land. Joe also vitally assists Declan in choosing to reject methods of protest that take the lives of innocent people. Because of this choice, Declan is able to leave the IRA and a life of killing and running behind. Thus, by representing Joe as a sage, *Torn Away* uses the mystical commodity in a way similar to past representations of Aboriginal people: the image does not serve to provide understanding of an Aboriginal culture.

There is another interesting and seemingly contradictory way the novel stereotypes Joe. In addition to the "wise elder," Francis finds that the "warrior" is a dominant image of the "Indian" (220). And, Heneghan also depicts Joe, in his Aboriginal

appearance, as being warrior-like and tough when the character first emerges in the story. The narrator introduces Joe as Declan's lab partner, "a dark, silent boy with the strange name of Joe Iron Eagle" (104). The three adjectives "dark, silent, strange" suggest that Joe is the kind of boy any child should be wary of. Moreover, "dark" beyond being a shade that implies evil in Western cultures, likely refers to Joe's skin color. And "dark" is one of the stereotypical skin colors given to images of Aboriginal people. In addition, the narrator clearly intends the name "Iron Eagle" to appear Native. But there is more. The narrator goes on to reveal that "Iron Eagle had black hair and glittering eyes, and a nose like an eagle, hooked and mean-looking. [...] He looked tough" (104-05). Heneghan's portrayal of Joe's "black hair" is noticeable for its similarity to past images of Aboriginal people (104-105). His "glittering eyes" could signal an unearthly wisdom as they do in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner." However, in this context, the combination of the "glittering eyes" and eagle simile works more towards creating a sense of Joe's fierceness. In other words, the introduction of Joe in Torn Away depicts Joe as "potentially dangerous" and ties this apparent disposition to his Aboriginality (Heneghan 105).

The representation of Joe as "tough" and a "potentially dangerous character" causes Joe to be reminiscent of past images of "Indians" and fall within Goldie's "fear" commodity, even if only momentarily (Heneghan 105). As I discussed in chapter one, authors from the hegemonic society typically represent Aboriginal people as "intrinsically violent" (Goldie 100). Francis highlights the same point when discussing depictions of Aboriginal people created by "chroniclers of the Mounted Police" (63). He says people believed that "Indians [...] engage in war as a kind of vicious sport to satisfy an instinctual love of violence" (65). In other words, according to Goldie and Francis, authors from the dominant society consider there to be an inextricable link between Aboriginality and aggression. Since the narrator's primary account of Joe affirms the idea that Aboriginal people are aggressive by nature, he reinforces the image of Aboriginal people as essentially violent.

*Torn Away* portrays Joe as capable of aggression, even though the reader soon discovers he is a loyal, peacemaking friend, to add suspense and excitement to the story. As Goldie says of violence shown in relation to indigenous people, such a portrayal "creates the pleasure of the text" (89). The description of Joe upon his emergence in the story causes the reader to expect further action: maybe between the two boys or between Joe and another person. Still, a reader might also expect future action from Declan as a result of the narrator's initial depiction of Joe, since Heneghan focalizes this momentand most of the book—through Declan. In other words, the description of Joe reveals Declan's perception of Joe. As a result, the introduction of Joe reminds the reader of how Declan has already forcefully resisted numerous figures of authority in a manner uncommon for a young teenager. Such a reader is just as likely to expect further action in the story through the figure of Declan. Therefore, even though the story quickly dissipates much of the hope that Joe will pick a fight, there is still hope that Declan may have further clashes. Thus the implication that Joe is capable of violence has the impact of creating excitement in the story, much like previous images of "Indians."

Declan and Joe never have a violent encounter, but they do wrestle. Their match results from Joe's refusal to fight as a way of deciding whether or not they should return to school one afternoon. And Joe's terms for wrestling are "No striking. Wrestling only" (139). Joe's insistence that they must not fight thereby almost entirely diffuses the notion that he is intrinsically violent. The bout, with its hyperbolic way of describing the rippling body of the pubescent Joe, certainly serves to add pleasure to the story. But the story also insinuates through the contest that Joe's strength is a result of his Aboriginal ancestry. Almost every attempt that Declan makes to put a move on Joe fails, it seems, because of Joe's skin color and muscular body. For example, "Declan tried to get a grip on Joe, but his fingers slid uselessly off his adversary's dark skin and hard-muscled body" (141). Of course, Joe's body is slippery because it is bare and perhaps a little sweaty, not because it is dark. Therefore, I have to ask why Heneghan highlights the colour of the boy's skin? What's more, at about thirteen years of age, Joe cannot be overly muscular. Still, a few moments later, the narrator elucidates another attempt by Declan to pin Joe: "He spun about immediately, and threw himself at Joe's dark shoulders" (141). But, Declan's efforts fail because "Joe's neck muscles strained, his arms and shoulders bulged" (142). Again, there is no need for the text to describe the pigment of Joe's skin. At the same time, the proximity of the description to other adjectives that highlight Joe's strength implies that the two are linked.

Moreover, the scene as a whole invokes past images of "Indians" as "noble savages." Images of noble savages present Aboriginal people positively. These "Indians" are "elevated individuals" that White authors represent as having admirable qualities (Goldie 32). Likewise, Joe's rejection of Declan's request for a fight places the former in an honourable position, particularly considering the book's heavy promotion of non-violence. In addition, as Deloria points out and Berkhofer documents in some detail, the figure of the "noble savage" historically often provided a means of critiquing the dominant culture (20, 74). Similarly, it is true that Joe's choice not to engage in a fight places Declan's desire for such a match in a more negative light. Finally, as Goldie underscores, authors from the dominant society frequently associate "hard primitivism" with images of the "noble savage" (31). In "hard primitivism" the indigenous person is "made strong by the hard primitive life" in nature (30). And Joe, stripped almost naked, with "bulging muscles," and wrestling Declan beside a lake, certainly seems a figure of hard primitivism at this moment.

By the end of the book the reader comes to know Joe primarily as a loyal, nature loving friend. In this role, he is an important "mystical" sage that helps Declan to reject the IRA's practice of blowing up innocent people as an effective and viable way of resistance. One might even argue that the representation of Joe as a whole reflects previous images of "Indians" as noble savages. Still, there is at least one scene where the narrator clearly portrays Joe as a noble savage and the introduction of Joe suggests he is a tough, even violent, character. Moreover, the story never fully deconstructs the images of Joe as potentially violent and a noble savage. The depictions of Joe as: uniquely tied to nature, outwardly "mean-looking," and physically strong work to add excitement and pleasure to the story. Thus, through Joe, *Torn Away* effectively demonstrates that whether an author from the hegemonic society represents an Aboriginal character positively or negatively, that character can remain a "pawn" in the hands of the author (Goldie 10). In all the depictions of Joe, he serves the purposes of the story and reinforces age old conventional images of Aboriginal people created by non-Aboriginals.

Not surprisingly then, Joe is also a flat character who seems to represent Aboriginal people "universally" as "Indians." Joe appears only eight times in the entire book. Every time he does appear it is to add adventure to the story or to help Declan in his journey towards rejecting violence and accepting Canada. To be fair, none of the characters in the book are well developed and the book fits best into the genre of boys' adventure novels. But, Heneghan gives every character except Joe her or his own history. Joe has no independent story. Thus, the narrator leads readers to assume that Joe represents Aboriginal people in general. Moreover, though Joe states his name is a "First Nation name," the book never identifies which nation he belongs to (182). Plus, he is the only Native character in the story. Again, these factors add up to Joe seeming to signify all Aboriginal people. And, because *Torn Away* portrays Joe according to conventional stereotypes for Native people, which all fit within Goldie's commodities, Joe strengthens White images of the "Indian."

Therefore, I must conclude that *Torn Away* embodies the dominant power structures. Like "other" cultures in the project of multiculturalism—according to its critics—Joe serves a partly functional and largely symbolic purpose in *Torn Away*. He plays a vital role in Declan's growth process: Joe enables Declan to love the land and accept Canada as his home, partially by providing Declan a form of resistance that does not involve violence. Plus, Joe offers a convenient way to add adventure to this frequently hyperbolic story. But, there is another connected and vital reason that Joe must appear in Heneghan's text, which also relates to the importance of multiculturalism and Aboriginal people to the Canadian identity. As the sole Aboriginal character in *Torn Away*, Joe alone can make the story "uniquely Canadian."

Leavitt's use of Aboriginal characters is very similar to Heneghan's. *Tom Finder* is about Tom, a boy whose amnesia allows him to discover a positive self-identity through life on the streets. Samuel, the central Aboriginal character in the story, provides the foundation for Tom's journey, as well as much help along the way. Still, Samuel and his story remain distinctly subordinate to Tom and his. Thus, the fact that the text stereotypes Samuel's physical appearance as well as his mystical spirituality makes it that much more evident that Samuel's role in the story is functional and symbolic; Samuel is not a complex individual: he is an "Indian other."

*Tom Finder* opens by informing the reader that "Tom had forgotten who he was" (9). However, the story does not reveal that a brutal beating Tom received from his mom's boyfriend caused the total amnesia until the text is nearing its close. Therefore, the reader initially thinks that, due to the amnesia, Tom must rediscover his identity. But, when a live production of Mozart's *The Magic Flute* causes Tom's memories to come flooding back, the reader learns otherwise. Largely because of a rough family life, Tom had a very low self-esteem pre-amnesia. Thus Samuel does more than provide Tom the building blocks for a self-concept that allows survival on the streets: Tom needs his new identity to face life boldly after remembering.

Samuel is the first person Tom meets post forgetting everything. During their encounter, Samuel gives Tom a name; this name becomes the base upon which Tom creates an identity with a hopeful future. At the point of their meeting, Tom has wandered around long enough to realize that he is "invisible" to the people he passes on the streets (10), that those who do see him consider him a nuisance, and that "he [is] hungry, and a bit lonely" (12). As a result, Tom's meeting with Samuel is the first piece of human encouragement, indeed acknowledgement, that he receives. After convincing a group of boys not to bother Tom, Samuel informs him: "I prayed for a Finder, and you found me" (14). Although Samuel is surprised that "A pretty white boy" comes as his "answer," he takes the fact that Tom "found" him as affirmation that Tom is a Finder (14). Indeed, Samuel shows his confidence in Tom's abilities by immediately giving Tom the difficult mission of locating Daniel, the son Samuel lost to the streets after a sharp disagreement.

Though Tom initially questions the name Samuel thrusts upon him, he soon begins to take it as his own. Indeed, the first thing Tom does after parting ways with Samuel is search for a police officer. But that is not who Tom really wants to find. As a result, when he stumbles upon not one, but several police officers, it does nothing to affirm his self-concept. Instead, Tom decides that, "If he were a Finder, like Samuel Wolflegs said, if there were any such thing, he would find himself food. And maybe a pen" (20). In other words, Tom questions the name Samuel gives him: in order for the identity to be meaningful it must bring good into Tom's life. So when he finds a pen almost instantly, though by accident, it brings some confirmation of his new self. Tom begins writing things in his notebook, and the little book quickly becomes a place for him to piece together an identity and record his wishes. Still, Tom does not really begin to take ownership of being a Finder until he finds food. When he does, he scribbles "**Tom was a Finder,**" in his notebook in bold letters, thereby taking the name as his own (24).

In fact, being a Finder becomes Tom's means of identifying himself on the streets. In his search for Daniel, Tom regularly interacts with various other people who live on the streets. Identity is often important in these encounters. For example, when Tom meets Pepsi, he asks Tom "So, what are you?" (53). Although the question surprises Tom, Pepsi obviously takes it very seriously. Tom's declaration of "'I'm a Finder," though the response surprises even him, reveals that Tom is internalizing his new identity (54). In addition, once the words are out of Tom's mouth, he gradually becomes bolder and even insists that the mocking, tough acting Pepsi give him information on Daniel. It is apparent that though Pepsi considers Tom's claim to be a Finder funny, Tom himself acquires worth and gains assurance in this new form of distinguishing himself. Tom reacts similarly when he meets Janice and Pam and the former refuses to talk to Tom because he is not a poet. Tom, wanting to speak with Janice because she seems to know something about Daniel and aching for Pam to stay because of his strong attraction to her, hurriedly asks if Janice might consider talking to him as a Finder (58). Tom's assertion underlines that he has come to consider himself a Finder; it also reveals that Tom believes a Finder might be an intriguing enough identity to make the girls stay. In other words, he is beginning to take pride in being a Finder and, therefore, in himself.

Tom's confidence as a result of being a Finder grows significantly from Samuel's affirmation. Every time Samuel and Tom meet, Samuel asks the boy what he has found, often in part by referring to him as "Tom Finder." Obviously, Samuel is hoping that Tom has turned up something in relation to Daniel, but it also seems like he is seeking to bring the gift out in the boy. For when Tom finds nothing and feels bad about it, Samuel consoles him: "Being a Finder doesn't mean you find everything right away" (45). Thus, Samuel's desire to be reunited with Daniel does not prevent him from encouraging Tom and being patient with him. It becomes clear that Samuel does not tell Tom he is a Finder only in the hope of self-gain when Tom again feels discouraged about the lack of progress in his search: "Tom tried saving his chocolate bars for bait [for Daniel], which also did not work. But every day Samuel would remind Tom that he was a Finder. 'You have evil magic enough in your lives, you kids,' Samuel would say. 'You need good magic to fight it" (74). The reference to Tom as one of "you kids" in particular highlights the affection Samuel has for Tom. It almost seems as though Samuel considers Tom a son too, and he obviously does not wish for Tom to become alienated from his family and at home on the streets, as his son Daniel is. Thus Samuel makes clear that though he longs to see Daniel again, he also has a heart for helping Tom in his current situation. As a result, Samuel often provides Tom consolation on tough days.

As the story continues, the reader learns just how important Tom's identity as a Finder becomes to him. Tom's confidence in being a Finder grows strong: he rarely doubts his new identity. In fact, Tom persists in his investigation of Daniel's whereabouts with the knowledge that "He had the power" (97). Tom is no longer pursuing his search just because Samuel asked him to, but because he knows he can find Daniel; the statement underlines that Tom is becoming a self-assured, positive boy, much different from the "loser" he considered himself at the beginning of the book (27). Thus, when Tom's attendance at *The Magic Flute* revives his memories of his dysfunctional family and personal failures, thereby shattering his dreams of a perfect family, Tom can still stand: being a Finder has shown him what he is capable of. Considering what Tom's life was like before the amnesia and the lack of self-confidence he had, it is phenomenal that the doubts and confusion that cloud his heart and mind for several hours after the performance cannot keep their hold on him. Tom even accomplishes everything he set out to do in his notebook, including finding Daniel. Clearly, Tom's months on the streets and his identity as a Finder have given him something firm to stand on.

But, even more significantly, Tom's new identity allows him to look to the future with hope. Tom grasps that he can act autonomously and that his horrible home situation does not have to be a noose around his neck. The revelation comes because Tom realizes, "The words of his notebook were true. He'd found his own voice under all those layers. Even if he didn't find anything else, he'd found the most important thing: Tom" (141). In other words, Tom's identification as a Finder begins as a seed planted by Samuel; it grows falteringly and unsure of itself at first. Yet, largely because Samuel gave him this piece of identity to hold onto, and affirms Tom along his journey, by the conclusion of the novel Tom has a new freedom and a positive self-concept.

Despite the importance of Samuel to Tom's journey, Samuel and his story remain decidedly subordinate. In fact, Tom Finder distinctly portrays Samuel and his son, but particularly Samuel, as "Indian" Others.<sup>25</sup> In a way, the text is very much about Samuel; the story centres on the mission Samuel gives Tom: finding Daniel. Yet, the story tells us very little about Samuel. Tom's search for Daniel is more of a catalyst for Tom's journey of discovering himself and his ability to affect his own future. When Samuel does appear, it is as the Other. The text Others Samuel in part by not allowing his character to grow as the story develops. But, limiting his individuality is also part of the central method through which the novel marginalizes Samuel: through pervasive stereotypes. Essentially, the narrator constructs Aboriginal people as alterior; they exist to aid the journey of the main (White) character.<sup>26</sup> The impact is that *Tom Finder* reproduces the dominant power structures; it also reinforces the images of "others"-with simplified or stereotyped marginal and "exotic" cultures-that multiculturalism tends to promote. In other words, the text does with representations of Aboriginal people exactly what non-Aboriginal authors have been doing for centuries: using Aboriginal characters to serve White purposes.

Though Samuel and Daniel are united at the end of the story, there is no evidence that Samuel experiences personal growth throughout the novel. First, Leavitt limits

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Since I have focused my discussion thus far on Samuel, not Daniel, I will continue to do so for the remainder of my discussion of this novel. But bear in mind that the novel treats the two characters similarly.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> The novel does create one particularly positive representation of Samuel through the contrast his relationship with Daniel offers to Tom's relationship with his father and step-father. Yet, even this representation does not so much serve the purpose of providing understanding into an Aboriginal culture as it does highlight Tom's aloneness in the world.

Samuel's appearances in the story. After surfacing numerous times early in the book, he disappears until roughly the text's middle section, and then does not emerge again until the end of the book. Most appearances are short. It is difficult, though not impossible, for a novel to demonstrate a character's growth if s/he emerges only occasionally and briefly in a story. And, there is little difference from one of Samuels' appearances in the novel to the next. He continuously reminds Tom that Tom is a Finder, he always has food or a piece of advice to offer Tom, and he remains resolute that he will live as Daniel is living (on the streets and regularly without food) until Daniel returns home. In other words, *Tom Finder* does not develop Samuel's character and, thereby, limits his individuality. The only period of growth in Samuel's life the novel acknowledges occurred after Samuel threw Daniel out of his home, but this maturing happened before the time span of the novel.

The lack of attention *Tom Finder* pays to the development of Samuel's character suggests that he is of little significance and serves only a particular function in the story. The text's stereotypical representations of Samuel work even more towards Othering him. In "A Sea of Good Intentions: Native Americans in Books for Children," Melissa Kay Thompson finds "Children's books authors and critics typically stereotype indigenous peoples" and Leavitt is no exception (353). The novel depicts Samuel's physical appearance according to conventional symbols for Aboriginal people. Samuel also fits all too well into typical representations of Native people as mystical, sage figures who have an intimate relationship with nature: he falls into Goldie's understanding of "natural" Indians and the "mystical" commodity. In other words, *Tom Finder* could

rightfully be accused by Carpenter of "promoting stereotyping through an essentialist uni-dimensional portrait of [an] ethnic [other]" (Carpenter 5). Moreover, the text makes clear that, because Samuel bears all of these characteristics, Tom thinks him odd and often avoids him. The text could hardly be said to "[affirm] the dignity and value" of Aboriginal characters, as multiculturalism was supposed to do (CH "Diversity").

As I have discussed in previous chapters, certain visible symbols have come to represent "Indians" and appear in the texts I have explored thus far; Samuel bears many of the same exterior features as the Aboriginal characters in these texts. He has "black and silver braids and a big, brown, pitted face" and wears "a fringed leather jacket with beads on the fringes" (13). As I stated earlier, black hair, braids, dark skin, and fringed animal skin jackets are some of the most common aspects of outer appearance that signify "Indians." What's more, the text represents Samuel's physical appearance more than once. On several occasions, most of these early in the book, Leavitt emphasizes one part or another of Samuel's typed clothing or exterior features, fixing his physical appearance in the mind of the reader. Thus, *Tom Finder* does not treat Samuel's Aboriginality as distinct and valuable. Instead, the text not only reproduces common representations of "Indians," but it also highlights this stereotypical outward characterization.

However, it is not only Samuel's outward appearance that makes him like past images of "Indians." The narrator also depicts Samuel as a mystical sage whose advice frequently reveals his intimate connection with nature. There is a close relationship between the representation of Samuel as mystical, as a sage, and as having a special link to nature. In fact, the text suggests that Samuel derives his wisdom from his connections to nature and the spiritual world. Moreover, Samuel's alterity also appears to result from his nature based, mystical spirituality.

From the first time Tom and Samuel meet, the text portrays Samuel as having a unique bond with the earth, from which his insights overflow. Samuel claims that he was praying to the river about Daniel when Tom stumbles upon him. On this basis, Samuel believes that, "The river gave you [Tom] to me [Samuel], for an answer to my praying" and calls Tom a Finder (15). If Tom is a "gift" from the river, then Samuel's connection to the natural world is directly responsible for Tom receiving the all important identity of a Finder. Furthermore, that Samuel seeks the river for help with his largest sorrow underscores the prominence of nature in his life. In addition, at the end of their first encounter, Samuel counsels Tom to stay close to the earth and follow the day's natural cycles (17). Samuel gives the same advice to Tom several more times throughout the book. As Goldie says is often the case with representations of indigenous people, and as characterizes the "natural Indian," Samuel is certainly "defined in association with nature" (Goldie 14). In fact, Samuel gives Tom guidance based on his knowledge of the earth more than any other kind of advice. In other words, Samuel's special relationship with nature is essential to his role in the novel.

The narrator also depicts Samuel's relationship with nature mystically. Goldie asserts that the "mystical" commodity, "in the context of the indigene is the spiritual consciousness of the alien Other" (127). Essentially, inherent to the mystical commodity is the assumption of indigenous people as "alien Others." And, Samuel's interactions

with nature reflect a relationship with the spiritual world not common to the dominant Western worldview. For instance, just before Samuel tells Tom about his prayer to the river, Samuel rescues Tom from a group of boys who are obviously up to no good. After the boys approach Tom, the narrator reports, "The silver-braided man emerged from the fog like a ghost. 'Leave him,' he said. His beads clicked in a breeze Tom could not feel" (14). Though the boys do not acknowledge Samuel then, in a few moments, he says the same thing "though no more loudly" (14); the boys become aware of Samuel and promptly do what he requests. This short passage is full of suggestions that Samuel has links to the spiritual world and has an intimate connection to nature. For one, Samuel's braids here are "silver" not "black and silver" as before. The omission occurs because the color silver more readily suggests wisdom and the supernatural. In addition, the reference to the man "emerging from the fog like a ghost" further solidifies Samuel's mystical aura. There has been no mention of fog in the book until now. Therefore, it almost seems as if the fog follows Samuel, just like "a breeze which Tom could not feel." Obviously, these natural elements do not normally surround and affect only one individual. Since the text ties these aspects of nature to Samuel, it implies not only that he has super human powers, but that his relationship to the natural world is closely tied to his spirituality. Finally, Samuel likely would not have posed any physical threat to the group of boys. Thus, the fact that they disappear on his command invests him with mystical power, the kind that preternatural wisdom could easily follow from.

And, sure enough, as *Tom Finder* unfolds Samuel provides insights and counsel to Tom that sound mystical and certainly non-Western. For instance, I have already mentioned how Samuel names Tom a Finder after praying to the river and that Samuel encourages Tom to follow the natural cycles of the days. Certainly, someone of the dominant Western worldview would consider such behaviour and counsel strange, if not mystical. On another occasion, Samuel explains that Daniel probably came to live on the streets of downtown because "my son grew up in a box, in a square house with square rooms, and in the day he went to a square box school. No wonder he came here, to this place, where everything is boxes, only big" (31). The insight Samuel offers is thought provoking: it seems almost like he sees things with a supernatural power. At the same time, for those accustomed to modern city life, it seems unusual to talk about houses and schools in such a way. I could offer further examples of the advice or wisdom Samuel offers Tom in the rest of the book. Still, these few examples suffice to show how the nature of the insights Samuel provides are not common to the hegemonic Western worldview and suggest he has unusual spiritual powers.

Samuel's mystical spirituality might not have seemed strange had the narrator contextualized and normalized it. But, Tom, the central representative of the Western worldview, treats Samuel as the "alien Other" presumably because he is unfamiliar with Samuel's beliefs and ways—despite the fact that Tom benefits much from Samuel's wisdom and assistance. For instance, the text does not simply say that Tom finds Samuel praying to the river. With the narrative point of view focalized through Tom, Leavitt describes how Tom hears Samuel praying before seeing him. However, the sound he hears is "moaning" (13). The word "moaning" betrays that the sounds are foreign to Tom and that he does not particularly like them. Furthermore, when Samuel declares shortly thereafter that he wants to "give" the river to Daniel when they are reunited, Tom straightforwardly thinks Samuel "*Weird*" because "*How can you give someone a river*?" (17). The italics used for this part of the text emphasize just how odd Tom considers Samuel and his desire. In addition, before long, Tom starts avoiding Samuel or shutting him out when he is unable to keep his distance. The reason Tom gives for doing so is that Samuel "creeped him out" (26). Tom evidently thinks Samuel is rather strange and even a bit scary. What is interesting too is that not long after Tom speaks of wanting to avoid Samuel, the Aboriginal man disappears from the text for two long stretches. Thus, even though Tom develops a level of kinship with Samuel by the end of the book, Leavitt implicitly confirms Samuel's oddness by erasing him from the story for many pages at a time. In other words *Tom Finder* does not only stereotype Samuel, the novel also treats him as an unlikable Other because of his differences.

Therefore, *Tom Finder* also reproduces the dominant power structures. Samuel's alterity is very important to the role he plays in encouraging Tom and enabling Tom to establish a positive self-identity. Likewise, the cultures of "others" are vital to the appearance of a multicultural Canada. But, the novel does not really value Samuel: he is subordinate, marginal, and "Other." Moreover, the novel does not treat him as an individual, nor does it offer a deep understanding of his specific Nation (which the book does not even name). Similarly, "visible minorities" in Canada are often identified not as individuals but as members of an ethnic minority. At the same time, multiculturalism has a way of simplifying and exoticizing non-European ethnic heritages. And, critics would say that, generally speaking, these "others" have less social power than their white

counterparts. In other words, Samuel in *Tom Finder*, and people of "other cultures" within multiculturalism, serve functional and symbolic purposes. As a stereotyped, "Indian" figure Samuel aids the journey of the main (White) character, adds some mystery to the story, and gives the book a distinctly Canadian, or at least North American, setting. In the same way, multiculturalism plays a part in sustaining the hegemonic centre, while allowing Canada to have a unique national identity.

In conclusion, although Canadian multiculturalism sounds wonderful on the Canadian Heritage website literary analysis suggests Canada has yet to achieve a truly equal and pluralistic society. The two young adult novels I explore in this chapter reveal that the *Canadian Multiculturalism Act* and recent evolutions in Aboriginal policy have not changed the way non-Aboriginal people use the image of the "Indian."<sup>27</sup> As is true of many Australian texts about Indigenous people, novels for young adults in Canada that portray Aboriginal characters are continuing to "work towards constructions of white identity" (Bradford 12). In other words, the criticism surrounding multiculturalism and a literary analysis of several contemporary young adult novels indicate that White European Canadians continue to remain at the centre of Canadian society and the novels they write depicting Aboriginal people. Meanwhile, the hegemonic society persists in stereotyping Aboriginal people and placing them on the margins of both Canadian culture

There are other contemporary young adult novels that also place Aboriginal characters in subordinate roles of aiding the central White character in his journey, or who reproduce stereotypes of Aboriginal people largely for the purpose of making the story exciting. For example, Andrea Spalding's *Finders Keepers* (1995) uses Joshua, a Peigan boy, to help Danny, the main White character, come to terms with his (Danny's) learning disability. Linda Rogers' *Frankie Zapper and the Disappearing Teacher* (1994), illustrated by Rick Van Krugel, in some ways normalizes the Aboriginal character, Frankie. Yet, the story also stereotypes him; for instance, in a shamanistic way, Frankie causes the mystical event around which the book evolves.

and novels, where they subsequently serve the purposes of those at the centre. Thus, I think that Canadians and the Canadian government should not assume that all Canadians, particularly Aboriginal people, now enjoy equal standing in Canada; even if positive changes have occurred and are occurring at the level of government policy, they certainly have not affected all levels of society. And, if Canada is to grow into a more equitable and just society then it must be willing to, as Bannerji states, address "Real social relations of power" (119).

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