NEGOTIATING RACE AND GENDER IN THE DIARIES OF ELIZA JONES, BRITISH WIFE OF AN OJIBWA MISSIONARY IN UPPER CANADA, 1823-1883

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES

IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS

FOR THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

GRADUATE PROGRAM IN WOMEN'S STUDIES

YORK UNIVERSITY,

TORONTO, ONTARIO

APRIL 2010

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-64968-8
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-64968-8

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Abstract

On September 8th, 1833, Eliza Field a white middle-class British woman married Peter Jones, a prominent Mississauga Methodist Missionary and Chief, and went to live with him in Upper Canada. While much has been written about Peter Jones, little attention has been paid to Eliza Jones. Her many diaries written from 1823 to 1883 remain unpublished but are available for study in the archives of E.J. Pratt library, Victoria University, Toronto. These diaries recount her desire to become a missionary, and her work as a missionary wife, and reflect the evangelical Christian values of modesty, deference and good works. Her diaries also detail her resistance to the constraints she faced as a white woman of her class, notably to her father's resistance to her marriage, to dominant constructions of the superiority of middle-class women's domesticity, and to prejudicial understandings of Indigenous cultures and peoples.

Much remained at stake in their marriage surviving because it contravened class, race and gender boundaries - all tenets of Eurocentric understandings of *civilization and order. Kinship, reciprocity and complementarity were the means* by which Eliza was able to physically and emotionally survive these challenging years and to create lasting bonds. These were also the prisms through which Eliza learned to record in her diary that which she observed, understood and admired in Mississauga and Mohawk women.

I draw on feminist life writing theory to demonstrate how diarists' narrative strategies create particular selves and promote new forms of understanding. I read Eliza's life narrative as one of an aspiring missionary, a partner with Peter in that work, and as a reflection and reminiscence on a life of service, hardship and exceptional determination. Eliza wrote privately in her diary but envisioned, I argue, a larger audience. This informed her development and aspirations as a diarist and published writer. My work focuses on the story of her life as developed through the diary

Dedication

Blake Walden Lund

1965-2000

Carl John Lund

1935-1984

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank my co-supervisors, Dr. Jane Couchman and Dr. Bettina Bradbury and my committee member Dr. Rusty Shteir. Their support of my work has been exceptional and for this I am very grateful.

I would also like to thank the members of my defense committee Dr. Celia Haig-Brown, Dr. Myra Rutherdale and most especially my external examiner Dr. Katherine McKenna whose response to my work has been extremely thought-provoking.

I also owe Dr. Donald B. Smith many thanks for his on-going support of my work on Eliza Jones.

There are many people who have steadfastly supported my work over the years. I especially want to thank Anna De Aguayo, Dr. Mary Jensen, Anne Menon, Dr. Patrick Phillips, Dr. Marlene Kadar, Michele Verheul, Dr. Carol Wilson, and Dr. Enid Weiner.

I would also like to thank all my fellow volunteers at the Toronto Zoo, North York Obedience Society and SEOR Newfoundland Dog Club of Canada.

In the later stages of the dissertation Dr. Donna Young provided me with a place to work as well as invaluable intellectual engagement.

I would like to thank my mother, Dr. Carolynn Lund-Mead for her emotional and financial support. My mother took her first community college course when I was a child and completed her Ph.D. when were both graduate students at the University of Toronto.

My husband is to be commended for his problem solving skills. He resolved many of my practical crises, provided invaluable computer expertise and, most importantly, always believed in my work. Neil has loved Eliza as much as I. I also want to thank the non-human members of our extended and immediate family.

I am indebted to the financial support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

Any errors in quoting Eliza's diaries are entirely my responsibility.

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Timeline

1804	Eliza is born, first child of Elizabeth and Charles Field, Factory Owner, in Lambeth, England.
1805-12	Elizabeth Field gives birth to Mary, 1805; Charles, 1807; Sarah, 1809; Samuel, 1810; Anne; 1812 and Emma, 1820
1820	Elizabeth Field dies in childbirth with Emma.
1822	Father Charles is remarried to Mary Kingsford. Mary gives birth to John Kingsford, 1823; Louisa, 1824; Frederick, 1826; Arthur, 1828; Katherine Brown, 1830 and Edmund, 1832.
1823	Eliza is converted to Evangelical Christianity; she begins her first diary.
1831	Eliza meets Peter Jones, Mississauga chief and Methodist missionary, at the home of mutual friends, the Hills.
1832	Peter proposes to Eliza on February 14th. Eliza's father and brother-in-law oppose the marriage. Eliza keeps a detailed diary while she waits for her father's permission.
1833	After a year and a half of opposition, Eliza's father relents. Eliza travels with Egerton Ryerson, Methodist missionary, to the Credit Mission, Upper Canada. Peter and Eliza marry in New York to overwhelming disapproval in the press.
1833-36	Eliza keeps a diary of her first two years at the Mississauga Credit Mission. Within her first three months at the mission, her sister-in-law Christiana Brant and her baby die. Eliza records her two miscarriages and two stillbirths, her work in the community and two accounts of missionary tours. Many of Peter's family members, as well as extended kin, die of cholera. Eliza develops as a writer.
1838	Eliza and Peter return to England to visit Eliza's family and to raise funds for the Credit Mission. While they are in England, their niece

Elizabeth drowns. Eliza publishes the *Memoir of Elizabeth Jones, a Little Indian Girl, Who Lived at River Credit Mission, Upper Canada.*

1839 Eliza and Peter return to the Credit mission. Eliza is pregnant and gives birth on April 25th to Charles Augustus, Wahweyakuhmegoo "he who encircles the world", in Ojibwa.

1841-43 With one exception, Eliza does not keep a diary for the 1840s. On March 29th Eliza gives birth to Frederick, Wahbegwuna "a white lily or flower". Peter is posted to the Munceytown Mission near London where Peter Edmund is born on October 30th, 1843. He is given his father's name, Kahkewaquonaby, or "Sacred feathers". Eliza's sister Sarah joins her at Munceytown.

1845 Peter, Eliza and their three boys travel to Scotland to raise funds. Peter is increasingly successful as a platform speaker. Eliza keeps her only diary of this decade.

1847 George Dunlop is born June 30th, Wuhyahsakung "the shining one". Peter retires due to ill health. The family moves to a home they call Echo Villa in Brantford.

1849 Arthur Field, Wawanosh, Eliza and Peter's last son, is born. When he dies in 1850, Eliza returns to diary writing. In 1852, Eliza's sister Sarah dies in Woodstock, Upper Canada. Eliza travels to England to visit her dying father.

1856 Peter Jones dies. Eliza again returns to diary writing, composing an extensive account of Peter's death. Eliza prepares her written tributes to his life and work.

1857 Eliza marries John Carey, a white schoolteacher, at the Munceytown Mission. Eliza writes in her diary that the marriage is an unhappy one. Eliza's sons Charles and Fred leave home for the U.S.

1861 Eliza publishes *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesleyan Missionary.* Eliza carries out limited editing of Peter's diary entries.

1862 Eliza publishes Peter's *History of the Ojebway Indians: With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity.* In contrast

to the *Life And Journals*, Eliza compiles, shapes and edits the volume that Peter had not completed.

1863-64 Eliza travels to England for her step-mother's imminent death. She sells the *History of the Ojebway Indians*. Unhappy correspondence with John Carey suggests that they are still married.

1869 Thirteen years after Peter's death, again a widow, Eliza returns to daily diary writing. She will write regularly, with one exception, until 1883.

1869-1872 A rich account of Eliza's active widowhood in Brantford. Her sons Charles and Fred return from the U.S. Peter Edmund is a doctor at the New Credit community. Her son George drifts, depending on his mother, who in turn depends on the financial support of her brother John.

1873 Her son Fred's wife and baby die. Fred "returns home" to die.

1879-83 Eliza's final diaries chronicle her work for the New Credit Mission alongside her son Peter, who is now Chief. Her son Charles dies in 1879. In her diary she mourns his death, much as she has the loss of her husband Peter. Eliza focuses her final diary on her memories of her husband Peter and the pleasure of her new grandchild, the son of George and his wife Minnie.

1883 Eliza is completely blind.

1890 Eliza dies at Lambeth Cottage, Brantford.

Introduction

On September 8, 1833, in New York City, Eliza Field, a white middle-class English woman from Lambeth (then part of London, England), married Peter Jones, a Mississauga Chief and Methodist Missionary from what was then called Upper Canada. This inter-racial wedding caused a sensation and received significant coverage in the press in both the United States and Upper Canada. The newspapers based their stories on hearsay, if not out-right flights of fancy. The following excerpt, penned by the American journalist J.T. Buckingham, who did not attend the wedding, was particularly revealing of the stir this inter-racial union created. Under the heading "A Romance in Real Life" he wrote:

> Our emotions were tumultuous and painful. A stronger contrast was never seen. She all in white, and adorned with the sweetest simplicity... She a little delicate European lady – he a hardy iron framed son of the forest ... a sweeter bride we never saw. We almost grew wild. We thought of Othello – of Hyperion and the satyr – of the bright-eyed Hindoo and funeral pyre! She looked like a drooping flower by the side of a rugged Hemlock! We longed to interpose and rescue her ... we heard the Indian and herself pronounced man and wife! It was the first time we ever heard the words "man and wife" sound hatefully. [1]

Eliza recorded her reaction to the article on September 19th, 1833, ". . . heard that much has been written about our union in a New York paper – this is a cruel world. I felt much grieved that any one should find pleasure in amusing the world by misrepresentations and direct falsehoods" (Diary). News of their marriage travelled quickly. A journalist wrote in the Kingston

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[1] "Romance in Real Life" in *New England Magazine* (Boston 12 September 1833).

Chronicle and Gazette: "improper and revolting . . . we believe that the Creator of the Universe distinguished his creatures by different colours, that they might be kept separate from each other." St Catherine's *British Colonial Argus* noted that their marriage overstepped "the line of demarcation as it respects colour, features etc.". The York *Patriot* described Eliza as an "unhappy, deceived woman".[1]

Eliza's reaction to the newspaper article demonstrated that she was acutely aware of the injustices of her time. In her diaries, written over sixty years, Eliza wrote less frequently than I would have expected of the prejudice she and Peter experienced, and of the consequences that prejudice had for their four adult sons, She does record some instances when she and Peter were criticized or mocked by family members, white settlers, and prominent women authors, and scattered accounts of this intolerance occur in her diaries throughout her life.

Eliza's unpublished eighteen diaries and three notebooks are part of the Peter Jones collection at the E.J. Pratt Library at Victoria University, Toronto. Eliza began writing diaries in 1829 and wrote extensive daily entries during her courtship and following her marriage to Peter Jones from 1832 to 1833. Eliza wrote of her missionary experience among the Mississauga, the Mohawk and the peoples of the Munceytown mission in her diaries of 1833, 1834 and 1835. Eliza did not return to daily diary

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[1] All cited in Donald B. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* (1987), 142.

writing until her widowhood in the 1870s. Diaries between these periods focus on the deaths of family members, both in England and Upper Canada, including Peter's death in 1856. As a widow Eliza wrote diaries regularly throughout the 1870s and early 1880s before her death in 1890.

I began my study of Eliza's diaries for my Master's thesis entitled "Eliza Field Jones Carey's Mission to 'Civilize' the Native Women of Early Nineteenth Century Upper Canada". I had hoped to gather information about the Indigenous communities in which she lived and worked but felt discouraged by the detail in the diary of evangelical Christian faith and the paucity of information on the Indigenous communities.

I was drawn back to the diaries for my doctoral dissertation as they had continued to intrigue me. For my Master's thesis I transcribed the diaries over a six month period. Despite Eliza's almost indecipherable hand writing I entered the world of her British, Mississauga and Mohawk family. Reading specifically to find 'data' on Ojibwa peoples of the period for my Master's thesis had discouraged me – the diaries however were fascinating – they were compelling, vivid and absorbing. With each re-reading the depth of my interpretation grew, my ability to understand her world, if only superficially, developed and my interest deepened. Gradually, as a researcher, I began to read themes in the diaries. I saw beyond the separate entries, and I began to imagine Eliza developing a self, a persona, through her writing. I interpreted the diaries not as a story

of her life, but as a record of the way in which she developed her representation of herself.

I began to read the genre of feminist life writing, intrigued by the theorizing of autobiography, biography, letters and diaries. Diaries, however, were not the focus of this theory. I remained perplexed. Suzanne Bunkers and Cynthia Huff's volume, *Inscribing the Daily*, consisting of collected essays on diaries, provided me with the first and most exciting window into the diary form, one that I knew had distinct qualities that required specific reading strategies. Applying diary theory to Eliza's diary led to my focus on analyzing detail, absences and repetitions pervasive in diaries – features of Eliza's diary that vexed me. I began to tease out threads within the diary entries full of seemingly impenetrable detail.

Rebecca Hogan's emphasis on separate entries forming cumulative narratives anchors my thesis that Eliza created a persona as a virtuous, pious and dutiful Christian missionary (100). I also read a narrative that disrupted this one, with entries crossed over, others not written in chronological order, and pages cut out. I argue this practice reveals Eliza's development as a writer. While Eliza may have written diaries as a private activity they became, as Rebecca Hogan theorizes, a place to explore editing work for publication (95). Eliza assumed a readership and shaped herself as a writer beyond the diaries.

I read absences or gaps in Eliza's diary for my Master's thesis as frustrating – they did not provide the 'data' I had hoped for. I now read absences as having different possible interpretations. Indeed absences in diaries are one of their key features. Eliza, for example, rarely wrote of her children, particularly when they were young and only when they became adults. This absence, which I found startling, can be read as the taken-for-grantedness of motherhood. Writing of the children may also have disrupted her narrative as missionary.

I also learned by that by applying feminist diary theory to Eliza's diaries, her use of repetition was also significant. Her emphasis, for example, on her mother's death solidified Eliza's primary life narrative as a missionary recording, shaping and then publicly representing her work as edifying. Through repetition of her life-story Eliza constructed a personal narrative as a way to understand the self.

This dissertation has taken me from an ethno-historical study to a feminist study that focuses on my strategies for reading diaries. Through the dissertation I have developed a way of reading the unpublished writing of women that has not been thought of as worthy of scholarly attention. I have read Eliza's dense diary entries as those of a diarist constructing herself both privately and publicly. I have attended to absences in her diaries that reflect cultural understanding of topics too taboo to discuss, such as pregnancy, and those, such as motherhood, which were culturally

self-evident. In addition my reading of repetition in the diaries reveals and solidifies dominant diary narratives.

My interdisciplinary approach underscores the value of creating unique locations to develop readings that add to feminist scholarship. I have read Eliza's diary as a woman's diary in which selves are historically and culturally constructed. In my Master's thesis I read Eliza's diaries for 'data'; here I have analyzed how Eliza understood and narrated her life.

I argue here that it is important for feminist scholars to read the unpublished diaries of women as a literary form in which the themes addressed allow the reader to interpret the nuances of authors' self-representations. Themes in Eliza's diaries reveal her own developing persona; she wrote in a "distinctive voice" (Bloom 31). Margo Culley suggests that "all diaries are involved in a process, even if largely unconscious, of selecting details to create a persona . . . (A Day At a Time, 12) Eliza's unconscious and conscious practice of self-representation informed her persona in the diaries.

Eliza created a self both in the moment of writing diary entries and also in retrospective editing. I theorize that Eliza's persona "developed unwittingly" in the diary from a meek and dutiful Christian, to a confident missionary, and an appreciative community member. Eliza's diary record was one of a life in progress. Eliza's self representation evolved "into a process of reflection and self discovery" (Hogan 97).

Confounding the forecasts of their failure as noted in the salacious newspaper article, Eliza and Peter began their life by symbolically joining both their traditions and cultures in the new life they created. Eliza wrote privately and publicly of Peter as a charismatic speaker, as her fiancé and her husband, as the father of her children, as a Chief, a preacher and a great man. Eliza's record of her relationship with her Mississauga and Mohawk female kin and community members also underpins the diaries. In Eliza's diaries women, whether "pagan", Christian or prominent Mohawk figures, supported her during her first pregnancies with deep compassion and practical support. Eliza's location as a member of this community informed her representation of these women as family. Eliza's Mississauga and Iroquois women kin offered her another view of the status of Indigenous women; they were neither "drudges" nor idealized sisters. She noted relationships, many of kinship, the most important of which lasted for over fifty years. These relationships are reflected in lengthy, detailed, albeit infrequent, diary entries about Mississauga women who occupied her entries as had the women who fill her first diaries in England.

My analysis of the depth of Eliza's relationships in her diary narrative makes a significant contribution to feminist scholarship. Eliza wrote of the Mississauga and Mohawk peoples as historically significant. She did so first in her diaries and then in her publications which demonstrated her pivotal role as a recorder of Mississauga and Mohawk history. Eliza's diaries form an arc from her persona as a young woman determined to engage in missionary work, to

marriage with the man she loved, and against ignorance and prejudice to her widowhood, memorializing her husband, and her record of a life of rich and useful service.

Biographical Sketches of Eliza Field and Peter Jones:

Eliza Field first met Peter Jones when he travelled to England in 1831 to raise money for the Methodist mission in Upper Canada. Their lives could not have been more different. Here I briefly outline their biographies and the historical times that brought them together.

Eliza was born in 1804, the eldest child of Elizabeth and Charles Field. Charles Field owned a prosperous soap and candle factory. Lambeth, a part of the London area, experienced intense urban development in the early part of the nineteenth century. Like other wealthy families, the Fields kept a second residence in the countryside. They frequently moved between their urban residence and "Holly Cottage", located ten kilometres to the south of Lambeth in Norwood (D. Smith, *Sacred* 131). In one of her earliest diary entries Eliza wrote that "Ellen [the governess] walked from Lambeth to breakfast and arrived at Norwood by a 1/4 before 8" (Diary 1.6.32). She also noted the differences between the urban and rural landscapes: "the sight of the hedges now clothed with the lovely foliage of spring and the trees covered with blossoms . . . the

delightful quiet of Holly cottage found such a striking contrast to Lambeth" (Diary 7.5.33).

At one and two year intervals Eliza's mother Elizabeth gave birth to five other children: Mary 1805, Charles 1807, Sarah 1809, Samuel 1810, and Anne 1812. The birth of the seventh child, Emma, in 1820, tragically led to Elizabeth's death. Charles Field remarried two years later, in 1822. His second wife, Mary Kingsford, was twenty-eight years old, and in many respects a contemporary of Eliza, who was then eighteen. Together Charles and Mary had six children, also at one and two year intervals: John Kingsford 1823, Louisa 1824, Frederick 1826, Arthur 1828, Katherine 1830, and Edmund, 1832. Thus Eliza was the eldest of thirteen children. Together Eliza and her stepmother Mary ran two large households, which included servants, nannies, and a governess. As the eldest child, Eliza felt constrained and wrote in her diary of her desire for a life of her own as a missionary.

Peter Jones was one of Canada's early Mississauga Methodist missionaries. He was born at Burlington Heights overlooking Lake Ontario on January 1, 1802. He was the product of a cross-cultural relationship, the son of a Welsh immigrant to Canada, named Augustus Jones and a Mississauga woman named Tuhbenahneequay.[1] For his first fourteen years Peter was raised by his mother within his mother's Mississauga band, a group within the Ojibwa people.

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[1] The most comprehensive description of Peter's boyhood and adolescence appears in Chapters 1 and 3 of Donald B. Smith's biography *Sacred Feathers* (1987).

Peter was known as Kahkewaquonaby, or Sacred Feathers, among his Mississauga extended family. During this time his father lived with his Mohawk wife, Sarah Tekarihogen on a farm at Stoney Creek on Burlington Bay. Peter's father brought Kahkewaquonaby and his older brother Tyenteneged, to live with him at Stoney Creek in 1816. At his father's home he was called Peter and his older brother John. Here Peter attended school, learned English, the language spoken in his second home. In 1817, one year later, Augustus Jones moved his family, consisting of both his Mississauga and Mohawk children, to twelve hundred acres granted to him by Joseph Brant at the Grand River to farm amongst his wife's Mohawk people away from the rapidly increasing white population of Upper Canada.

In May, 1823, Peter and his Mississauga half-sister Polly attended a Methodist camp meeting at Ancaster, near Hamilton, and both converted to Christianity. On March 1, 1825, Peter joined the Methodist church as an exhorter, an assistant to a Methodist minister. He helped the Mississauga petition the government to build a village on the Credit River in April, 1826 (D. Smith *Sacred* 87, 64, 72). The Canadian Conference sent him to the U.S. to raise money for the Canadian missions in 1829 and then to England in 1831. An inspired speaker, Peter Jones drew huge crowds to see and hear a real Indian. This is the context in which Eliza first heard and saw Peter.

Eliza met Peter in an intellectual and social climate in which Indigenous people were viewed in the context of the important work leading up to the

abolition of slavery. In the 1830s, indigenous people were envisioned in Britain, according to Elizabeth Elbourne, as a "blank slate", peoples in need of Christian reform and education (11). Patricia Grimshaw and Elizabeth Elbourne argue that evangelical Christians, who had been instrumental in the abolition of slavery, turned their focus to the indigenous peoples of the Empire, particularly those in settler colonies (Grimshaw, *Faith* 264 and Elbourne 11). The enthusiasm for Peter's presence in England supports Kirsten McKenzie's thesis that the humanitarian lobby coupled with evangelical Christian activism created a context in the 1830s ripe for the reception and attention to Indigenous people (3).

Throughout the diary of 1832 and 1833 Eliza noted that she attended abolitionist meetings and read abolitionist literature. Eliza was just the sort of person of whom Elizabeth Elbourne, Patricia Grimshaw and Kirsten McKenzie write. With the abolition of slavery, Eliza changed her focus and began to participate in gatherings for the benefit of the aboriginal. Eliza's active participation in the political and social issues of her day was not uncommon among evangelical Christian women of her status and position. Her attendance at Peter's lecture on May 2, 1831, at Exeter Hall in Bristol was not exceptional.

When Peter gave his talks, he appeared as the "Indian". While Peter wore "white" men's clothing in his everyday life, he gave his talks in a buckskin outfit. He displayed images of pagan gods and other objects of spiritual belief, to demonstrate that his people had thrown off their former superstition and embraced Christianity. It was an awkward position for Peter to embrace.

Crowds came to see the savage Indian with a horrified fascination. Peter negotiated this tension between savage and educated missionary in order to draw the crowd, both to demonstrate his people's reform and to raise money the Mississauga needed to support their communities. It was an act that Peter found humiliating and degrading. He referred to "my odious Indian costume" in a letter to Eliza while fund-raising in Scotland in 1845.[1]

An article in the Sheffield *Courant* in 1831 noted "'Kahkewaquonaby'" is a very fine looking man . . . "(qtd. In D. Smith, *Sacred* 134). Newspaper reports of Peter's speaking engagements lauded him as an engaging speaker. In addition, they depicted him as charismatic and educated. The Halifax *Express* described him as a man of "great modesty and unaffected simplicity" and the *Liverpool Courier* described his "gentle and unassuming manners". The *Liverpool Courier* also noted Peter's "considerable correctness" in speaking English (qtd. In D. Smith, *Sacred* 134). It was seeing and hearing Peter speak that sparked Eliza's interest and led to their courtship.

Eliza noted in her diary of 1832 that she first spoke to Peter in June 1831, a month after hearing his talk. Peter signed her autograph album "Kahkeqaquonaby" alias Peter Jones Indn. Missionary from U. Canada Bristol 1831". She was formally introduced to Peter by her friends the Woods, with whom he was staying: "[I] first met my future husband on July 27, 1831" (Diary 7.27.32). Thus her introduction to Peter occurred over a two-month period of

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[1] Peter Jones to Eliza Jones, Glasgow, 8 November 1845, Letter Book, Peter Jones collection, Victoria University

formality and propriety. Six months later, Peter proposed on February 14, 1832. Eliza's father strongly objected to this engagement, but a year and a half later he relented and Eliza joined Peter in New York where they were wed. Thus Eliza's life took a very dramatic turn.

After they were married and moved to Canada, Peter and Eliza lived at the Credit Mission (near present day Etobicoke) from 1833 to 1837. Peter was the Mississauga leader of his people, many of whom lived, what Europeans perceived as, a nomadic lifestyle. The majority spoke their own language. Peter and Eliza returned to England for a visit in 1837. After returning home to the Credit Mission in 1838 their first children were born. In 1839 their son Charles Augustus, Wahweyakumegoo was born, and then in 1841 their son Fred, Wahbegwuna. In 1841 Peter was posted to the Munceytown mission outside of London (Upper Canada) where their third son Peter Edmund, Kahkekwaquonaby, was born in 1843. In 1844 Peter was given a supernumerary. In that year Eliza and Peter travelled to Scotland to fund-raise for the missions. They returned to the Credit Mission in 1845, and Peter was posted again to the Muncey Mission in 1847 where George Dunlop was born, Wuhyahsakung. In 1850, Peter moved his family to London (Upper Canada) where their fifth son, Arthur Field, Wawanosh, was born. Peter retired as a missionary and the family moved from London to Brantford in 1851, where they built their home Echo Villa. Peter died in 1856.

Eliza and Peter Jones came from incommensurable worlds; I believe it was through the commonalities in their lives that they forged strong and sympathetic bonds. Both were older children in their respective families who early on assumed responsibilities for the younger children of their fathers' second marriages. Both held deep religious convictions. They shared a sense of duty, obligation, and humour that enabled them to weather the unwelcome attention their marriage invited.

Eliza's Diaries and Notebooks

Eighteen diaries and three notebooks written by Eliza Jones are extant. They cover a period of over sixty years. These date from her youth in England through her residence at the Credit and Munceytown missions, Upper Canada and Brantford, Upper Canada. I believe they form a complete collection.[1] Eliza kept all the diaries of her youth, despite living for fifty-seven years in Canada.

I transcribed Eliza's eighteen diaries and three notebooks that are housed in the E.J. Pratt Library of Victoria University, University of Toronto. The diaries are

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[1]In the beginning of the diary of 1833, she noted that this was the second year she continuously recorded, thereby signally the gap between the diaries of 1829 and 1832. Further, earlier diaries are frequently used to record later entries, suggesting a diary was not kept in that year. On a number of occasions, the diary she wrote in was intended as a gift for Peter. One was inscribed to him by her, another to him by her friend Sarah Butterworth. Finally, when Eliza made reference to earlier diary entries, it is possible to find them in the collection. Later in life she wrote that she had composed her autobiography, a document that is not in the collection. This does suggest the possibility of earlier diaries, but I believe, for the above reasons, that this was unlikely.

part of the Peter Jones archival collection. Reading Eliza's writing, initially from a microfilm reel, was challenging – her emphasis on evangelical Christianity, the difficulty of ascertaining who key individuals noted in the diaries were, and her handwriting often made the task daunting. And yet I returned every day to the archive to immerse myself in her life, revel in her desires, suffer through her losses, and admire her resiliency in widowhood.

After six months of transcription I was permitted to examine the diaries themselves. The diaries and notebooks that I held in my hands were revealing and fascinating, very unlike the sterile microfilm reel. Most were very small. In addition the microfilm did not reveal, for example, that many diaries had missing pages that Eliza had cut out. The relationship I had developed with the persona Eliza created in the diary was enhanced by handling the texts – a visceral experience augmenting what I had gleaned by reading the microfilm

The first notebooks and diaries Eliza kept from 1823 to 1854 are all unlined leather volumes. Historian Kathryn Carter argues that cheaper paper and more convenient pens became accessible in Britain beginning in the 1820s facilitating the popularity of diary writing (15). Eliza kept notebooks in 1823 and 1828. The first notebook of 1823, a collection of quotations, foreshadowed Eliza's lifetime of diary keeping. She wrote in a slim unlined leather volume, roughly three inches wide by six inches long - the same style of book she would use in 1828. Eliza recorded quotations from the biographies of evangelical Christian women. The notebook is mainly blank, with pages cut out of the

middle. It appears she kept the volume to record her conversion from Anglicanism to evangelical Christianity, noted briefly in the appendix, "solemn dedication to God January 11, 1823".

Two notebooks written in 1828 were also a record of quotations, this time from her reading plan with her brother Samuel where they alternated days recording passages from their reading – his quotations from science, history and travel, hers from devotional literature, autobiography and the Bible.

In Samuel's notebook he inscribed the left hand inside cover "Samuel Field January 1st, 1828". He wrote in both red and black ink. Eliza signed her volume in a similar manner to her brother. On the back cover, upside down, she later added "our dear boy born April 25th, 1835 1/4 past 10 morning". The births of her children were often written, not chronologically, but repeated or added to multiple diaries, indicating her children's utmost value to her.

These early notebooks were written when Eliza was nineteen and twenty-four. Her notation of her conversion to evangelical Christianity followed the year after her step-mother Mary joined the family. By 1828 her siblings were young adults. Her step-mother was in charge of the growing family of Eliza's very young half-siblings (four children at this time). Eliza, freed of her responsibility to her full siblings, turned her attention to the texts that preceded her diary writing. She recorded her reading that focused on her interest in evangelical Christianity and missionary work.

Eliza's first diary, written in 1829, when she was twenty-five, is very small, approximately two inches by two inches in a red leather book signed Eliza Field. Eliza signalled in this first diary her desire to be a missionary. She intermingled excerpts from the Bible with entries of daily life – brief glimpses into holidays, family, attendance at missionary meetings and her lifelong interest in the biographies of missionary women.

Eliza's next diary of 1832, three years later, was precipitated by her courtship with Peter Jones, which had begun the previous July. The diary is more ornate, a tortoise shell pattern on the cover, and somewhat larger than the previous notebooks and first diary. She wrote that her desire for missionary work was born out of her mother's death that informed her calling. This is the theme that tied together this diary. Eliza crossed over the entries she had written of her courtship with Peter, sometimes almost completely, although the entry is often still legible. For the first time Eliza wrote daily, detailed entries. Her entries focused on the opposition of family and friends to her proposed marriage. Eliza added that the diary was "Examined 1872 E C" perhaps out of concern that the details of their courtship might be read by others.

In Eliza's diary of 1833 she again wrote daily entries while she prepared for and then joined Peter at the Credit Mission station in Upper Canada. Entries show her rejecting the disapproval of her marriage by her father, family and friends and demonstrate her insistence on pursuing her unconventional life. This diary is entitled 'The Private Diary Commencing 1833' with an Introduction for

"recording the manner in which this day had been spent". There was a space to write for each day of the week. Eliza crossed many passages out, although some are legible, and wrote in extremely small hand writing, which is almost indecipherable. The entries are all approximately a paragraph long. This diary was full of details about her life with female friends and family - those she would leave behind. She concluded the diary with an annotation in a formal Appendix "remembrance of the dear Sainted Mother who 13 long years ago left this world of pain". Thus Eliza crafted the diary of 1832 as coming full circle with her memory of her mother's death encouraging her missionary desires and in her diary of 1833 noting their fulfillment. Eliza as missionary was the predominant theme in the pages of this diary, demonstrating her narrative of struggle to fulfil her desires for meaningful work, freedom from her family and work of her choosing.

Eliza's diary for 1834, written while living at the Credit Mission, Upper Canada, is a red leather volume approximately three inches by six inches. It is inscribed "The Revd Peter Jones from a true British girl Mif Butterworth [double s denoted by an f]". While Eliza's closest friend Sarah gave the diary to Peter, Eliza wrote within it. This is a diary on which Eliza also noted "Examined". Eliza edited by crossing over entries of the loss of her two stillborn children and of her two miscarriages. The entries in this diary are unique. There are infrequent, lengthy entries tied to the death of her children; they appear to have been written after the losses had occurred. The diary begins on Sunday April 24th 1834, with

a very long, legible entry describing her first still-born child. Her second entry begins on Friday Aug 21st 1834, noting a missionary trip, and then after many blank pages Eliza crossed over the entry in which she recalled her child's death on Saturday 20th Dec 1834. Eliza wrote extensively in the diary of the support she received from her Mississauga female relatives and community members during this period of tragic loss.

Eliza's diary of 1838, which also contains excerpts from 1839 and 1841, is unlined in brown leather, without spaces for daily entries. In 1838 Peter and Eliza made their first trip back to England. Eliza wrote in this diary daily with thorough entries focused on visiting, fund-raising for the Methodist church and sight-seeing. These diary entries underscored the vast difference between the trials of mission life in Upper Canada and the comforts of England which she described as full of wonderful progress and amazing achievement. Eliza did not comment on this enormous shift, but as a contemporary reader it solidified my reading of Eliza straddling two vastly different worlds (March – September 1838).

After returning to Upper Canada in September 1838 many of the diary pages are blank. Peter and Eliza had returned to the Credit mission. In contrast to the detailed entries of 1838, Eliza only made brief entries for 1839 and 1841. Her lack of record, I believe, is related to the responsibility of caring for their children. She recorded the birth of "my first living child Ebenezer" (Charles Augustus) April 25, 1839 and on March 29, 1841 she wrote: "at a quarter past 5 pm our second dear boy was born" (Diary). She recorded one entry of her

family's move to the Munceytown mission near London in 1841. The brief entries, I believe, reflected Eliza's desire as well as difficulty in continuing a chronological record of key events in her life. Eliza did not make a diary notation of her third son Peter Edmund's birth at Munceytown in 1843. Mission life, and its challenges, precluded Eliza's development of her growing diary narrative. Future diaries would never again focus on the Mississauga community as had those of 1833 and 1834.

In 1845, after not keeping a diary for seven years, Eliza wrote some of the longest entries with the most detailed descriptions. She and Peter (from July to November) travelled to fund-raise for the Methodist missions in Scotland. This diary is a brown leather volume approximately three inches by seven inches. She gave the diary a title: "Journey to Scotland". On the first page she wrote "our first child was born dead June 13th, 1834 and Aug 21st 1836 our second child born dead". Eliza crossed out both these entries. This record was in keeping with those in which she wrote her children's births and deaths out of chronological order. These entries appear to have been added to the diaries in contrast to reminiscences, which she wrote in a ritualized form in her diaries later in life.

While in Scotland Eliza recorded that their children, Charles six, Fred four and Peter Edmund (PE) two, stayed with her sisters; Eliza was free to travel with Peter. Her first entry is over a page in length. The contrast with their life in Canada is again pronounced, as it had been in her diary record of her first trip to

England in 1838: "at ¼ past met a large party of 120 ladies and gentleman to breakfast at the Aberdeen Hotel given in honor of my dearest husband everything very splendid . . . my beloved husband had the highest possible respect shewn him" (Diary 12.7.45). This emphasis on Peter's success is in direct contrast to the prejudice, typified by the press's response to their marriage, which they experienced in Upper Canada.

Back at their postings both at the Credit Mission and at Munceytown, her diary of 1854 also included infrequent, often long entries for 1850, 1851, 1853, 1854, 1857, 1858 and 1859. In these diary entries Eliza developed a very strong narrative of grief and unhappiness. Eliza began to record the decline in Peter's health. She also recorded the death of their eighteen month old son Arthur, her sister Sarah's baby, her sister Sarah and her father. These diary entries appear to have been written after each family member had died. Eliza also recorded many lengthy extracts from grief literature, a practice of quoting text harkening back to her notebooks of the 1820s which also consisted mainly of edifying quotes. Eliza's only entry for 1851 was a recollection of loss "I desire this evening to record the sad and solemn feelings of my heart – twelve months have now rolled away since our dear babe was taken from us . . . my dear sister has been taken so suddenly and unexpectedly from the midst of her family and she was considered more strong and healthier than me . . . " (Diary 22.9.51). Thus infrequent entries over many years reflected the role of her diary as a place of

consolation. Eliza did not appear to find solace in the diaries as reflected in the gaps of silence and grief.

Eliza included in this diary her third trip to England in 1854 to see her dying father. The entries are lengthy and written daily. This trip to England, however, was not a holiday. Peter did not accompany Eliza, rather Peter Edmund travelled with her to see a doctor for an inherited limp.

The intermittent but protracted entries for 1857, 1858 and 1859 are a record of her unhappy second marriage, to John Carey after Peter's death in 1856. Eliza wrote more of disappointment and dissatisfaction than in earlier diaries. Whereas in previous diaries she did not write at length about household concerns such as childrearing or housekeeping, in these few entries there is enough detail to glean that Eliza was in financial difficulty after Peter' death, that her second husband John Carey would not help her with her debt, and that for the first time she found herself without the protection of Peter or her father. The change in the tone and content of her diary entries was pronounced.

Eliza kept a separate diary for 1856 - its sole purpose was to record Peter's death, an account of a worthy Christian death. The diary is approximately two inches by five inches in green leather embossed in gold. It was called an Almanac and began with Peter's decline into death, starting with her first entry on April 24. The diary included many blank pages. Eliza's entries for this diary are exceptional and the longest of all of her diaries. She recorded verbatim conversation during Peter's final hours. Eliza depicted Peter in his

dying days not only as her husband, but also as a great Chief and missionary. These entries suggest Eliza's intention to use the diary as a basis for writing future published accounts of Peter's death. Eliza's careful description of Peter's death indicates that it was written after Peter died. Eliza consciously crafted the narrative presented in this diary.

While Eliza briefly wrote in the diary of 1854 of her financial difficulties after Peter's death, and her strained relationship with her new husband, John Carey, she did not write a diary again until seven years after Peter's death. In this diary she discussed John Carey, in one entry noting again dissatisfaction, also with regard to money.

In contrast to her infrequent recording throughout the 1850s, the diary of 1863 included lengthy entries describing Eliza's fourth visit to England. This book is very soft and approximately five by eight inches and written in very small handwriting. In this diary she chronicled a trip to England to sell Peter's *History of the Ojebwey People*. This diary consisted of detailed entries reminiscent of their trip to Scotland in 1845. For the first time Eliza recorded earning money, listing on the back inside cover, upside down, the names, number of copies and residences of those who bought the book. She wrote that she was in debt to the publisher and that she had limited funds to return home (Diary 3.1.64).

The next diary, written five years later in 1869, is approximately two inches by ten inches with many pages cut out, and separate lines drawn by Eliza to record her entries. She wrote in pencil for the first time. She was on her own,

living in Brantford, either widowed or separated, suggesting she had time to return to diary writing. For the first time she mentioned all of her adult children: "Oh Father of the fatherless, bless Charles, bless Frederick, bless Peter and bless George – and may we be an unbroken family in heaven" (1.1.69). The number of entries and their content was detailed. She wrote of missionary work, teaching drawing and reading the biographies of missionaries, including the "memoirs of Mrs Smith Missionary to Syria" (Diary 12.5.69).

Eliza wrote of her eldest son Charles returning home from the United States after an absence of three and a half years (Diary 15.5.69). Eliza turned from representing herself as a missionary wife to a mother of her adult sons. Together Charles, Peter and George helped their mother move to a cottage she named Holly cottage in Brantford after "Peter [her son] went with me to see it" ". . . engaged to buy it for $700". She wrote more candidly about money. She noted a week before she finally received from the Methodist office of Dr. Wood "the portion due me the year I was a widow" following Peter's death (Diary 5.6.69; 9.6.69). The diary is rich in detailed diary entries. The diary was so full she wrote sideways across many entries suggesting she ran out of room.

The diary of 1869 stands out as the clearest example of how Eliza wrote of death. In this diary she switched to pen and wrote "dear Fred came home to die" and then the next day "3 years today since my dear Fred came home to die" (Diary 4.3.69; 5.3.69). And yet in September she wrote "letter from dear Fred discouragingly of prospects out in California(?)" (Diary 3.9.69). She returned,

then, to the diary of 1869, to record Fred's death which occurred in March 1872. She recorded his death in her diary of 1869, despite keeping a diary in 1872. This practice reflected how Eliza recorded her children's births and deaths throughout the diaries, topics too profound to be written of at the time. These monumental events transcend the diary format and point to suffering that cannot be marked upon the page. Fred, like young son Arthur, is rarely mentioned in her diary again.

The diary of 1869 is so long that Eliza resumed recording the year in a second diary starting in July and ending in May of 1870. In this diary she cut out pages and drew her own lines to separate entries. It is roughly two inches by ten inches. She expressed herself more openly in these entries, suggesting a shift in keeping with the developing secular culture.

The diary of 1871 is green, roughly two inches by three inches, entitled the Tract Society of Penny Almanack. She provided context for the diary, writing on the inside cover "moved into new home". The marriages of her sons Fred and Charles were briefly noted. Eliza included that Fred and his wife were boarding at her home in Brantford (Diary 1.3.71). Eliza wrote to recall her marriage to Peter and his death: "28 years to day since I was united in marriage to one of the dearest and best of men Peter Jones and more than 17 years since he was taken from me . . . "(Diary 8.9.71). She also began methodically noting the times she arrived home each evening. Eliza listed expenses for the first time in her

diaries in an appendix, e.g., "medicine .25" and "eyeglasses .22". Family, companionship and finances were the focus of this diary.

The diary of 1872 is also very small with a white cover. Eliza's writing is very tiny, almost illegible. In her first entry she noted that her son George had left the previous day (Diary 21.3.72). While she does not write of Fred, I believe his funeral, given the date of his death, must have occurred the day before. Eliza "left my house having rented [Holly Cottage] to Brakes for one year at $200" (Diary 5.7.72). She boarded at Mrs Bastedo's (5.7.72). In October she moved into the Ryersons (Diary 23.11.72). Loss and financial concerns dominate the diary.

The world of England is a thread carried through all the diaries. As was her custom she recorded writing to her widowed sisters Mary and Emma (Diary 20.7.72). A shift to a desire for companionship is evident with George having "gone" (Diary 28.12.72) . Eliza now used her diary entries to record with whom she had tea. The volume ended abruptly with larger handwriting: "Another year has passed into Eternity – my dear brother Samuel called suddenly . . . My dear Fred's wife after a lingering and very severe sickness also taken away with her sweet babe . . . ". This was a new practice for recording death as Eliza constructed the theme of this volume.

In 1873 Eliza kept a diary to record her last trip to England. Her step-mother was dying. George accompanied her for part of the trip. The diary is green leather approximately two inches by five inches entitled Birthday

Memories. Eliza again lined the book, wrote in ink and recorded the birthdays of her siblings, half siblings and her sons. The diary of this trip was full of entries. She wrote that she saw her former governess Ellen Lyon. Eliza wrote in this diary to recall the past: "Arthur kindly took me over to the Manufactory – wonderful changes sat in the very spot where 41 years ago I read my late husbands first letter" (14.2.74). Of her step-mother's death she wrote with little sentimentality. She recorded that her step-mother had an 'apoplectic fit' after which she was unconscious (Diary 31.10.74). The loss of her step-mother was not recorded with passion ". . . but memory cannot recall the particulars" of the events leading up to her step-mothers death on November 4th (2.11.74). The diary reflected Eliza's desire to recollect rather than to mourn.

The diary of 1874 is green leather two by five inches entitled Birthday Memories. Eliza noted that her half brother Edmund, born when Peter proposed, was now forty. Eliza continued to reflect upon her representation of her life with Peter, a practice of focusing on the past while writing in the present.

The diaries Eliza wrote in throughout her seventies, beginning in 1879, were more standardized. Kathryn Carter argues that by the turn of the twentieth century, in England and in Canada, diaries proliferated due to greater literacy among women, a growing population and the mass production of diaries (15). This is confirmed by Eliza's diaries. In 1879 Eliza began to use a standard diary called the Canadian Pocket Diary. This is the same style of diary that she wrote

in for 1879, 1882 and 1883. The Canadian Pocket Diary that she used is made up of pre-printed, lined pages.

In 1879 while living in Brantford, Eliza wrote in a diary that was wine coloured leather with a slip clasp approximately two inches by one inch. She recorded extensive entries including who called on her and whom she visited. This detail is that of a life-long diarist accounting for her daily activity. Her list of expenses is more elaborate including not only the cost of socks .38 and toothbrush .58 but also rent received and the board she paid.

The diary of 1880 is unique. These diary entries appear to have been written after the events themselves. Eliza's handwriting changed perhaps reflecting her failing eyesight: "rather trying for my eyes" (Diary 30.1.80). Her sense of herself as an author became more evident. She wrote for the first time: "at home writing" (Diary 8.4.80). Earlier sentimental language of earthly mortality changed to reflect the reality and challenges of her long life "walked to town I feel the infirmities of age very sensibly" (3.5.80). The diary ends on June 1st 1880, her birthday, when she was seventy-six.

Eliza's diary of 1881/1882 is blue and roughly two inches by four inches. Some entries are blank. This diary focused on her missionary work and on her Mississauga kin "Mrs Chechock and John Starling called Mrs C gave me a very pretty sweet grass basket" (Diary 27.25.82). The Christmas present marked the sixty-year relationship Eliza had with her sister-in-law, Peter's Mississauga sister Catherine.

Eliza's final diary was written in 1883. It is a black leather volume with a leather tongue, approximately four inches by six inches with a place to put a pen. In the first entry of January 4th Eliza began by writing about death: "my dear bro Charles died". She interspersed memories of loss, such as that of her son Charles, with the joy of George and his wife Minnie's child. Eliza, having lost her sight "was taken very ill", and one of her daughters-in-law wrote the last entry in Eliza's diary. Eliza dictated her reminiscence of her marriage to Peter: "was married 50 years ago today" (Diary 6.7.83; 8.8.83).

Eliza's diaries were deeply shaped by her evangelical Christian roots and her work as a missionary. Her complicity in this particular project of enculturation and colonialism was tempered by her astute awareness of Mississauga and Mohawk people as historical subjects, and so her perspective as a writer is both unique and complex. While historians have now extensively analyzed the marriages and sexual liaisons between nineteenth-century European men and African slaves, Indigenous women, Aboriginal Australians and Maoris, little has been written of European women who married into these communities. I do not believe Eliza Jones has received the scholarly attention her experiences and writing merit.

Reading Strategies

Feminist diary criticism pays close attention to the daily entries in women's diaries, noting forms of repetition and/or gaps that allude to something beyond the page. Familiarity with the particular narrative strategies of a diarist can eventually reveal elements of the unsaid, just as in any form of literary analysis. And so here attention is paid to Eliza as a writer. I focus on the ways in which she narrates her life, so as to highlight representations of the self. In other words, this is a deeply textual analysis.

Still, my ability to read the diaries as a form of deliberate representation (rather than as a transparent rendition of her life) is also informed by forms of inter-textual analysis, as I piece together what I know about her narrative strategies and her life by drawing on her life revealed in the diaries and other sources. We know that many other women of her class and position were diarists, and so I can note the conventions to which Eliza both conforms to and those she rejected.

It is of the utmost importance that I provide extensive biographical information from the diaries. This information is not available elsewhere and it is essential to understand Eliza's development as a writer. I return repeatedly to the diaries to decipher these biographical details. Without this foundation, it is difficult to follow the trajectory of her life and how she shaped it as a diarist. For instance, there are two periods in her life when

Eliza stopped writing altogether. The first interruption corresponds with the period in which she raised small children. Second, there was a long period of ten years in which she did not write following the death of Peter Jones, when she endured an unhappy second marriage. Such information must be sought in other sources.

We can speculate about Eliza's reasons for writing or not writing by reviewing her representations of self in the diaries, by considering the conventions of journal writing at that time, and by carefully attending to other relevant historical documents. These forms of both textual and inter-textual reading inform my analysis of Eliza's diaries. I argue that in her diaries Eliza's persona evolves from that of a naïve Methodist missionary to a determined and purposeful recorder of her own life story, and that of her Mississauga and Mohawk family. Yet even in her earliest entries, Eliza's narrative does not easily conform to conventional notions of evangelical womanhood. In her diaries she is defiant when she questions parental objections to her marriage. She also bears witness to the slights and indignities borne by the Mississauga and Mohawk people she has come to live among, often at the hands of the very Church she represents. In these ways she uncomfortably negotiates both Indigenous and British worlds.

To some extent she resembles those women writers who were her contemporaries, such as Catherine Parr Traill, whose sensibility was

shaped both by her English roots and the Canadian landscape. But Eliza was much more sensitive to the Mississauga and Mohawk people who became her family. In many ways Eliza was exceptional in her openness to others and concern for their welfare.

The following passage from Eliza's diary epitomizes and points to the argument that anchors my thesis. It is essential to read Eliza's diaries not only as examples of missionary zeal but also as records of the respect for Mississauga and Muncey culture that underpin the diaries and authorized Eliza as writer and historian. In her most telling statement in all the diaries, Eliza wrote of the discrimination shown the Mississauga and Muncey attendees by white Methodists at a Methodist camp meeting:

> But I could not [but] notice with regret that not one of the Preachers excepting my Peter had in any particular way noticed the poor dear Indians . . . – how strange this is- how unaccountable, to see an interesting and goodly number of converted Indians who have travelled from a distance to mingle their prayers and praises with their white brethren, sitting in a group, listening with attention to the words of truth and that they should apparently excite no sympathy, call forth no words of encouragement and sentiments of Christian love . . . What can they think! They hear that the white Christians desire them salvation and yet they do not even tell them so. (Diary 6.9.34)

When I first read Eliza's diaries, I saw her self-construction as one of overt conformity to Methodist missionary principles. Reading feminist diary theory, discussed in Chapter 1, led me to a closer reading of the diaries and a shift in my interpretation: I now read Eliza's diaries as a record of her developing persona, which addressed the discrimination she witnessed and also experienced.

Sources

In addition to her unpublished diaries, Eliza wrote the *Memoir of Elizabeth Jones, a Little Indian Girl, Who Lived at River Credit Mission, Upper Canada"* (1838) published in London, England; and *Sketch of the Life of Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanagea* (1872) published in Montreal. The first concerns the life of her young Mississaugan niece, the latter the life of her father-in-law's ally and her kinsman through marriage. She also edited her husband's diaries, which were published in Toronto as *Life and Journals of Kah-ke-wa-quo-na-by (Rev. Peter Jones), Wesleyan Missionary* (1860). In London, England, she published Peter Jones' book, *History of the Ojibwey: With Especial Reference to Their Conversion to Christianity* (1861).

Peter Jones' published diaries and history were a particularly important source for understanding issues of gender prejudice and colonialism. Peter Jones' writing makes it very clear that he struggled with these issues, although Eliza rarely wrote openly about this. Clearly, even in her supposedly private diaries, she was guarded and protective of his reputation as a Christian minister and political leader. She is equally circumspect when writing about her adult children.

The other primary sources I studied from this period include the diaries and writings of white missionary women both from Upper Canada and abroad, which were widely disseminated through religious books. Eliza was a voracious

reader of these texts her entire life and they served as templates for her engagement in missionary work and influenced her styles of writing. I also worked with the published writings of white women who were either settlers or visitors to North America and who were Eliza's contemporaries, notably Catherine Parr Trail and Anna Jameson. Catherine Parr Trail argued that women settlers in Upper Canada would do well to emulate Ojibwa women, who had the skills to survive in a harsher world than did European gentlewomen. Jameson pushes the envelope further, suggesting Indigenous women enjoyed more equitable relations with men than did European women, and this clearly intrigued her. Together, their works illustrate the ways in which representations of Indigenous women became significant in articulating their understandings of themselves, the others against whom they measured themselves. They also offer a telling counterpoint to Eliza's own reflections on these subjects, which were born of a far more intimate engagement.

Equally significant were the Mississauga and white missionaries who lived at the Credit Mission. They include Mississauga missionaries such as John Sunday and Peter Jacobs. The information I cite from the Mississauga missionaries is found in Peter Jones' *Life and Journal*, articles in the *Christian Guardian* and Penny Petrone's *Native Literature in Canada*. Peter Jones' *Life and Journals* is my source for white Upper-Canadian missionaries including William Case and Egerton Ryerson. In addition, novels and religious tracts from the period gave me a sense of the period and place.

Finally I analyze Eliza's diaries in light of existing scholarship on the communities in which she lived. Donald B. Smith's biography of Peter Jones, *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Jones (Kahkewaquonaby) & the Mississauga Indians* remains the most significant published academic work to discuss Eliza at any length.

Chapter Overview

In Chapter 1 I explore how theorists of feminist life writing have analyzed the unpublished diary. I reject the idea that the diary form is of limited value both historically and for literary purposes; instead I utilize diary theory to read Eliza's construction of a persona and of a life in progress.

In Chapter 2 I start where the diaries (as distinct from the notebooks) began – with Eliza's narration of her meeting and struggle to marry Peter, a Mississauga man. The diaries of 1832 to 1833 focus on Eliza's resistance to parental power. They highlight Eliza's determination to marry Peter as her choice of a missionary husband. This remarkable defiance was bolstered in these two diaries when Eliza invoked her mother's death, when she wrote about her struggle with her ensuing family responsibilities, and when she documented her immersion in the writings, preaching and good works of evangelical spirituality. Eliza developed a strong persona in the diaries of her struggle against prejudice, ignorance and class structures, displaying in her writing a

private energy and determination while representing herself as weak and powerless.

In Chapter 3 I argue that the genre of missionary women's life writing inspired, guided and shaped Eliza's desire to be a missionary. This writing informed Eliza of how she could participate in this work. I explore the parallels between Eliza's life and that of Ann Judson, one of the first white women to perform missionary work in Burma. I argue that Eliza used the diary to go beyond existing models for missionary women, and to work out a new voice, a different persona for herself as a missionary wife in the new context of the Mississauga and Mohawk communities. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the changing place of missionary women and the way Eliza's diary and published writing countered prejudicial depictions of these peoples.

Chapter 4 chronicles how Eliza and Peter's marriage was contrary to dominant understanding of race, class and gender. The newspaper article comparing Peter to Othello and Eliza to Desdemona was one dominant discourse of the time. Their decision to marry was a bold critique, one for which they were ridiculed and mocked. They countered this racializing discourse in their actions and in their private and public writing. They both insisted that Mississauga and Mohawk people deserved respect, that their rights should be protected and that they offered significant contributions to practices within the dominant culture. Nonetheless they also used the language of savagery as missionaries to make these arguments. The chapter concludes with Eliza, from

her unique vantage point within the Mississauga community, presenting images of women which ran counter to the prevalent representations of the "squaw drudge". This chapter points to her unique and extraordinary experience with her Mississauga kinswomen, an experience I explore further in Chapter 5 where her diary persona shifts from missionary to community member.

In Chapter 5 I analyze Eliza's new more assertive persona that develops in her writing from her close links to her Mississauga kinswomen and family members. She demonstrates this persona in her determination to present these women with dignity in both her published and diary writing. Like the two important writers Catherine Parr Traill and Anna Jameson, Eliza also wrote with admiration and respect for Indigenous women. All three wrote of these women as those to be emulated. I argue that the qualities that each woman admired depended on the location from which they wrote. Eliza's was unique in that she wrote about the direct physical, emotional and medicinal support she received from the Mississauga women of her community during her first two pregnancies and the deaths of these children. She also wrote of Indigenous women beyond her community - those she worked with as a missionary. Eliza respected the high status Mohawk women, also kin through marriage, and praised them in her diary and also in her publications. Eliza's insistence that she experienced the true meaning of missionary service through reciprocity anchors this new voice in diary. The birth of their first living child provided an opportunity for culturally complementary naming. The strength of her marriage continued to cause alarm

as it transgressed boundaries of class, race and gender, and challenged Eurocentric understanding of civilization and order.

In Chapter 6, the final chapter, I show how Eliza recorded coping with Peter's death and meeting the challenges of widowhood. I look at the diary entries where Eliza revealed previously undisclosed aspects of her persona. As a widow, her financial struggles were evident, as she lost her house and became a boarder, most notably for a time with Egerton Ryerson. Eliza's two decades as a widow, as recorded in her diary, demonstrate her loss of autonomy, and highlight tensions within her social network and with her children. She concluded her diary persona by coming full circle as a woman who had lived a life of her choosing, despite hardship, ridicule and loss. The culmination of her persona in the diaries concludes with entries focused on her family in England and her life in Brantford underscored by a focus on reflection back to her life with Peter.

I demonstrate in the dissertation the importance for feminist scholars to read the unpublished diaries of women as narratives with themes and nuances that allow the reader to interpret the authors' shifting personae. Eliza Field, a white middle-class woman, married a Mississauga man and lived for almost sixty years in or in association with Mississauga and Mohawk communities. I read her diary as a record of an exceptionally difficult and challenging life. She bore seven children, was widowed when the surviving children were young, and entered an unhappy second marriage. I also read her diary as it exemplified her support of Mississauga and Mohawk people through education and land

ownership. Most importantly Eliza wrote of the Ojibwa and Mohawk as historically significant. She did so first in her diaries and then in her publications which demonstrated her pivotal role as a recorder of Indigenous history – a history that was also her own.

Chapter 1 Eliza's Diaries – Reading Ordinary Women's Diaries

Writing in *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, Woolf mused on the possibilities inherent in diary writing:

> Moreover, there looms ahead of me the shadow of some kind of form which a diary might attain to. . . What sort of diary should I like mine to be? Something loose knit, & yet not slovenly, so elastic that it will embrace anything, solemn, slight or beautiful that comes into my mind. I should like it to resemble some deep old desk, or capacious hold-all, in which one flings a mass of odds and ends without looking them through . . . the main requisite . . . is not to play the part of censor, but to write as the mood comes up or of anything whatever . . . the advantage of the method is that it sweeps up accidentally several stray matters which I should exclude if hesitated, but which are the diamonds of the dust heap. (266)

Woolf looked for detail in her diary to inform her published writing. She was a typical diarist in that, as the first or primary audience of her text, she found this detail of utmost significance. As the diarist who re-read her text, Woolf notes that " . . . the main requisite . . . is not to play the part of censor" (266). This notion of the diary as a record of events as they occur recurs frequently in the analytic debates about the diary form. Nonetheless Eliza's practices of crossing out entries and cutting out pages in her diaries also point to the diarist as editor. It is this tension between analyzing Eliza's diary as a life in progress and a managed persona that I seek to interpret through feminist diary critical theory.

How do we read the life writing documents of women who transgress the model of appropriate female selfhood and through writing claim they have a voice worth attending to? Feminist life writing theory has focused primarily on biography and autobiography. I will discuss, instead, the diary as a literary form,

and Eliza as a writer. In this chapter I reject the argument that the diary form is of limited value both historically and for literary purposes and instead utilize feminist diary theory to read Eliza's construction of a persona, both consciously and not. The diary form is creative in its ability not to entrench positions such as life versus art or public versus private, but rather to blur, to blend and to build links between literary genres, literature and history, as well as the personal and public aspirations of the women diary writers themselves.

Gender and Genre

Feminist studies of women's life writing offered me challenging strategies for reading Eliza's diaries. The linking of gender and genre has been troubled and transformed by the concern that in privileging the centre as female, differences of race, class, ethnicity and sexuality, or other axes of difference, can be obscured and erased (S. Smith 1992). It is not enough, then, when discussing strategies of representation within structures of domination to reflect only on gender especially when the writing subject, in this case Eliza Jones, was a white woman married to a Mississauga man writing in the colonial context of Upper Canada.

Eliza's diary detailed how she participated in the project of creating settled farmers out of Mississauga hunters and fishers. She also developed, in her diary and published writing, her resistance to dominant notions of the inhumanity of the

Mississauga people. As Suzanne Chester argues, along with many others, gender problematizes the relationship of the colonizer to the colonized and thus points us to the intersection of gender and colonialism in the colonial writing subject (1992). Sidonie Smith offers a fruitful strategy for exploring this intersection in her evaluation of the representation of African women in the writings of Isak Dinesen and Beryle Markham. Smith argues for the complicit participation of these white women writers in colonialist practices, while simultaneously engaging in very significant contestatory practices (1992).

Eliza's diaries, however, suggest that her role was far more complex. Categories, Trinh Minh-ha suggests, "always leak" and thus cannot account for differences either within or from non-hegemonic identities (1989). Margo Culley cites Francoise Lionnet's concept of "metissage", which emphasizes similarities while simultaneously acknowledging difference (*What a Piece* 413). Shirley Neuman argues that selves are not only constructed by differences, but are also "capable of choosing, inscribing, and making a difference" (225). It is this ability to act, despite transgressing class, race and gender boundaries, which made Eliza's life, and her record of it, compelling.

The Diary Form: Detailed and Daily

I have found the work of Margo Culley, Harriet Blodgett, Rebecca Hogan and Cynthia Huff most useful in shaping my practice of reading Eliza's diaries as

layered narratives. These diary theorists concur that a key feature of diaries is their seemingly unstructured nature. Eliza's diaries often consist more of detailed unconnected entries than of logically-ordered texts. Feminist diary theory outlines features I had struggled with while reading Eliza's diaries and points to a reading that asks us to be attuned to repetitive details.

Discrete, separate entries, which are nonetheless cumulative, form a unique feature of diaries: "each entry an addition to the flow of days" (Hogan 100). Harriet Blodgett argued that the accumulation of individual days in a diary forms a coherent entity, one filled with interwoven themes and sequences (*Capacious Hold-All* 10). Instead of focusing on coherence, however, I prefer Hogan's emphasis on the ability of the diary form to cope with dailiness and lack of closure: "The text is by its very nature open-ended, unfinished and incomplete, in some cases ending only with the death of the writer" (100). Hogan quoted Felicity Nussbaum who argued that the diary is a form most congenial to capturing the multilayered, contradictory nature of self and reality.

I initially found it very easy to misinterpret fragmentary entries. While Eliza's diaries of courtship and early marriage, from 1832 to 1834, consisted of daily entries, she was silent throughout the 1840s. Her only entry was on Aug 4, 1841, about their move to the Munceytown Mission, near London when Eliza arrived at the mission with a toddler and baby. During the 1840s she had two more babies at Munceytown. Munceytown was a much more remote mission than the Credit; the majority of the one thousand member community did not

speak English. Eliza raised four children under the age of ten at this mission station. Eliza did not keep a diary of the hardship she endured, nor of childrearing.

Rebecca Hogan specifically formulates a "tentative feminine aesthetic of the diary" to explore the features that make diary writing a preferred form of life writing for many women. I was particularly interested in the sheer detail that forms the basis of a typical diary (95). Naomi Schor analyzes the way in which the idea of detail came to be feminized in a negative manner in the West: "the detail is gendered and doubly gendered as feminine" (11). By this means she argues that it is not merely the concentration of details in diaries, which is feminized, but also the diarist's practice of treating them all impartially that is particularly interesting. The literary canon's rejection of the detail of the diary suggests that allowing ourselves to be inundated by the detail of a scene or story will lead to a loss of distance, hierarchy, and subordination: "Details threaten orders based on dominance; they get too close; we become immersed" (11).

Rebecca Hogan argues that this emphasis on "feminine" detail suggests that the potential for insight into diary writing can be achieved through the ideas of French theorists such as Helene Cixous, Luce Irigaray, and Julia Kristeva, whose concept of "l'ecriture feminine" explored the way immersion and emphasis on detail can be seen as potentially subversive to the structures, syntax and logic of masculine language. Ann Rosalind Jones' description of feminine writing emphasizes inclusivity and a cumulative structure, as opposed to a linear

structure - which again are all features that are characteristic of diaries (88). Suzanne L. Bunkers and Cynthia A. Huff are also interested in the details of diary texts. In their edited collection, *Inscribing the Daily*, they chose not to reclaim the word "fragmentary" but rather to make a case that "dailiness" is the feature of women's lives that is reflected in the practice of diary keeping (19). I found their theoretical model very useful in analyzing Eliza's diaries. They argue that the "narrative structure of repetition within the cycle of 'dailiness' in women's diaries invites us to discover patterns that do not follow a progressive timeline and that do not necessarily culminate in the creation of selfhood through accruing tests of individual acts" (19). Women's diary-keeping reflects a recurring cycle of dailiness. This insight also reinforced Elizabeth Hampsten's argument for the horizontal inclusion in women's diaries of the ordinary along with the amazing "apparently without selection or perspective" (71). An emphasis on dailiness in women's diaries also reflects the inclusiveness of diaries, in that small details are treated at the same length as large events.

While I do not wish to equate dailiness with an essentialized female experience, this insight helped me develop strategies that can be employed to read diaries differently. Felicity A. Nussbaum, in assessing eighteenth-century women's autobiographical practices, argues that diary narratives need not be resolved into coherent wholes (19). What is important is the construction of the narrator's experience, one which does not always lead to a coherent female self.

The fact that dailiness is one of the key features in Eliza's diaries required that I re-evaluate my own preconceived ideas of narrative structure within life writing. Elizabeth Hampsten stresses that readers of women's diaries should regard the sheer volume of entries as clues to women's strategies for making their voices heard: "private writings of women ask of us, if we wish to read them knowingly, a special inventive patience" (70). Eliza's choice not to publish her own diary but instead to publish that of her husband is clearly within the tradition of women's literary absence. One of the roles the unpublished diary played for Eliza was that of silent companion, one she told her story to when she was alone. Consider the two periods when she wrote extensively - the first while waiting for Peter in England in her late twenties and the second in widowhood in Brantford through her sixties and seventies. In the former, her youthful evangelical Christian persona reflected the uncertainty of her new life – "how I long to do something for God, but a few feeble desires will avail nothing" (Diary 15.6.32). In the latter, the widowed Eliza wrote a more candid reflection on solitude "as my lot is now through painful circumstance so lonely, so different to happy former days" (Diary 24.4.69).

Marlene Kadar argues that a feminist model of life writing is necessary to correct former misreadings of women's writings (*Coming to Terms* 157). One of the reasons women took to life writing, Marlene Kadar argues, is that they have not always written or spoken in ways that accord with established standards of literary codification (157). In particular, she notes the ways in which women's

texts have been misread. All too frequently, the metaphors that women have employed in their texts have been seen to constitute narratives which are too hysterical, too personal and too emotional. Kadar paraphrased Carolyn Heilbrun's concern that "these misreadings have reflected then a great loss for us, an unwanted and unwarranted ignorance of our fullest culture, and an unnecessary censoring of our reading experience" (157).

Once again it is instructive to observe the extent to which autobiographical criticism and feminist literary criticism do not contribute readily to the analysis of diaries in particular because they do not give us tools for understanding the relationship between separate entries and underlying narrative structures. Suzanne Bunkers and Cynthia Huff stress Elizabeth Hampsten's argument that traditional scholarship has not given us the tools to read the diaries of women, or enabled us to interpret their voices (11). To retrieve and read women's private writings, Hampsten asks scholars to reconsider strategies of interpretation. We must interpret what is not written as well as what is, and, rather than dismiss repetitions, value them especially. "'Nothing happened' asks that we wonder what, in the context of a particular woman's stream of days, she means by "something happening"' (11).

Keeping diaries, in a patriarchal culture that discourages women from having a public voice, illuminates, in a very particular way, the contradictions of writing in such a culture. That the vast majority of diaries of white women in the nineteenth century were not published suggests that diary writing may have

enabled a freedom of expression inhibited elsewhere, while still retaining its clandestine character. Judy Simons argued that in the buried practice of female diary-keeping in Western culture many such documents failed to survive. Women often narrated lives as secret tales of difficulties endured in silence. Judy Simons describes the diary of Samuel Pepys' wife as "a record of female suffering, the diary used as a vital confidante, a means of psychological release, and a substitute for oral expression" (253). While Pepys found his wife's diary threatening enough for him to destroy, Eliza's diaries, like those of Pepys' wife, can also be seen to encompass the qualities of suffering, release, and substitution for a public voice. That so many women's diaries remain unpublished suggests, perhaps, the "subversive potential of a woman's diary in a patriarchal world, and the complex interconnections between text, gender and power relations" (Simons 252).

The Diary: for Private or for Public Consumption

One reason diaries have received little scholarly attention derives from the misconception that diary writing consists of creating private texts whose sole audience is the diarist herself. Diary theorists debate whether the diary form developed during the nineteenth century from more public to more private texts, or whether the degree of privacy is more a feature of the status of the author as an amateur or a professional writer. While this debate is central to diary criticism,

this emphasis on privacy has served to hinder the application of literary analysis to texts which instead are frequently characterized as having questionable literary merit.

Bloom argues that in the "truly private diary" the diarist does not attempt to shape or control the authorial persona, rather it "emerges unwittingly" from the text (27). As Bloom suggests, this persona of competence is not overtly constructed, so that a reader is able to infer it despite the consciously constructed image of self doubt. As will be argued in Chapter 2, Eliza represented herself as an ideal evangelical Christian, submissive to the will of God and her father, while she also recorded entries, albeit less frequently, that demonstrated a persona that is blunt and forthright in her resistance to serious obstacles and impediments to the choice she has made to marry Peter: "but thanks be to God I am what I am" (Diary 1.6.33).

Sidonie Smith argues that by the early nineteenth century, a tradition of men's spiritual autobiographies was well in place. The apparently uneventful lives of middle-class men, who seemed in no way special, appealed to the reading public, and a proliferation of autobiographies of published men ensued (S. Smith *Invented Lives* 252). In the evangelical Protestant tradition, male personal testimony was viewed as serving a spiritual function akin to the ritualized confession of Catholic tradition. Eliza read this literature, noting on the back of her Notebook of 1828 a list of books read "since 1st of September 1828,"

including *The Life of Henry Martyn*, *The Life of John Cook*, *The Life of Charles of Bala*, *The First Missionary Voyage*.

The majority of white, middle-class women of this time, however, remained publicly silent about their lives. While most middle-class white men also did not publish diaries, those that did created templates for particular ways of living and writing. Among those women's lives that were published were the accounts of missionary wives. Their experiences were marginal to the model of the universal and contained self being cultivated in this literature of men's spiritual autobiography. Sidonie Smith argues that white middle-class women dealt with a lack of public voice by choosing other languages of self-writing: "'amateur' letters, diaries and journals and biography" (1998 22). These were private, family-oriented forms of literary activity for women that were permitted as long as they remained unpublished: "their stories remain private, their storytelling culturally muted, albeit persistent" (*A Poetics* 22). Eliza kept her diaries in this manner, only over time perhaps seeing the potential for publication.

I believe it is important for the contemporary scholar to temporarily suspend the notion of the diary as a locked, secret and solely introspective form of writing. The idea of the diary, whose only audience is the self, is a very specific class-based, raced, and gendered phenomenon in the history of diary writing. The most pervasive and limiting effect of this universalizing of the diary as an exclusively private text is the implication it has for the manner in which we read all diaries. This interpretation of diaries as private has contributed to the

idea that diary writers are not serious writers, and that their work is not worthy of study or analysis. This idea necessitates an emphasis on the writing of diaries as the work of writers, even if they did not write in any other literary form, or publish in their lifetime.

Diary theorists contrast the late eighteenth-century bare-bones diary excerpt with the contemporary diary of intense introspection. Lynn Bloom juxtaposed two diaries, separated in time by one hundred and fifty years, to demonstrate, instead, their startling similarity. I include her two excerpts, as the effect is quite striking. The first excerpt is a fairly typical entry from the diary of the midwife Martha Ballard, written on October 5, 1789:

> A rainy day. I combd 7 lb of flax for myself & 4 for Cyrus. Mr. Ballard went to Captain Coxes. Hannah is at Mr Hamlins. Polly Savage here. drank Tea. Mr. Savage returned Johathans hors which he rode to Green. I am informed there was a man Drownd in Joes Eddy who Came passage from Boston with Captain Howard (Ulrich 103)

Bloom stresses the similarity of this entry in terms of form, structure and content to a typical entry from the 1949 diary of an anonymous Michigan farm wife:

> Friday February 4, 1949 - 3 eggs Little snow fell. I sent letters to Norali and Mrs. Smith. Got one from Betty. I did my ironing, While Roy and Jack went to the sale. Roy bought another calf there at 8:30 C and C came. Bought the grocery's $2.66. They stayed until mid-day. Had a nice evening, had a lunch. Now Jack went to bed. I'm going soon. (26)

Bloom showed that this twentieth-century diarist wrote of the same themes as Martha Ballard, noting, as was typical of eighteenth and nineteenth-century diaries: "income (3 eggs), expenditures ($2.66 for groceries), the weather, correspondence, visits, (everything largely uninterpreted except for such

comments as 'had a nice evening" (26). The work of the men in each diary was prominent; the relationships between women are significant. Martha Ballard, in 1789, focused on the travel of women and their visiting. The Michigan Farm wife, in 1949, recorded letter writing between women. Underlying the conventional topics of men's work was the importance of female relationships. Theoretical emphasis on dailiness and relationships has been critical to my reading of Eliza's diaries and understanding of their focus and the ways larger historical events were very much in the background.

Margo Culley notes that one of women's "duties" as a wife was to become the family and community historian (*I Look at Me,* 18). This defined the purpose and scope of many unpublished diaries. Like most women who kept diaries in this period, Eliza began writing in earnest during her courtship, no doubt expecting that this was a role she should fulfill. After their engagement in February 1832, and Peter's return to Upper Canada, Eliza noted: "wrote out the account of my beloved Peter's arrival in his native land for the [...] paper" (Diary 11.8.32). Thus, Eliza confidently began her role as chronicler of Peter's life and work, even before her father's approval of her engagement, and before her marriage.

Culley notes that by the turn of the nineteenth century women diarists wrote primarily as family and community historians with a semi-public purpose, to be read by intimates or the larger community whose experiences they chronicle (*I Look At Me* 18). She fails to note, I would add, that these writers include only

women like Eliza, whose class, race and social position enabled them to become literate, and who had some leisure time, no matter how short, in which to write.

Margo Culley argues that many diaries of this time period were precipitated by dislocation such as immigration (*I Look at Me*, 18). This was the case for Eliza as she began keeping her diaries in earnest prior to and following her marriage and settlement in Canada. Diaries of transition such as those kept by Eliza, provide a picture of family and community life increasingly absent from the later diary form. In particular, Culley notes, it is the relationships among women in the community as they engage in the rituals of mutual care during childbirth, illness and death that most stand out in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century diaries she studied (*I Look at Me* 18). I discuss in detail in Chapter 5 how Eliza's diaries chronicle the support she received from her Mississauga and Mohawk kinswomen during her pregnancies..

Unpublished diaries at this time follow a fairly conventional form. They consist primarily of records of births and deaths, illnesses, receipts and expenditures, the weather, and visits of family and friends. Eliza's diaries fit Margo Culley's description of a typical diary perfectly: "a chronicle of who visited, who was ill, who was born, and who died, with events traditionally considered 'historical' . . . very much in the background" (*I Look at Me*, 18). Without research into the context of Eliza's life in England and Upper Canada, I would have struggled to interpret her diary which was focused on family and good

works with little reference to the wider Upper Canadian or Mississauga and Mohawk communities.

Truly private diaries are commonly so terse, as Bloom has argued, that they appear to be coded, so that no reader outside the author's immediate household, extended family or community can understand them without extra-textual information. Entries are short, and neither people nor places are identified; events are not analyzed. Although a woman such as Eliza may have seen her role as a family and community historian, her mostly tersely written diary entries nevertheless fit Bloom's thesis that her diaries reflect the primary purpose of writing as an aide-memoire; the diaries are written primarily for herself, as opposed to those written by the professional women writer, beginning in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-century, which are always aimed at a much larger audience. The following diary entry, out of thousands, offers an example of Eliza writing in the coded (to the outside reader) manner noted by Bloom:

> Spent morning with Mary and the children after dinner walked to K.H. with John, sat 2 hours with Mr.Gush remained at the KH where I propose spending a week or ten days – worked a little in the evening and then retired and read. E.D. told me a tale of Mr. Barrett . . . (Diary 2.3.33).

Harriet Blodgett argues that a unique feature of diaries is that they are not revised with the goal of creating a more polished manuscript. Blodgett posits that a diarist tries to remain true to recording her life in process, a practice that is in direct opposition to the goal of an autobiographer, who shapes a narrative of herself retrospectively (*Preserving the Moment* 156). To illustrate this crucial

distinction, Blodgett argues that diarists record the moment as it happened and do not reshape it later. A diarist's motivation for keeping such a record is to record their experience as it occurred in the moment (168). Eliza, as a typical diarist, also did not re-write her entries. She did add diary entries to older volumes, rather than editing them into current texts. And as I stated earlier she also crossed out and even cut out sections.

My experience of reading Eliza's diaries suggests that women's diaries can make rich and rewarding reading. They require the reader to work hard to uncover and grapple with the complexity of their form, and with their textual meanings. Perhaps when the audience envisioned is primarily the self, less effort goes into creating an overt narrative structure. The writer instead is free to creatively explore the threads of her recurring themes. The topic of pregnancy, which Eliza found difficult to record, underlay two years of diary writing, and it took frequent re-reading on my part to grasp just how this experience had infused her entries. The depth and dimension is there; how we read unpublished diaries, or have misread them, is the more pertinent question (Kadar, "Afterword" *Ruby's Letters* 106).

Lynn Bloom argues that diaries become literature when they have coherent narrative structure, carefully constructed characters, and textual transformation through a series of revisions. I believe this more accurately describes diaries reshaped as autobiography, which is a different form of life writing than the diary. Jane Gallop makes the distinction in "Anne LeClerc Writing

a Letter, With Vermeer": "Women write letters - personal, intimate, in relation; men write books - universal, public, in general circulation" (143). Hogan notes that if we were to substitute diaries for letters and autobiographies for books we would capture the relative valuation of the two types of life-writing in contemporary literary criticism (96).

Harriet Blodgett speaks of the pleasure of reading the first-person diary account: "This is an actual life in process, subject to all the vagaries of chance; it cannot and will not be tied up, aesthetically or otherwise, at the novelist's choice" (*Preserving the Moment* 156). This comes in part, as Blodgett notes, from the surprise and suspense inherent in diaries, in that peculiar quality of reality diaries afford. I was gripped by Eliza's account of her life, despite my familiarity with her life story. I treasured the fleeting glimpses into her courtship with Peter as she worried, as anyone separated from their lover might do, that perhaps Peter "loved her less" (Diary 32/33). She wrote with joy of her new home and of their missionary work at the Credit Mission: "My heart was full, too big for utterance I felt that now I had entered the scene of my future labours" (Diary 20.9.33). When arriving at the mission in Munceytown, eight years later, her fortitude was no longer as resolute "Tired and sick of travel we at length reached the mission house – bare walls and floors, not one article of furniture, my spirits and strength so completely gone I sat down on a chest and burst into tears" (Diary 4.8.41). As Blodgett notes, diaries give us a unique insight, as they do not re-write or re-invent their record. For me, the drama was palpable and unpredictable.

Rebecca Hogan reminds us that the diary served many purposes for the writer. However, "if we think about the diary in terms of the reader, we can see that it has a wide range of audiences on a continuum from a confidante for the private self to the wider audience of a published diary" (96). This concept of a continuum from private, unpublished manuscript diaries to those edited for publication more accurately captures my reading of Eliza's diary than a distinction between purely private, and purely public. While a nineteenth-century woman may have begun a diary as a historical record of family and community, the process of writing could evolve into a process of reflection and self-discovery, and even possibly to thoughts of publication during, or after, her life (Hogan 97).

The literature that Eliza Jones most frequently mentions having read, and that she wrote about in her diaries, is the published diaries, letters and autobiographies of white women who participated with their husbands in missionary work. That these women's life writing had been published may have suggested to Eliza that her diaries might also be read by an audience larger than that of her family, friends and co-workers. Eliza wrote and published the biographies of her sister-in-law Christiana Brant, of her distant relative by marriage Joseph Brant, and of her husband, Peter Jones. This work suggested that Eliza was convinced that her Mississauga and Mohawk' family was of interest to a wider audience. In particular, her role in encouraging Peter Jones to keep diaries, and her publication of them after his death, suggested that she might have conceived of a future audience for her own diaries. Furthermore, her

practice of crossing out sections of diary entries, some legible, others not, indicated concern about a possible future audience. As a young woman, Eliza Jones may not have imagined an external readership for her diaries. Over time, perhaps, she began to envision their significance not only within the Methodist community, but even possibly in the history of Upper Canada.

In addition to her argument that women diarists consider a continuum of audience from private to public, Hogan also suggests that women's diaries can often be subdivided into a number of genres (97). These include historical records, spiritual searches, search for self, the epistolary diary and pure description such as nature or travel diaries. Most importantly, she argues that most diaries cross a number of genres. Eliza's diaries include elements of the majority of these genres – particularly the spiritual quest, historical record and travel diaries. Her diaries are first and foremost diaries of family, in its broadest sense: Ojibwa and Mohawk, her primary family, as well as her extended family in England including her younger half siblings who, like her Mississauga wards Catherine and Elizabeth, were substitute children until her own were born.

Diaries consist of separate, unconnected thoughts, while unfolding also as a continuum. May Sarton maintains that the diary simultaneously served as "a receptacle into which to pour vivid momentary insights" as well as "a way of ordering day-to-day experience (as opposed to Maslow's 'peak experiences'") (104). A diary therefore provides a sense of continuity through the even, horizontal flow of events, as well as creating a sense of discrete entries, related

but without the use of connecting links. Women's diaries are neither chaotic nor formless, nor do they embody coherent narrative structures. Whereas a public/private blurring, a mixing of genres, and the tension between separate entries held together by a cumulative structure all cross boundaries that challenge more rigid ideas of literary form, the features of immersion, inclusion and mutuality all counter norms of the stereotypical separate, universal and independent hero of the autobiography.

Virginia Woolf exemplified the kind of diarist who used the diary form as a tool in her published writing. Woolf felt the diary created a feeling of immersion for the reader. Harriet Blodgett suggests that this flows from the sense of immediacy the reader experiences, of being involved in a life in progress (*Preserving the Moment* 156). Elizabeth Hampsten argues, in her study of working women's diaries, that this immersion into the horizontal, non-hierarchical flow of events and details is a striking feature of the diary form. To illustrate this point, Hampsten quotes Grace DeCou's diary, in which the death of her husband, T. H., occurs without special emphasis between the weather, accidents, and visitors to see her new stove:

> May 2, 1935, Sunday. quite nice. T.H. is no better, just as crazy as ever broke a windowpane with rocking chair. Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Alexander called, Miss Stanzel came to see my new stove. T.H. passed away this evening at 8 PM (70).

Hampsten concluded, "So much for T. H.". Hampsten is not interested in the historical data this diary revealed of Grace DeCou's life – but in her way of seeing them, " . . . so apparently without selection or perspective" (Qtd in Hogan

102). This point strongly echoed Virginia Woolf's metaphor of the diary as an old desk in which "one flings a mass of odds and ends without looking them through" (103). I experienced immersion into Eliza's diaries – as though reading through a new lens - through her frequent entries that enabled a larger picture to slowly emerge.

Rebecca Hogan argues that this lack of selectivity of detail, illustrated by the excerpt from DeCou's diary, suggests another key feature of diaries: their inclusiveness. Diaries often treat small details at the same length as big events, a point Lynn Bloom notes as a feature of the untutored writer who misses the bigger picture by being mired in the smaller one. Rebecca Hogan counters, "Diaries are not so much inclusive because they contain everything from a given day, as they are inclusive in the sense that they do not privilege "amazing" over "ordinary" events, in terms of scope, space, or selection." (103). Diaries are not only inclusive in terms of their content, but also in terms of their form.

As Virginia Woolf noted, one benefit from including everything that comes to mind in a diary is that out of this apparent chaos, significance may emerge. This insight enabled me to better interpret entries in Eliza's diary such as the following: "Read a letter from George [her son] commenced sofa cushion praise the Lord my dear son has a situation" (Diary 20.5.79). One could misread this entry to imply Eliza was not concerned with George's employment status - on the contrary Eliza's concern for George's lack of work is a prominent theme in her diaries.

And lastly, Hogan argues that women's diaries are always focused on relationships - between the diarist as writer and diarist as reader, between text and experience and between art and life (100). Rachel DuPlessis states that texts such as diaries embody "a structural expression of mutuality . . . expressing the porousness and nonhierarchic stances of intimate conversation" (131). Virginia Woolf notes that the diary acts as a close friend whose patience is not tried by the "mass of odds and ends" that make up a life (266). Perhaps the best known example of the diary as friend is that of Anne Frank, in which each entry is addressed to her imaginary reader "Dear Kitty". Marlene Kadar notes that Anne views Kitty as a confidante, one who, Frank wrote, will be "a great support and comfort to her" (*Afterward* 176). Eliza wrote in her diaries most often when she was alone, whether engaged or widowed, an indication of the relationship between herself and her text, her public silence and her need for expression that imbued her aspirations as an author and historian.

This chapter explains how I observe Eliza's changing persona in her diaries, as well as in her public writing. Her persona was shaped through the repetition of devotion and good works, but also by her resistance to the expected roles and subordination of women of her class and race. I have argued in favour of the historical usefulness and literary value of diaries. I do not feel it is necessary to rescue diaries as a form of literature rather than a disjointed record of historical data, nor to argue that diaries exhibit cohesive narratives with thematic purpose and distinctive imagery. Rather, I have sought to show that it is

more important to explore the specific features of women's diaries to help uncover a tradition of women's writing that is not necessarily concerned with publication, and that is not preoccupied with whether diaries constitute great literature (a highly problematic idea for the writing of women). I do not wish to diminish a diary's potential historical value, nor over-emphasize that value to the exclusion of other modes of interpretation

I have been particularly influenced by modern feminist readings of the unpublished writing of women. When I first read Eliza's diaries, I felt distant from her writing. She was an enigma. I re-read Eliza's diary as the work of a diary-writer. I learned not to read for an overarching structure; instead I became aware of her persona that emerged through the discrete, yet cumulative entries. Diaries such as Eliza's are fragmented, open-ended and without closure, and yet they are also clear and forthright. Increasingly Eliza's diary reflected Bloom's theory that diary writing can develop from a private text to the idea of a published work. Thus Eliza developed a voice in her diary that informed her public writing; she wrote as a community historian, one who argued for the history of Indigenous people in Upper Canada as complex, rich and important.

Chapter 2: Notebooks and Diaries: "This Friend of My Choice My Love"'1823-1833

On Valentine's Day, February 14, 1832, Eliza wrote the following description of Peter's marriage proposal her diary, an entry she crossed over, but one that was still legible:

> K[ahkewahkwanoby] called this morning, I was surprised and somewhat agitated . . . a letter was put into my hand, it was undecided but it left me to expect another in a few days. I still felt satisfied that I had acted with conscience dictated the previous day – with a trembling heart I walked to Aunt Peachey's leaving mama and K together, found on my return they had had much conversation, anxiety and suspense made me feel the worth of prayer . . . (Diary 2.14.32).

It was nine years since Eliza had started recording in notebooks and diaries. In 1829 she had moved from writing in notebooks as she did in 1823 and 1828 to keeping a diary. Yet she appears to have stopped keeping a diary between then and 1832 when she began again. This time her diary discussed her courtship with Peter which had begun in 1831, their engagement and the opposition to their marriage. This chapter explores these early diaries and the changing ways that Eliza used her writing to map out her future, voice her suffering, console herself and contest the resistance to her marriage. It begins by looking at the early notebooks and diaries as expressions of her evangelicalism and life as a young woman in her early twenties. The second section zeroes in on the 1832 diary and how Eliza used it to express her love for Peter, her hopes and desires, and as consolation in the face of her father's repeated refusal to let her marry Peter. The third section explores her diary writing as resistance to her father's power.

The final sections of the chapter turn to what she was giving up in seeking marriage: spinsterhood and her rich connections with family members and female friends.

Diary Writing Inspired by Love and Loss

Eliza began to write of her love for Peter in her first diary of 1832. Five days earlier her step-mother had given birth to her brother Edmund leading Eliza to recall her mother's death, also in childbirth, twelve years earlier. The following diary entry is unusual both in its extended length and its tone of introspection.

> This day twelve years my much loved mother was consigned to her long home, Oh never, never so long as memory lasts will the emotions caused by the scenes and circumstances of that day be effaced from my memory, I wanted support and comfort, but I knew not the blessings of experimental religion, I felt sad agonized with grief - an Infant left for wretched me to bring up, and five brothers and sisters who had known all the tenderness of a pious Mother's care now looking to me as their direction. (Diary 1.24.32)

Peter Jones' love, the birth of her last half-sibling and her mother's death all coalesced in this entry marking Eliza's mourning for her past and her hope for the future.

Two months later Eliza recorded that she was re-reading the life of a female missionary, Mrs. Newell, which she had first read as a "school girl 12 years ago", when her mother died, "wishing I was like her":

> In reading Mrs Newell's Memoirs I am struck with the similarity to my own feelings particularly on the subject of missions, and it is pleasing to me to find many passages marked it reminds me, that when more

> than twelve years ago a school girl I first read this book my feelings on the subject of missions were the same in kind as they are now. Yes I well remember . . . wishing I was like her, often has the tear fallen on the page, and the inward sigh known only to God.
> (Diary 3.2.32)

Eliza wrote "that I might some day tread in her [Mrs Newell's] footsteps and may I not indulge the hope that mean and unworthy as I am My God will accept the desire and open a way for me to be useful in a distant land" (Diary 3.2.32). Eliza is specific that her mother's death encouraged her early desire to be a missionary. Reading the life of Mrs. Newell when she was younger had helped give shape to her aspirations and she turned to the autobiography again after her meeting with Peter.

Elizabeth Hampsten argues, "rather than dismiss repetitions [in women's diaries], [we should] value them especially" (Qtd Bunkers and Huff *Introduction* 253) Eliza wrote of her courtship with Peter Jones at the same time as she emphasized her mother's death, the first major turning point in her life, and one she had not written of before: "12 years flown rapidly away", "12 years since that memorable day", "this day twelve years", "12 years ago" (Diary 16.1.32: 12.2.32; 1.3.32). This refrain punctuated the diary of 1832. It signaled Eliza's persona in her early diaries as a survivor of her mother's death. This repetition also emphasized that her life had been put on hold with the responsibility of raising her siblings. Her writing following her courtship with Peter emerged out of duty and death.

In this diary Eliza began to tell the daily story of her courtship, and engagement to Peter. For the first time, Eliza wrote daily entries that form the separate yet cumulative narrative, a phenomenon noted by Harriet Blodgett as key to the diary form (*Capacious Hold-All* 10). In this phase of the courtship Eliza wrote in the diary of 1832,

> Papa drove K[ahkewaquonaby] and J down to Norwood
> after tea found dear Mama very comfortable - PJ thought
> the dear babe a fine boy and said he should indeed
> be proud to have such a child he sweetly engaged in prayer
> at family worship (Diary 30.1.32)

Eliza recorded this idyllic diary entry of Peter embraced by her family, admiring the baby, recalling her mother's death and creating a new narrative of a life as a prospective wife and missionary.

Evangelical Christianity

Eliza Field embraced evangelical Christianity after her mother died in 1820. Conversion inspired Eliza's writing, beginning with her notebooks of 1823 and 1828 and her first diary of 1829. Bradley has argued that the doctrine of the natural depravity of man, the importance of the conversion of the sinner, and the need to strive for behavior nearer to Christian perfection represents "virtually the sum total of the theology of early nineteenth-century Evangelicalism" (21, 22). Evangelical Christianity was less a theological system, and more a way of leading one's life consistent with this belief system.

Reading, writing and teaching comprised significant activities in the practice of devotional Christianity. Women in Eliza's position came to writing not through a sense of personal authority but rather as a dutiful and submissive act focused on leading a life more in keeping with the values of evangelical Christianity. Eliza's notebooks of 1823 and 1828 and her diary of 1829 became, among other things, personal guide books for daily living, influenced by the writings of model Christian women.

Evangelical Christians were encouraged to keep diaries to record their activities and to serve as a confessional (Bradley 23). While this is in keeping with the diary form, as I discussed in Chapter 1, the evangelical Christian diary served the specific purpose of accounting for the soul, and finding oneself lacking. This soul searching lead to painful reproach and self-castigation. Eliza's diary is a perfect model. As a young woman she wrote of her failure as a Sunday school teacher, a caregiver, a member of her congregation and a potential missionary. In typical diarist fashion she wrote: "I am but a slothful and unfaithful servant" (Diary 12.7.32). But Eliza's early writing, like all diary writing, also suggested that she valued her experience, and began to develop a voice as a chronicler of her own experience.

Interestingly, two Notebooks, kept in 1828 when Eliza was twenty-four and her brother Samuel eighteen, set forth a reading program in which they recorded extracts from books, with each sibling adding an entry on an alternate day. This suggested they were following the current practice of establishing a reading plan.

Fueled in part by the invention of an inexpensive printing press in the late 1820s, evangelical Christians contributed to the development of a mass reading audience that actively participated in such endeavours (Jacobs Brumberg 173). From the recorded extracts in her notebook it is evident that Eliza primarily read religious biography and the Bible as well as an assortment of "improving" literature. Her excerpts focused on friendship, moral character and education (Notebook 1828 1) Samuel's reading, in contrast, focused on geography, science and history (Notebook 1828 2).

Eliza's list of reading topics pointed to the growing participation of women in evangelical Christianity. This list is in keeping with the development of the white, middle-class female audience for religious literature. Perhaps Samuel's textual extracts, including writings about South and North America - their inhabitants, geographic features and early explorers - inspired an interest in Eliza as well. This evidence of a joint learning partnership suggests an educational equality that was far from their actual experiences. Significantly, while Sam pursued his education at Oxford, Eliza, following her childhood boarding school experience, was educated by drawing, history and language tutors in the home.

Eliza's entries record a lively inquiry into the missionizing experience and into the religions of other cultures. She demonstrated an interest in the worship of nature by the Indigenous peoples in Peru: "the principal homage of the Peruvians was attracted by the sun, as the great source of light, of joy, of fertility in the Creation". Rather than castigate this "heathenism", she considered it a

benign form of superstition, one that "takes [its] direction and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature" (Notebook 1 19.2.28). She copied an account of Christopher Columbus's perseverance in following his dream, no doubt as it supported her in her goal to engage in missionary work: "Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that 18 years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect . . . "(Notebook 1 29.3.28). Eliza, however, does not overtly make any references to her dreams or plans.

Finally, Eliza recorded many excerpts which focused on raising children, and on the importance of education. While the twenty-four year old Eliza did not specifically state a longing for children of her own, these excerpts suggest her own desires. For example, she copied the biblical passage of Samuel's naming of Ebenezer. This is the name she later gave to her and Peter's first living son in 1839. They subsequently renamed him Charles Augustus, after his grandfathers, and his great uncle Joseph Sawyer named him Wahweyakuhmegoo, "the round world, or he who encircles the world" (D. Smith *Sacred* 189). It is telling that it is in the back of this early Notebook that she recorded this child's birth on April 25, 1839. While the notebooks may appear an odd assortment of quotes and facts, interesting but not very illuminating, they can be read to reveal Eliza's major longings as a single woman for a family, children,

and missionary work. By recording the writings of others, Eliza captured the primary themes that would inform her persona in her diaries and published work.

Eliza's first diary of 1829 can be read as a prologue for the impassioned and tumultuous diaries that follow and the drama of her struggles of marriage, motherhood, and widowhood in Canada. The entries were not lengthy, and she did not write on a daily basis. The tone of the diary of 1829 is wistful, occasionally serious, but often youthful, meandering and at times overly-earnest. For the first time, Eliza's persona as an author began to emerge. She continued to quote from religious tracts or evangelical biographies. She now noted birthdays of her siblings, projects she engaged in such as drawing and sketching, missionary meetings that she attended and two holidays that she enjoyed. On June 24, 1829 Eliza noted, "Returned home after 2 months visit" to Gloustershire. On this holiday she recorded, "This day I had the most enchanting ride I ever remember" (Diary 19.5.29). From early October to December of the same year Eliza again went on vacation, this time to Brighton (Diary 7.10.29 - 3.12.29). In addition to riding, she noted with enthusiasm an encounter with a missionary party who thrilled her with accounts of dangerous work: "This is a day long to be remembered courteous adieu!" (Diary 8.10.29). Eliza began to record the variety of her activities. The drawing and sketching she mentioned signal the artistic talent and interest that would inform her future life and work.

Discipline emerged as an important evangelical virtue in the diary of 1829. It contained related themes such as the necessity of proper Christian conduct,

and Eliza's struggle to achieve this goal: "The state of the weather may not be urged as an objection to exercise in the open air" (Diary 31.7.29). Eliza, however, developed strategies to subvert and undermine these strictures. Humour was one strategy: "Whitfield used to say that when he got to heaven he should have three things to wonder at, the 1st wonder would be to see many there he did not expect to see, the second that he did not see many whom he expected and the third that he was there himself" (Diary 4.10.29).

(Kiss Me?) I Love You: Dailiness, Desire and Diary Writing as Consolation (Diary 5.1.32)

Eliza opened her diary for 1832 writing Peter's Ojibwa words "Geneshee (kiss me?) and Kiminwanemin I love you" (1.5.32). She spent the next month visiting with Peter as he collected funds for the Credit Mission. Peter's proposal set in motion a year and half long struggle with her father for his permission to let her marry Peter. Eliza anticipated resistance, and her diary became the site to record it. Eliza's detailed record in the diary pointed to the depth of her father's resistance to her marriage. While most young women would have celebrated their engagements, Eliza was writing of her pain and her inability to speak openly of her love and happiness. Her intense longing to share her joy is evident in her diary entries.

Eliza turned to Miss Brown, a former school teacher for advice:

My spirits were much depressed in the evening the delicacy of my

> situation not allowing me to make any feelings known to any of my friends, a word touching the subject as near my heart was enough, I found relief in a flood of tears and sweet consolation in being able to pray to my god in this time of need (Diary 16.2.32).

She continued "it was cheering to find that instead of the opposition I expected she calmly listened to my tale of love" (Diary 2.25.32). Even though she had finally confided in her mentor, the diary remained the primary place where she could express her anguish, anxiety and fears. Her teacher augmented or added to the comfort she experienced in confiding in writing her desires and apprehensions.

Peter warned Eliza that they would face discrimination and that white settlers opposed interracial marriages: "The fact is my beloved Eliza, it is that *feeling of prejudice* which is so prevalent among the *old American settlers* (not Indians in this country). They think it is not right for the whites to intermarry with Indians" (Letter Peter to Eliza, qtd in D. Smith *Sacred* 130). Donald B. Smith argued that by the 1830s, racial intermarriages did not occur in highly settled areas of British North America (*Sacred Feathers* 130). Ten years after their marriage Peter estimated only three or four Indian men married white women and only three or four Indian women married white men. Eliza was very aware of these discriminatory responses as she experienced them in England. She wrote of the stares of strangers, the comments of friends, the revulsion of her brother in law and the concern of her father.

Eliza turned to her pen, rather than her voice, to write her resistance. Eliza was uncomfortable with the emotional tone of some evangelical Christian conduct. Eliza's diary is therefore particularly important as a form of replacement for a public voice. This is clear from Eliza's initial hesitation in speaking of her engagement to her former school teacher. Furthermore, Eliza was uncomfortable with public displays of emotion

In her diary Eliza self-consciously developed her skills as a writer. The diary enabled her to experiment with self-presentation; she envisioned her role as the recorder of the missionary work of her future husband. In August of 1832 she wrote an account of Peter's return to the Credit Mission in Canada, and happily reported that a newspaper editor had agreed to print the story (Diary 8.11.32; 8.16.32). In March of 1833, she began lessons in English history: "I think the plan of study with Mr. Payne will prove very beneficial. It leads one to think and prove why certain words are used. I am very desirous to gain a clearer perception of things, and the proper use of words" (Diary 30.3.33).

A month after Peter's proposal, Eliza recorded:

> Determined last evening that my dear friend return to C. as early as possible, consult his relations and friends on this important affair, try and make as many desirable arrangements as possible his situation will allow; if these matters are settled to Papa's satisfaction he has promised not to withhold his consent and in this case my dear friend will return if all be well early next year
> (Diary 3.33)

Eliza clearly believed her engagement was finalized. She made a purse for Christiana Brant, the wife of Peter's brother John, and the "granddaughter of

Capt Brant" (Diary 24.3.32). In addition Eliza "finished a frock for Elizabeth Jones [Christina and John's daughter] and wrote a letter to Mrs. J.J. in the evening" (Diary 31.3.32). Peter left to return to Upper Canada on April 12th. Eliza would not be reunited with him until their wedding a year and a half later in New York.

These entries signalled the narrative of the diaries of 1832 and 1833: Eliza's release from the duty to her birth family to take on the work of missionary with her chosen family in Canada. This conviction of having a purpose - of having something important to write about - marked this diary as consisting of feelings and experiences which had now taken on a new value. Eliza's resistance to her constraints as a woman, to the opposition against her love for a Mississauga' man and her desire for creative self expression, her abhorrence of discrimination and her longings provide the narrative threads that tied together the separate daily entries. This is the narrative that provided the cumulative themes which together create a compelling and fascinating narrative in their own right.

The Dominant Narrative: Acquiescing to her Father's Dissent: "This Marriage Makes A Sad Breach In The Family" (Diary 15.10.32)

The techniques of feminist diary theory suggest reading a diary for multiple themes (Kadar, *Afterward).* The central story of the diaries of 1832 and 1833 was Eliza's engagement to Peter Jones, her anticipation of her marriage and missionary work in Canada and her father's resistance. As I have

demonstrated, Eliza wrote in her diary of her growing love and admiration for Peter. Francoise Noel noted that by the early nineteenth century companionate love had replaced earlier concepts of marriage as primarily an economic union (Noel 19, 20). Noel noted that a husband was now thought of as a companion and friend, as well as a support. Eliza's expectation of Peter as a lover, a fellow worker and a loving father are clear during her record of their courtship in her diary.

The narrative that she recorded of her courtship with Peter described him as a hard worker and family man. She wrote that she accompanied Peter on visits to collect funds for his mission community in Canada; she also noted numerous occasions on which he preached: [Peter] preached "sweetly and simply", "started at 11 o'clock with PJ in a glass coach collecting for the Indian schools" and "heard Mr J preach at Wesleyan Chapel for the Ladies Benevolent Society" (Diary 29.1.33; 30.1.32; 1.2.33). Eliza recorded his interaction with children, both in her Sunday school, on January 29, 1832, and with her younger siblings: "Mr J came to tea, spent a very pleasant evening dear Emma and Louisa much interested in hearing histories and customs of the Indians . . ." (Diary 28.1.33).

Eliza also began the diarist's role in memorializing Peter, the significant person that formed the core of her diary entries for sixty years. Though Eliza rarely crossed over entries in her diaries she crossed over many regarding her courtship with Peter. She was much more comfortable recalling their

engagement. A year later, while waiting for news of his return from Canada, Eliza wrote, "return of this day . . . my Peter told me he loved me" (Diary 14.2.33).

Eliza detailed her father's rejection of Peter as her husband for a year and a half. Her father's immediate resistance to her proposed marriage, and this struggle informed the most intense, impassioned and frustrated entries of the diary collection. The detail of these entries is extensive, highlighting Eliza's longing for the engagement and future work. The anxiety and suspense of Peter and her step-mother's discussion pointed to the reaction of her parents:

> With a heart full of anxiety and doubt I walked in the garden with Mama to hear the result of Papa's conversation with her on the important subject now occupying so much of my thoughts. All seemed unfavourable to my wishes, insurmountable obstacles appeared to them to hedge up the way. (Diary 2.28.32)

Her step-mother cautioned Eliza that she would be "exposing [herself] to much sorrow" (Diary 2.12.32). In seeking her step-mother's "good and suitable counsel" Eliza modestly and appropriately signaled her dependency, suggesting she was a "poor weak creature" unable to make up her mind (Diary 2.11.32). She had to wait a full two weeks before her parents conferred - "found Mama much engaged in the evening with Papa". They discussed "difficulties and dangers" and decided not to support the match (Diary 2.23.32).

With her step-mother appearing to act on her behalf, her father relented and two weeks later gave Eliza and Peter his conditional consent. Significantly, Eliza had to submit to the will of her father, despite the fact that she was twenty-seven

years old. Three months later Eliza recorded walking home from her grandmother's:

> Meditated on 'far off country' on the shortness of life and how much of mine is already gone I feel impatient to be more useful – to be more entirely employed for the benefit of others (Diary 7.2.32)

She represented herself as one who was not in control of decisions regarding her adult life.

Her parents' oscillation between support and disapproval characterized the year and a half that Eliza waited before her marriage. Eliza never specified what her parents meant by insurmountable obstacles and difficulties and dangers. One can surmise that prejudice, either their own, or that of society, informed their disapproval. Her father may have had concerns about the conditions of life in the mission communities and the inevitable financial hardship. Her parents may have also been concerned about Eliza living in an 'uncivilized' land and of not seeing her family again. Donald B. Smith notes that her father learned of the bigamy of Peter Jones' father – his marriage simultaneously to Peter's Mississauga mother Tubhenahneequay while married to Sarah, his Mohawk wife (D. Smith *Sacred* 139).

The diary remained her confidant, a friend with whom she could share her pain [Kadar *Afterward].* Their engagement was formalized with her father's permission in the middle of March 1832 and Peter and Eliza spent a month together before he returned to Canada in the middle of April, 1832. Thereafter Eliza had to endure disapproval, resistance and disdain on her own. While

happily recording writing to Peter and sending her first letter to a foreign land, Eliza immediately faced strenuous and mounting opposition. She wrote that the objections of dearly loved friends were particularly painful: "many of [my] friends thought a year would cool me" (Diary 4.23.32). She began to write of the emotional strain which plagued her throughout their separation: "I feel such a weight of anxiety, many friends raise various objections and from every quarter they say - How can you think of giving up all" (Diary 4.25.32). The most strenuous opposition came from her sister Mary's husband, John Goulter Dowling, a Rector in Gloucester. Immediately upon Peter's departure to Canada, Eliza noted that John has sent a letter to her step-mother "concerning and pitying" Eliza (Diary 4.21.32).

Eliza recorded that Mary and John arrived in London for a holiday on June 19, 1832, and stayed until the 27th of July. This was a particularly trying visit as within days of their arrival Eliza wrote that John "is very opposed to my union with Mr. J" (Diary 7.20.32). The tone is one of being bullied. On July 12, for example, Eliza wrote that she "wrote to K as long as J and M would let me" before accompanying them shopping in the West End. She also recorded a particularly painful discussion with John, her stepmother, and sisters Mary and Anne in which she named "prejudice and ignorance":

> conversation I so much dreaded was introduced, it was a very great trial to me as my brother J D looks on the affair with horror. I am sure prejudice and ignorance are causes of many of his objections. I felt condemned at not better bearing his remarks and because I was so much dispirited. (Diary 6.28..32).

John spoke of the opposition that was always close to the surface in Eliza's household. In conversation with her sisters Sarah and Anne, her step-mother and brother-in-law John she noted, without attributing it to a specific individual, "all the sacrifices I shall make for him" (Diary 7.12.32).

The detailed narrative of rejection of Peter continued. Her father, who had given his blessing in the spring, opposed the match for a second time in October 1832: "you do not mean to go, if you go you will break my heart" (Diary 31.10.32). Eliza was frustrated: "I am not happy my Father loves me but ah!" (Diary 11.5.32). While her father waited to be convinced by Peter's superiors, whom Peter called in on his behalf, Eliza "conversed with dear Mama the trials and duties of a married wife" (Diary 11.26.32). Her father received a letter from Peter's Methodist superior a month after this second opposition to the marriage:

> I received a letter from dear Mama informing me that Mr Alder had written altho' his letter was on the whole satisfactory, there are certainly trials connected with the situation neither few nor small and my dear father feels them much but he says altho' he cannot recommend it as a prudent step, he will no longer oppose . . . (Diary 12.2.32).

As the engagement became more complicated Eliza wrote more in-depth entries. She began her diary of 1833 with the longest introductory entry to this or any future diary:

> For commencing a second year to keep a record of each day and succeeding events the varied feeling and experiences I may pass through . . . Prepare me oh God for all that is before me and should I this year leave my Parents my home my country may the presence of God go with me – sometimes when I think of the vast importance and responsibility connected with the undertaking I am well nigh overwhelmed. But shall I draw back? Shall I shrink at trials? When so many thousands are

> perishing and never heard of a Saviour? Oh no the work is Gods . . (Diary 1.1.33)

Eliza would face a third opposition from her father to her engagement in March of 1833, three months after his second consent. Once again Eliza represented herself as unable to act:

> I put Peter's letter in one hand and Papas's in the other and I exclaimed here is a mixture of joy and sorrow . . . as I rode along I was lost in thought I felt myself entirely unable to do anything in this important affair . . . . (Diary 17.3.33).

Peter's letter requested that Eliza return to Canada with Mr. Egerton Ryerson, the missionary who was responsible for the Credit Mission. Egerton Ryerson came to their home to discuss the arrangements for Eliza's return to Canada:

> my spirits so low I could scarcely speak to Mama I laid down for a few minutes and then mama came up with the joyful news that Mr. Ryerson was in the parlour she brought me up a long letter from my dear love, as soon as I could I trotted down stairs and had the great satisfaction of seeing this friend of my friend and my friend now for he has by his kind manners and candid sensible conversation quite won my heart. (Diary 16.4.33)

That Ryerson, a leading Canadian Methodist, should have endorsed Peter's marriage to Eliza Field, spoke very well of Peter. Her step-mother informed her, however, that her father "is much opposed to [her] going with Mr. R . . . spent much of the night in tears" (Diary 16.4.33).

Eliza characteristically recorded her apparent acquiescence when her father opposed the wedding for the third time: "well if my dear father cannot let me go I must obey I feel it the greatest trial I have ever been called to bear" (Diary 23.4.33). Two days later her step-mother informed her that she would

confer with her father and her uncle about Eliza's departure. While this conversation was occurring in the parlour, Eliza, ill in her room, waited hopefully with her brother Charles' wife and her sister Sarah: "quite unexpectedly they returned to Norwood. Ah! without hearing particulars I retired to bed but sleep was banished" (Diary 25.4.33). The following morning, Ryerson arrived, but Eliza's father would not meet with him. Eliza recorded a number of events that occurred that day: "Betsy's little John came and played with Arthur . . . Mama, A and I went to [?] said tell Eliza from me to go-go-go. M.A. Lyons called Mama informed me that Uncle approved of my going thus it is decided - thank god" (Diary 27.4.33). As a typical diarist Eliza included the details of her daily life, downplaying the most important decision of her life. She couched the news in events of her daily life, such as a playmate's arrival for young Arthur.

The Saturday after her father's third acquiescence, Eliza wrote:

> this morning my beloved Father wrote the important letter to my dearest friend bearing the intelligence that he had been induced from various weighty reasons to consent to my leaving England with Mr. Ryerson this is a very important decision but I think it is the will of my heavenly Father and therefore I desire to be thankful.
> (Diary 4.5.33)

Two days later she returned to Holly Cottage in Norwood with Arthur and uncharacteristically wrote:

> The sight of the hedges now clothed with the lovely foliage of spring and the trees covered with blossoms the balmy air and the delightful quiet of holly cottage found such a striking contrast to Lambeth. (Diary 7.5.33)

Such joy, not surprisingly, was to be short-lived.

Despite her father's reluctant approval, the climate of opposition to the marriage continued and coloured the diary entries of her final months in England. The detail, frequency and length of the entries continued to reflect this struggle. While Eliza focused on her plans for her departure and her leave-taking from her family and friends, she continued to meet much resistance. Her sister Mary wrote to inform her that she would not be coming to visit before Eliza left for Canada (Diary 29.5.33). This was distressing news, as Eliza was close to Mary, two years her junior. This response, however, was in keeping with her brother-in-law's strenuous objections that resurfaced whenever her father agreed to the marriage. Shortly thereafter a letter from Peter brought the disturbing news that they were the subject of much gossip in Canada. Peter's letter relayed "the remarks some in C[anada] have made about our attachment" (Diary 8.6.33). A month later, after returning home from an evening meal at her aunt's house, she wrote: "felt low and unhappy much suffered with some remarks I heard how unkind and unjust some are" (Diary 17.6.33).

The new minister, Mr. Evan Jones, of Surrey Chapel, distressed Eliza so much that she recorded the interchange verbatim, not a practice in which she normally engaged in the diary:

> We spoke to Mr. Jones after the service and he said looking at me "Well little as you are, a great deal is said about you and Lewis [?]" I said I knew many strange things were both thought and said and perhaps if people knew more of the affair they would not so unkindly and unjustly conclude about it feeling very poorly remained at home the rest of the day.
>
> (Diary 28.7.33)

Just prior to her voyage another Canadian missionary, Mr. Evans, spoke favourably of Canada and in so doing "cheered my dear Papas mind considerably" (Diary 26.7.33). Thus Eliza's diary entries focused on leave-taking in a hostile climate, punctuated by her father's unease and unhappiness, and marked by the strain and hardship Eliza had had to endure without Peter's presence and support.

Eliza's narrative in the diary of this period was of her struggle to marry Peter. Eliza wrote of her submission to the resistance of her father, her brother-in-law John, and her community in general. Eliza's conduct during the year and a half she waited to marry Peter Jones conformed to Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall's argument that the natural qualities of subservience, passivity and feeling were valued among white evangelical middle-class women of the early nineteenth century (1987). Eliza submitted to the will of her parents, relied on her step-mother to plead her case to her father, and was summoned to endure her brother-in-law's antipathy. Often she wrote that her father did not speak to her directly, but through his wife as go-between. In the ultimate act of passivity she waited in her room while her father, uncle and step-mother discussed her fate, then left without telling her their decision. Eliza's detailed diary of 1832 is full of her outpouring of anxiety and sorrow reflected in frequent physical and emotional ill heath.

Recording and Writing Resistance: Eliza's Father's Permission: "This Friend of My Choice" (Diary 24.6.33)

Patricia Meyer Spacks argues that women writing in this period, while representing themselves as weak, and publicly passive, displayed a private energy in their writing (Qtd in Nussbaum 49). Herein lies an equally compelling narrative in Eliza's diary. The diaries of 1832 to 1833 are more detailed, plot driven and therefore more overtly structured than any of Eliza's diary before or after. The themes Eliza's diary narrative reveals are of a woman of character and aspirations choosing to lead an unconventional life.

In particular one can read Eliza's resistance to being powerless and circumscribed. What emerges is a persona that is purposeful and resourceful. Even prior to Peter's formal marriage proposal, she was planning her life with him in Canada. On the first of February, 1832 she read some letters from Peter about the Canadian missions. The next day she recorded: " Oh that my God would deem me worthy to be employed in such a glorious work, how would my heart rejoice to be made useful in his vineyard, but His will not mine be done" (Diary 1.2.32). While her parents initially opposed the idea of the marriage, she nonetheless wrote a lengthy entry in which she mused on engaging in missionary work: "and may I not indulge the hope that mean and unworthy as I am My God will accept the desire and open a way for me to be useful in a distant land" (Diary 2.3.32). Despite the formal language of inadequacy, a sense of predestination informed both these passages. Shortly thereafter she stated, even more

forcefully and emphatically, "Oh if my Heavenly Fathers will may yet put it into the mind of my dear earthly Parents to let me go" (Diary 12.3.32).

Eliza continued to write with conviction of her choice. Following her father's initial assent to their marriage Peter and Eliza spent the day together and for the first time she wrote: "we do indeed love one another" (Diary 19.3.32). After the first hostile letter from her brother-in-law John arrived, a week after Peter had returned to Canada, Eliza defiantly recorded:

> and doleful as are the forebodings of this relation, if it be God's will I can leave Father and Mother and go to a distant land with this friend of my choice my love (Diary 21.4.32)

Once John and Mary arrived she responded to his criticism with this cautious assertion: "his foreboding and fears may be wrong" (Diary 22.6.32).

Eliza wrote of Peter as her lover; she waited and yearned for him. Throughout the summer of 1832 cholera raged in London: "almost everyday I hear of the death of someone I know" (Diary 25.8.32). The disease was also prevalent in Canada: "accounts of cholera there very alarming" (Diary 25.8.32). Eliza feared for Peter's safety and wrote about him with a heightened intimacy. She longed to "be clasped to K's bosom" and noted "I have never felt before so keenly the pain of separation from my dear Peter" (Diary 22.8.32; 24.8.32).

Eliza's entries underscored that she was resolute in her decision. She would no longer be a help-mate to her father or a co-parent to her siblings. As her father reconsidered his approval in the fall of 1832, Eliza struggled to dissuade him. When he asked her not to go, Eliza recorded: "I said 'Oh no Papa

you have many left and a wife better than all'. He responded, 'My heart will break if you go and we shall never see you again' Oh this is my greatest trial" (Diary 31.10.32). She noted that she would accept her father's wishes for her not to marry Peter - "Well if it must be so - my heart will well nigh break" – but she immediately set about garnering her step-mother's support, and sent her to her father. This set in motion the events which would again lead to her father's assent (Diary 7.11.32).

Eliza recorded that the only obstacle remaining was to establish the time when Peter would return to England (Diary 13.11.32). This confidence belied her father's, sister's and brother-in-law's disapproval. Throughout this struggle Eliza's diary entries suggest she remained in control. Her entries reflected her belief in her own path: "I do feel and desire to record my gratitude for the refreshment and blessing this - at B[righton] on my journey to another country has been to me" (Diary 18.11.32). Ignoring the misgivings of her family, she concluded the entry by stating that she had a pleasant journey and that everyone was well at home.

At John and Mary's in early March, coping with John's disapproval, the curiosity of strangers and her own fears, she wrote: "Ah! I long for the dear society of the friend of my choice" (Diary 11.3.33). There is a tone of determination and tenacity in Eliza's declaration of choice that tempered her more conventional self-representation of self-doubt and passivity.

Upon being informed by her step-mother of her father's permission to leave with Egerton Ryerson, Eliza recorded spending the following evening with "dear [seven year old] Fred", with whom she talked, no doubt again discussing her departure (Diary 28.4.33). She concluded this entry by noting her spirits were "cast down owing to some remarks", but immediately countered with a display of defiance: "Ah! few understand me" which she then, more modestly, crossed over (Diary 28.4.33).

Eliza recorded entries in which she acquiesced to her father's objections to her marriage. She also wrote persuasively in her diary of her resistance to the constraints of her cultural, class and gendered position. Her outward acceptance of her father's wishes also negatively affected her emotional and physical ill health. Eliza persevered, nevertheless, in addressing and challenging her father's decisions. Her father never did give her his blessing and always remained reluctant to agree to the marriage. Significantly, however, Eliza continued to repeat the refrain of Peter as "my choice". While packing on June 24, 1833 she wrote: "Oh! that I may find in the friend of my choice all I desire and expect". She did not emphasize that Peter had chosen her. Furthermore, Eliza never seemed to waver from her faith in her marriage, despite her father's objection. The language Eliza used to describe her father's objections suggested his sorrow and anguish which reflected his own prejudice that her brother-in-law John also exhibited.

Eliza's diary entries strongly suggest that she had always planned to go, something her father knew and seemed powerless to stop. Eliza emphasized their emotional relationship, not his paternal authority. He appealed to her good will in order to persuade her not to leave. Eliza's father never gave his approval, it was Eliza's uncle who made the final decision. While deeply pained by her father's distress, Eliza proceeded with her plans, remarking on her birthday, "but thanks be to God I am what I am" (Diary 1.6.33). Cloaked in the language of duty, piety and deference Eliza recorded entries that represented herself as a determined and single-minded woman.

Resistance to the Role of Spinster: "How Can You Think Of Giving Up All" (Diary 25.4.32)

Feminists have argued that a key feature of white Anglo American middle-class women's life-writing texts consists of an emphasis on the relationship of the self to others, rather than on the stereotypical separate, unique and representative male life. In contrast to the tradition in western literature of the male position of self-assurance - of representativeness, of audience, and of the exemplary nature of his life - from which the narrator gains his assumption of authorial power and voice, the female narrator instead emphasized the creation of self though relation with others. Bunkers and Huff argue that within women's diaries specifically, "their narrative structure of repetition within the cycle of dailiness invites us to discover patterns that do not follow a progressive timeline

and that do not necessarily culminate in the creation of selfhood through accruing tests of individual acts" (19). As argued earlier, rather than following the traditional western male narrative of heroic pursuit in which selfhood is achieved through attaining peak experiences, women's diary keeping reflects instead a recurring cycle of dailiness (19).

This emphasis on mutuality, however, has been romanticized in the literature on nineteenth-century white middle-class Anglo American women's relationships, suggesting that such self-inscription implies solidarity and equanimity as opposed to relations of domination and subordination.

Eliza's diaries of 1832 and 1833 provide an opportunity to examine this romanticized theory. I read a story in Eliza's diaries, even more compelling than her resistance to her father's attempt to stop her marriage. Her narrative also focused on the complexity of her close relationships with her female kin and friends – those she would leave behind. Eliza recorded in her diary her life lived in a world of her female kith and kin. But she also emphasized the possibility of spinsterhood - a life given over to assisting her parents and her siblings in the care of their children. Eliza recorded this anticipated parting, nonetheless, as extremely painful, almost unimaginable.

These diaries are particularly rich in detail about Eliza's daily life. Her diary writing also reflected her growing conviction that she would serve as a model of evangelical Christian conduct in Canada. Eliza carefully and fastidiously recorded her behavior to assess the state of her soul. She

admonished herself for a lack of spiritual feeling and for not making time for prayer: "... this morning I was so busied as to have no opportunity for private retirement . . . neglected prayer" (Diary 8.4.33). But her insistence on recording these very same events suggested, as Harriet Blodgett argues, that these occurrences are meaningful in and of themselves (*Preserving the Moment* 168).

These diaries, with their focus on her family and friends, suggested leaving them would be wrenching. This reinforces Culley's argument that diaries served to record the experience of immigration and dislocation (I Look at Me, 16). Most importantly, the diary was a place where Eliza could express feelings that she could not publicly display, such as anxiety and despair over the loss of the life that sustained her, feelings not in keeping with the humility, devotion and deference of evangelical Christianity. It is the expression of these emotions in her diary that underpinned her resistance to conventional female roles and behavior. I read the diaries of 1832 and 1833 as those of a developing writer - one who was resolute but also deeply conflicted and sorrowful.

This narrative concerned Eliza's life with her female kin and friends – a world of daily contact, and travel. Carol Smith-Rosenberg's argument that nineteenth-century white middle-class American women lived primarily in a female world which had as its heart an inner core of female kin can be seen to also apply to British women of comparable race and class privilege (318). Male members of the family remained outside this inner core. We learn through the diary that her brother Charles had married in 1832 and that his wife bore a child

in 1833. Eliza was not involved in the care of his wife or child following the birth. Eliza's male siblings were often absent at schools that Eliza and her sisters, for the most part, did not attend. They therefore are not recorded in her diary.

Eliza did write about the freedom she had to travel between her households, and those of her friends and family. As Amanda Vickery noted, middle-class women had the opportunity to travel: their roles were changing (277). Eliza wrote that travel between her two homes occurred almost daily. While Eliza never described the specific arrangements of the two households, it was clear from the diaries of 1832 and 1833 that she and her siblings Sarah and Anne lived in the house at Lambeth, while her father and step-mother and the younger children lived at Holly Cottage in Norwood. All of the four younger children, from twelve year old Emma down to four year old Arthur, were in the care of a governess, Ellen Lyon, who appeared in the diary like a sister to Eliza, or possibly an old school friend.[1] The two youngest, two year old Kate and newly born Edmund, appeared to be in the care of a woman named Martha. While Eliza referred frequently to these children in the diary, it is her two sisters, Sarah and Anne, with whom she lived, who are written of most often. A series of teachers were employed for short periods to teach drawing, history and languages to Eliza, Sarah and Anne. This intimate circle of women, drawn together by shared residence and shared schooling, was at the heart of Eliza's record of her daily life.

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[1]Until Donald B. Smith provided me with a Field family tree that he obtained from a Field descendent, I thought from reading the diary that Ellen was a sister.

The dominant activity Eliza described in the diary is the passage back and forth of women and children between the two residences. When not accompanied by their governess the younger Field children were accompanied by their mother, or one of their adult half-siblings. Eliza often referred to the children in pairs of those closest in age, such as twelve year old Emma and eight year old Louisa. Similarly, Eliza was closest to and spent the most time with her paired sister Sarah. Eliza took a parental role with Sarah, while also describing her fondly as an equal and constant companion.

Eliza appears to have been the mistress of Lambeth. She did not record being responsible for the running of the household, or for the care of the children at Norwood. On June 11, 1832, she wrote "spent the whole morning in domestic Monday duties" (Diary). What these duties consisted of, she never described, but this appeared to be the only day of the week she engaged in household work (Diary 7.5.32; 1.10.32; 4.2.32). The following reference is one of the few showing Eliza overseeing the children as a group, noted in order of age, while staying at Norwood: "This morning attended the Chapel at Norwood with Miss Lyon [governess] E [Emma]. L [Louisa]. F [Fred]. A [Arthur]. and Kate . . . In the afternoon Mama and Ellen [governess] walked to Town to hear Mr. Jay I attended to the children" (Diary 2.6.33).

Eliza only wrote once of being solely responsible for some of the children. Her parents took her sister Anne, who was ill, on a trip for her health. A number of children also accompanied them, as well as two servants: "now left

responsible at Norwood a poor weak creature" (Diary 29.5.33). The following day she noted that another servant had gone to town on holiday, and that the governess had left with her mother. Eliza was "left alone with precious charges". This is one of the few times she mentioned servants in this diary, giving an insight into the important role they normally played in managing the household and caring for the younger children.

While Eliza recorded the comings and goings of her younger half-siblings, she did not live with them, nor did she regularly participate in their care. She was infrequently responsible for them. In 1833, she mentioned looking after the children on only two separate days. Eliza had raised her own older siblings for the twelve years following their mother's death. This is a role which distressed her, one under which she chafed, and one which was, to some degree, an obligation she even resented. Her recollection of her mother's death suggested dissatisfaction and frustration with the responsibility that was thrust upon her: "I wanted support and comfort . . . I felt sad and agonized with grief - an Infant left for wretched me to bring up, and five brothers and sisters" (Diary 24.1.33). Eliza did not perform the role of surrogate mother as a straightforward, selfless act of devotion but as one that inspired mixed feelings. Her revealing and poignant expression of sorrow and loss in her diary entry suggests needs not met and a future inextricably altered.

Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that surrogate mothering by elder daughters was not uncommon in white middle-class families of early

nineteenth-century Britain (346). In particular, in the event of the death of a mother, a daughter often acted as a substitute or surrogate mother or housekeeper. Even though her sisters were adults in the early eighteen thirties, Eliza often wrote of them as though they were children. While Eliza was closest to Sarah with whom she shared similar interests and pursuits, she sometimes wrote of her with an admonishing tone: "Sarah very merry tried to frighten Ellen [governess] and me" (Diary 18.6.32).

Despite recording the utmost valuing of her relationship with her family members, Eliza's also wrote of her resistance to remaining a spinster aunt. Nursing the women who were sick in her family was a frequent responsibility for Eliza, despite her own illnesses. During the month of June, 1832, for example, she cared for her sisters Anne, Sarah, and Kate, as well as the governess Ellen Lyon.

It was not uncommon for her to be summoned between households to care for a sick family member. On one occasion Eliza noted that her father asked her to come immediately from Norwood back to Lambeth to care for an ailing Sarah: "dear child . . . it is a pleasure to do anything for her" (Diary 13.6.32). Eliza's role of nurse extended to the family's general well-being. She recounted sitting with two year old Kate during a storm: "two tremendous thunderstorms in the morning, during one I was sitting by the bed side watching the innocent unconscious sleeping Kate" (Diary 7.6.32). In an entry recording Anne's struggle

with what appears to be a migraine, Eliza clearly indicated that the role of nurse was exhausting:

> Dear Anne spent another day of [?] suffering her eyes were so much affected she could not bear the least light in the room Mr. [Sted?] cupped her in the evening which greatly relieved her pain but owing to loss of blood and not having taken any nourishment all day her feelings during the night were most distressing, she was [?] until two oclock in the morning I then went to bed Mama remained with her till 4. (Diary 6.4.33)

Two days later Eliza wrote that Anne was well enough to sit in the drawing room. Caring for Anne so exhausted Eliza that she recorded the most negative comment in the diaries about any family member:

> Anne and I sat alone a great part of the day Anne in wild spirits notwithstanding all she has lately suffered she is as gay and thoughtless as ever I sometimes think she has much more to go through. (Diary 11.4.33)

Despite the expectation of care and ministration, the role of caregiver was not a role she always bore patiently.

In carrying out these duties, Eliza played the role of family spinster. Writing of Elizabeth Powell, an upper middle-class white woman and contemporary of Eliza Field's in Upper Canada, Katherine McKenna argues that as a spinster Elizabeth Powell developed a role for herself as a domestic adjunct to her sister's and mother's households and in so doing became the stereotypical "beloved maiden aunt" (231). Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that this was common for adult female children in families (329). The age gap between siblings in Eliza's family was not unusual. Most unmarried women performed surrogate mother roles to younger step or half siblings: "These

celibate young adults provided not only a pool of labour for house and business, but could act as a buffer between parents and children" (Davidoff and Hall 329).

While the question of her marriage was being sorted out, Eliza acted in the role of spinster or maiden aunt to these family members who required her assistance. She helped her younger sister Mary care for her children. In June of 1832, Mary, her husband John and their baby Rhoda came to stay through the month of July. Eliza was summoned the following year to assist Mary with the care of her as yet unborn second child. Eliza recorded that she was reluctant to go due to John's unrelenting campaign against her marriage. She wrote that she had to go. Arriving in Glouchester, the baby not yet born, she continued on to Bristol to be called back two weeks later with the news "announcing the confinement of my dear sister Mary with a fine girl" (Diary 1.21.33). In addition to tending to Rhoda, Mary's first child, she helped in the house and assisted Mary in her recovery. Interestingly she wrote that she acted as a companion to Mary's husband John by accompanying him to church, reading to him, and engaging in debates with him about her future marriage, political economy, slavery and temperance societies.

The work of helping Mary with her children was more time-consuming than her work at home. Eliza wrote more frequently about Mary's children than she did about her younger half-siblings: "spent morning as usual with children" (Diary 12.2.33). Mary's children were the same age as their half brother baby Arthur and little Kate. Eliza found this task burdensome and stressful. This was a

response she never seemed to experience in her less demanding role with her younger half-siblings: "I find it very difficult to settle to anything in the morning of the day Rhoda and various duties in the house take up much of my time" (Diary 5.2.33). She related a particularly difficult morning nursing Rhoda who was "poorly" and attending to Mary, who was still in bed: "Children are a great anxiety and when it requires much patience and judgment to manage them, few tasks are more difficult" (Diary 9.2.33).

Eliza carefully recorded the progress of Mary's recovery from childbirth, noting the first time she came into the parlour, where Eliza read *Pilgrim's Progress* to her (Diary 2.10.33). Six weeks after the baby's birth she wrote, "Mary came with the babe to dinner for the first time" (Diary 4.3.33). Eliza recorded the baptism of the baby as Emma Maria, signaling Mary's affection for her youngest sister Emma, while gesturing toward their mother's death in child-birth and their changed circumstances as a family.[1]

On her return home after an absence of over two months, Eliza walked with her sisters Sarah, Emma and Louisa. Eliza told Emma that she was leaving: "I had some talk with Emma on my leaving them she does not like the thought of it" (Diary 22.3.33). It seems fitting that after spending time caring for Mary's young children, Eliza returned to her most important theme – the death of her mother, caring for the infant Emma and the desire invoked for a missionary life. Eliza wrote fondly and with concern about Mary's recovery and about her

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[1]Eliza and Mary's brother Charles would also name one of his daughters Emma. Field family tree provided by Donald B. Smith.

relationship with her nieces. She also focused on the siblings that she had helped raise, and would leave behind. Nonetheless, it is clear that the conventional role of maiden aunt was not one that she was willing to continue.

Writing Resistance to Spinsterhood: The Engagements of Female Friends

Adding to Eliza's written resistance to the role of maiden aunt were her diary entries of the engagements of her female friends. Eliza recorded her relationships with her friends with an intensity reflecting her upcoming departure. Eliza's persona as loving friend was emphasized in the diaries of 1832 and 1833.

In her relationships with her female friends Eliza is most representative of the values of female association of white women of her class: ". . .most nineteenth-century women lived within a world bounded by home, church and the institution of visiting – that endless trooping of women to each others' homes for social purposes" (Smith-Rosenberg 318). Eliza recorded the comings and goings of her female friends to her two homes, as well as her frequent visits to theirs. For example, her friend Eliza Dowling arrived on September 12, 1832, and remained until October 30 (Diary 1832). It is with her women friends that Eliza's persona in the diary was the most carefree. She wrote like a young woman, rather than a substitute mother or maiden aunt. On the occasion of Eliza Dowling's visit, Eliza uncharacteristically recorded a light and youthful entry: "Very naughty girls we did not rise till past 8 o'clock talked over breakfast till nearly 10" (Diary 15.9.32).

During Eliza Dowling's visit they spent most days together, visiting other girlfriends and female members of Eliza's family - including her aunts and cousins - touring London, going shopping and to the spa. Eliza wrote that they also attended the Queen's Bazaar on Oxford St., participated in church services, read out-loud to one another, and walked in the garden. Eliza did appear to live in a world where "entire days, even weeks, might be spent almost exclusively with other women" (Smith-Rosenberg 318). She wrote that she went on holiday on July 30, 1832, with her cousin Betsy to Englefield, a journey of three hours, to stay in a "pretty little white cottage" where "Betsy rode her donkey". Eliza recorded visiting with female friends in earnest in anticipation of her separation from them.

From the diaries it is clear that Eliza wanted to record her time with the two women closest to her, her friend Sarah Butterworth and her sister Sarah. Eliza always wrote of Sarah Butterworth as a source of great comfort during the turmoil of her engagement: "my dear Sarah Butterworth came to spend the evening with me . . . I was thankful that her kind visit cheered my spirits and encouraged my hopes" (Diary 30.4.33). Sarah Butterworth accompanied Eliza on the rounds of church, family and social visiting. She lived close enough that she could regularly come and stay for the day. Her primary role was one of confidant, and it is to her that Eliza expressed her anxiety, apprehension and longing: "I am pleased when I can be with this much loved friend [and] make the constant subject of my thoughts the theme of my conversation" (Diary 3.11.32).

Sarah Butterworth often served as a traveling companion, one who provided appropriate and congenial company at a time when women of their class did not travel alone. For instance, when traveling for twelve hours to attend to her sister Mary and the birth of Emma Maria, Eliza wrote, "my dear S. Butterworth was in the coach . . . we talked, read worked and passed along as happily as possible" (Diary 5.1.32).

In Eliza's diaries the roles of family and female friends merged. Eliza's other constant companion was her sister Sarah: "Sarah's birthday what a mercy she has been born" (Diary 8.5.33). Over the course of one week in August, 1832, for example, she described going to town with Sarah, walking in the park with Sarah, and reading Jay's *Church History* out-loud to her on a rainy day (Diary 24.8.32; 25.8.32; 29.8.32). While Eliza does not describe her girlfriends in relation to piety, this seems to have been an important part of her bond with Sarah. Together they attended clothing societies, anti-slavery, tract, temperance, and missionary meetings. They frequently attended chapel, and when Eliza was ill, it was Sarah who took over her Sunday School class. Sarah's movements were those which, next to her own and those of her step-mother, Eliza most frequently noted in her diary: "Sarah gone to Norwood and away to Essex for a holiday" (Diary 28.8.32). Eliza always depicted her relationships with Sarah Butterworth and her sister Sarah positively. She never ascribed the tensions, frustrations and periods of discord that characterized her relationships with her step-mother, or her sister Mary.

The recording of female friendships sustained Eliza and informed the detail of her daily accounts. Miss Chubb, Miss Slattene, Miss Boot, Emma Tabor and the governess Ellen Lyon rounded out her circle of close friends. Since Ellen lived at Holly Cottage at Norwood, Eliza frequently described spending time with her. They often read aloud to one another, discussed topics of mutual interest, and went for walks: "Walked with E. Lyon and the rest round the hill before supper" (Diary 18.7.33). The other four women lived some distance away, yet their frequent appearance in the diary belied this fact. Miss Chubb lived close enough that Eliza often stayed overnight at her house (i.e. Diary 14.5.33). Eliza recorded that on one occasion Emma Tabor spent the night at her home: "found Tabor at Lam[beth] on my return slept with her in Papa's room" (Diary 15.7.33). As well as writing to Peter Jones, Eliza corresponded with one or two of these women. Eliza concluded: "I know there is something in my constitution that I could never live happily without friends" (Diary 1.11.32).

Given the opposition to Peter as an Indian, Eliza particularly sought out and recorded the responses of her female friends. Eliza was concerned that they support her choice of marriage partner. During the first month after her father had accepted her engagement, she wrote the following entry: "Altho' I appeared cheerful my heart was not happy, I feel such a weight of anxiety, many friends raise various objections and from every quarter they say - How can you think of giving up all - may God support and direct me" (Diary 25.4.32). Even her closest friend, Sarah Butterworth, had to be convinced: "S. Butterworth spent the day

with us read and talked of Can. but with all its disadvantages" (Diary 7.7.32). Nonetheless Sarah Butterworth would remain one of her strongest sources of comfort: "how sweet is friendship - dear girl she takes such an interest in all that concerns me" (Diary 7.9.32; 8.9.32). Similarly, during her sister-in-law Eliza Dowling's visit in the fall of 1832 Eliza recorded her positive response: "But most interested about him [Peter] and longs to be introduced to him" (Diary 13.9.32). Finally, she wrote that Miss Slattene had come to dinner and that they "talk of Canada and dear love . . . it did me good to hear her opinion" (Diary 28.12.32). Writing the good wishes of her female friends took on a heightened urgency in a climate in which her family members either rejected Peter, or were inconsistent in their support.

This urgency also suggests that the fate of spinsterhood loomed. Between 1832 and 1833 Eliza records that Miss Slattene, Miss Boot and Miss Chubb all became engaged or married. Eliza was twenty-eight when thirty-year-old Peter Jones proposed to her. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue, however, that this was common for middle class men and women, who often did not marry until their mid to late twenties (323). In particular, they emphasize that this was the transition whereby white, middle-class women gained full adult status (322). After her parent's initial consent to her marriage, and while her brother-in-law John Dowling was mounting his most concerted attack, Eliza wrote the following entry:

> The return of this day brings to mind two things June /30 & /31
> my dear sister was united to Mr. J.G. Dowling and on that day /31

> I first spoke to Revd P Jones - another year may make me his wife God only knows (Diary 24.6.31)

Eliza's linking of these two events implied the complete simultaneity and congruity of the two relationships to her. This was in sharp contrast to the consensus that Eliza's union was inappropriate and doomed. In this same entry Eliza also noted that her younger sister Mary and her brother Charles were already married.

Eliza was not without other potential suitors. Eliza wrote in a foreshadowing tone at the beginning of the diary of 1832, a month before Peter proposed, of the only man she ever described as a friend: "My friend John called this morning, it is a great pleasure to see the companions of our early years when time and circumstances have made so many changes in our history and our feelings" (Diary 11.1.32). It is not clear if this John was a Mr. J. K. who in June "staid". His intentions toward her appeared to have been serious: "had some anxious conversation with him which made me uncomfortable" (Diary 17.6.32). The next morning Eliza wrote, "Mr. J K not slept in his bed last night he said 'I shall never see you again'" (Diary 18.6.32).

An even more serious suitor appeared to have been the Rev. Theo Jones. In Eliza's first diary of 1829, when she was twenty-five, she noted his frequent visits to the family and on one occasion wrote, "we took rather a boisterous walk" (Diary 16.10.29). After her engagement to Peter she wrote that she and Theo Jones were now "reserved" with one another, and that "he looked at my dearest

love's likeness but made no remarks" (Diary 29.10.32). Six months later Eliza recorded the following entry:

> This morning we received the deeply affecting and unexpected intelligence of the death of our much esteemed friend the Rev. Theo Jones after a short illness of one week with the prevailing epidemic Influenza he breathed his last on Saturday the 4th at 1/2 past 4 p.m. an event so sudden and so mysterious filled us with solemnity (Diary 6.4.33)

Eliza's entry suggested that his death was truly startling and disturbing for her. The inclusion of more meditative and less abstract language in this entry - "an event so sudden and so mysterious" - suggested an intimacy in her connection with Theo Jones that Eliza rarely revealed in her typically guarded tone. In particular, she wrote the most unusual lines, "I cannot but view this event with feelings of peculiar gratitude and humility as it regards myself. Can I ever again harbour one hard thought of God" (Diary 6.5.33). That she was spared losing a husband seems clear. This mixture of feelings of shock, disbelief and relief accentuate the entry and its suggestion of spinsterhood averted.

Eliza's record of the urgency of her own marriage seems to stem not from a lack of possible candidates but from a climate in which almost all of her close friends were either marrying or considering employment. While visiting her girlfriend Emma Tabor, Eliza met a suitor of hers, "an intelligent young man - a solicitor and son of the Independent Minister of Bocking" (Diary 20.10.32). A month later she wrote of Miss Boot's fiancé as an "excellent man" (Diary 26.12.32). A week later she wrote that it was the first time she had met Mr. Osburn, the fiancé of her friend Miss Chubb, when they came for dinner. Eliza

described him as "a pious young man" and later included an asterisk to indicate that he became Dr. Osburn (Diary 3.1.33). Significantly, she compared him to Peter, "reminded us all of my dear Peter they expect to be married next August" (Diary 3.1.33).

The fluidity of Eliza's diary and the inclusion of events without hierarchy highlighted her belief in the equality of her fiancé. Eliza stressed the shared appropriateness of the two men, disregarded Peter's racial identity, and emphasized her mutual state of anticipation with her girlfriends. This juxtaposing of fiancés can also be read as a response to the comments a Mr. Sturge made later at tea when he "compared two paintings of my dear love making some curious observations" (Diary 3.1.33). Peter's difference, and absence, suggests the limbo in which she waited, while three of her closest friends prepared, apparently effortlessly, to marry.

While Eliza recorded Miss Boot's marriage to Mr. Cosgrove in the spring of 1833, her friend Eliza Dowling, seemed bound for a different future. Shortly after Eliza Dowling had arrived to stay, they went to visit a former governess who was now "much reduced in circumstances" (Diary 15.9.32). On the same day that Ellen Lyon, the governess for Eliza's half-siblings, came to Lambeth to dinner, Eliza's friend Sarah Butterworth arrived to see Eliza Dowling "having received a letter from Ms. D respecting an advertisement as governess" (Diary 4.10.32). She represented one of three options for women of their class - first and foremost, marriage and motherhood; secondly, the role of maiden aunt to

assist one's parents and sisters in raising their children; or finally, the work of governess and the care of the children of non-relatives.

Eliza recorded a life that was immersed in a world of women of mutual support, daily assistance and continual and almost constant contact. Eliza had been particularly careful to note the way in which her life intersected and overlapped with the lives of her step-mother, sisters and female friends. She wrote of the summons she received to care for others, whether it were ill siblings, a sister recovering from childbirth, or a close friend dealing with the loss of a parent. Not only did she look after others, but she also benefited from their support.

It would be remiss, however, to see this immersion into the world of women as one that was primarily selfless, equitable and harmonious. Eliza wrote that she resisted attending to her sister Mary's growing family, and delayed visiting girlfriends who desired her company. Moreover, her diary entries suggest that rather than being given over to domestic work and child care, Eliza had a great deal of freedom to travel and attend missionary meetings. Finally, rather than remaining a dutiful, subservient and doting daughter, sister and friend, she wrote of her rejection of this world in favor of a life of her own choosing. The diary was a place she could work through this enormous decision. The diary also was a site where she could negotiate this emerging identity.

Documenting Departure and Heartbreak: "A New Creature" (Diary 16.8.33)

Eliza recorded her leave-taking, therefore, as extremely painful. Following her Uncle's assent in the spring of 1833 to Eliza travelling to Canada with Egerton Ryerson, she recorded the events leading up to her departure in August. In the flurry of packing, intensified visiting and many good-byes the diary became primarily a document of heartbreak. Eliza's pain and anguish at leaving her family is palpable and wrenching. She frequently recorded crying: "afterwards walked with Sarah to Piccadilly, spirits so low I wept as I went along" (Diary 6.7.33). Her family gathered for a few final occasions, first on her father's birthday, "we all met at Norwood 13 of us his children", and then "I felt refreshed and happy in the house of my God a large party dined around my father's table in the afternoon" (Diary 22.7.33; 4.8.33). Eliza's female friends also joined together to wish her farewell: "In the evening a few friends assembled for the special purpose of commending me to the protection and blessing of God" (Diary 31.7.33). Finally, "some of the dear children came to be ready to spend the last day with me" (Diary 3.8.33). Eliza's parting from her family was particularly painful, something she could not articulate in words, "knelt with Papa Mama and Sarah my pen will not write the feelings of that moment . . . I kissed them all I could do no more" (Diary 5.8.33). The last day at home, Eliza singled out the men of her family - her father, her grandfather, her brothers Charles, Sam and John - men who apart from her father had rarely appeared in her diary.

Eliza wrote that her step-mother and Sam accompanied her on her journey to the boat They said their last good-byes. Having begun her daily diary writing in 1832 with the remembrance of her mother's death, Eliza mused on board the ship, " I sat a short time at the stern thought much of home - and of my dear Mother in her home in Heaven and wondered whether she knew of her child?" (Diary 23.8.33). This loss was also uppermost in her mind when on her last day at home, she singled out her sister Emma, whose birth twelve years earlier took the life of her mother, and whom Eliza was left to raise: "in passing my dear Emma we kissed and sobbed aloud, twas all we could do" (Diary 5.8.33). These past events, from which she was now released, had led Eliza to put her life on hold. Despite the tone of anguish and loss, there was now a new voice in the diary, one of hopeful anticipation: "this day I bid them all farewell and depart for a distant land for unknown trials and new acquaintances" (Diary 5.8.33). While standing on deck watching the northern lights she wrote, "the thought of those dear friends I have left in England and the great work before me makes me feel at times as tho I was a new creature" (Diary 16.8.33). This became the new dominant narrative of her diaries of 1833 and 1834.

The anticipation of becoming the wife of a missionary signalled a change in the diary entries. They became much more detailed and extensive. The sheer amount of detail Eliza recorded about her courtship is consistent with the theory of feminist diary critics who argue that apparently disjointed entries can be read to reveal cumulative themes. After the declaration of Peter's proposal, the

character and tone of this diary changed completely. The diary became a place to record her story - that of a young British woman joining the growing ranks of evangelical Christian missionaries.

In this chapter I have examined the diaries of 1832 and 1833, pivotal diaries in Eliza's courtship with Peter Jones. Eliza developed a narrative in these diaries that tied together her mother's death, her missionary desires and her determination to realize this dream through her engagement to Peter Jones. Eliza narrated in her diary her resolution to marry despite her father's year and a half long refusal to support the proposed marriage. Eliza also represented her rich life with her female friends and kin, those with whom she was deeply connected but nonetheless would leave behind. Her diaries of these years demonstrate the opportunities and restrictions on this particular white middle-class woman who wrote them. My analysis challenges the reading of an unpublished diary as trivial, circumscribed by evangelical Christian piety and mired in detail. Instead it shows the persona developed by Eliza of a developing writer and her narrative of resistance, struggle and aspiration.

Chapter 3: Diaries of Transition: Missionary Work, 1833-1835

Eliza chose to take the memoirs of Ann Judson as some of her reading material for the long voyage from London to New York on the sailing ship *The United States*. Published in 1829, this biography by Arabella M. Willson recounted the history of the life and death of the wife of the American missionary Adoniram Judson in Burma. It would go on to sell 28,000 copies by 1856 and was reprinted six more times by 1875. There were some uncanny similarities between Ann Judson's life and that of Eliza, though only some of these would have been clear to Eliza as she crossed the Atlantic in 1833. Such chronicles of missionary wives' lives were not new to Eliza. As we saw earlier, she had read them since at least the age of sixteen.

This chapter focuses on Eliza's dairy as a vehicle for developing a new and more confident voice as a missionary wife. Eliza's record of her work in the Credit community is the narrative of Eliza's diary of missionary work. I explore her changing voice in the diary, informed by her biography, but focus on how this persona developed, perhaps unwittingly (Bloom 27). In this chapter, I argue that this genre of evangelical writing inspired, guided and shaped Eliza's desire to become a missionary and her depiction of her participation. This chapter begins by discussing the writings and biographies of Ann Judson that offered a model for Eliza's future. It then explores the parallels and contrasts between Ann Judson's and Eliza's preparations for life as a missionary wife. While Eliza's

dominant diary narrative was one of evangelical Christian work, her personal ambitions as a writer and missionary are evident, and underlie her persona of duty and deference. The third section moves us forward past her marriage to explore the ways she used her diary as a place to work out a new voice, a different biography for herself in the new context of life in Mississauga communities as a missionary wife. The chapter then turns to the changing place of missionary women, and to her own work in these communities. While Eliza was intent on working to end the nomadic lifestyle of the Mississauga people and their religious beliefs and to support the work of women to provide financially for the communities she lived in, her diary and published writing also sought to counter the discriminatory denigration of Mississauga and Mohawk people. Her diary was a place where Mississauga and Mohawk people were visible, present and intelligent.

Missionary Women's Biography: Naïve Aspirations "read in Mrs. Judson's Memoirs Oh! my God give unto me the zeal and piety of this devoted missionary" (Diary 12.8.33)

It was an account of the missionary Harriet Newell's life that Eliza had re-read after her mother's death that profoundly influenced Eliza as a sixteen year old in England:

> That I may someday tread in her steps, and may I not indulge the hope that mean and unworthy as I am My God will accept the desire and open a way for me to be useful in a distant land Oh to be the honoured instrument of turning one poor wanderer from the road of sin and pointing

> him to Jesus, Ah! such happiness is worth any sacrifice a soul saved we must reach heaven before we can know the value of one soul.
> (Diary 3.2.32)

Harriet Newell accompanied Ann and Adoniram Judson to the missionary field in Burma in 1813. Newell, a young woman, died very early in their work. A biography of Harriett Newell's sacrifice in the mission in 1813 guaranteed her instant immortality. Ann Judson died in the mission field in 1826. Adoniram Judson's second wife, Sarah, found her vocation attending a lecture by Judson's first wife, Ann, when Ann was raising funds in the United States to support their mission (Willson 29). A ten-year old American girl vowed she would consecrate herself to a missionary life when she read of Ann Judson's. She later became Judson's third wife.

Eliza's diary reminiscence of reading a biography of Harriet Newell underlined the representation of herself as conforming to appropriate standards of female modesty while also alluding to her own ambitions and desires. Like Harriet Newell and Ann Judson, Eliza wished to immerse herself in the cultures in which they worked to improve the lives of women and children. This work, however, changed all the white missionary women, and those they influenced through their biographies, as they lived the possibilities for activism and critique. The focus on the betterment of the lives of the women they ministered to was predicated on a mandate of gender subordination and cultural domination that had immediate and far reaching implications for the integrity and viability of the social structures and cultural worlds of the recipients of their work. Eliza Jones's

relationship to the civilizing mandate of missionary work complicated her work with the women to whom she ministered. A current of thought and practice in Eliza's public and private writing that countered racializing discourses sets her approach apart from the emphasis on gender possibilities in the account of Ann Judson.

The repeated printing and reprinting of Ann Judson's biography suggests an enormous readership amongst white middle-class women. Ann Douglas has demonstrated that an extensive press and lecture system developed in the United States during the early nineteenth century (36). New periodicals were created along with lending libraries to house them. These new developments were all markers of wider literacy. Whereas in the past ministers provided the only weekly intellectual stimulation for a congregation, by the early nineteenth-century congregations read more widely in the print medias (189). In particular, a new audience for religious writing was developing. Eliza Field, a member of this new audience, chose Christian biography as her favourite reading material throughout her life.

Douglas has noted that this form of writing immortalized an enormous number of relatively obscure people (190). While male chroniclers canonized prominent eighteenth-century ministers, in the nineteenth-century women were the primary writers of religious biographies (Douglas 45). Increasingly, their subjects were women, not men. The recorded lives of these women functioned to persuade their audience to follow their pious examples. Ann Douglas

described this activity as a female pseudo-profession of influence - a role, she argued, that was more historically significant than that of the feminists, albeit few, of this period (93). While writing of their female modesty, these women were apologizing for their new strength; while writing of their inadequacy, they were in fact displaying competence (106). Through female missionary biography, women achieved a masculine visibility spoken in the language of feminine self sacrifice (Douglas 106).

While the British wives of the early nineteenth-century missionaries remained relatively obscure, the American wives of the first missionaries became known and celebrated personalities during their own lifetimes. Publication of the biographies and letters of the early missionary wives was an extremely effective way of engendering emotional and financial support from women for the missions. This literature had its greatest impact on women, its main readers in both England and the United States (Brumberg 68). In the published biographies of the early missionary wives, women read about women's lives in a new historical and international context. Missionary wives' biographies suggested to their white female readership that they could participate in what was represented as a female apostolic mission of persuasion, love and education. Brumberg noted that young men and women attributed their sense of calling to their reading of this body of literature (*Mission* 68).

An examination of the models of self-representation, as noted by Sidonie Smith, that were available at this particular historical moment, allowed me to

interpret Eliza Jones' representation of her missionary work in her diary and in her publication of the life of her niece Elizabeth Jones ("Introduction" *Women* 22). While still Eliza Field, she recorded being impressed by the missionary meetings she attended and by the literature missionary work generated. It was the written chronicles of the lives of white missionary women, however, that specifically shaped Eliza's understanding of how she could participate and record missionary work.

Protestant sects encouraged the formation of the self through conversion narratives in which the distinct individual reflected on their differences from others. Felicity A. Nussbaum argues that those writing in this tradition adopted a mode of discourse established by male religious leaders, such as Wesley, and thus inscribed themselves in the familiar pattern of awakening, conversion and ministry shaped in imitation of Christ and his male disciples (151).

As I argued more generally in Chapter 1, feminist critics of the autobiographical genre have theorized the difficulty women writers had entering into this tradition. Nussbaum argues that this tradition afforded women life-writers the options of assuming a position of spiritual and moral authority, colluding in their own subjugation by speaking their own denigration, or attempting to disrupt this ideology of gender by disguising themselves as men (155).

Nussbaum argues that Protestant women learned what kind of lives they could lead primarily by hearing and reading men's conversion narratives. These

cultural practices confined their subjectivity, and religious doctrines forced restriction on the ways in which they could visualize an identity or selfhood (151). Eliza Field, however, did not only read the biographies of white male Protestant ministers and missionaries. She read and re-read biographies of their white missionary wives. These accounts of the first Protestant missionary wives offered examples of white European women who were self-taught, studious and active as teachers, writers, translators, and political activists. White Anglo-American women addressed this restrictive tradition of spiritual biography in the early nineteenth century by creating and publishing a literature about women's lives in missionary work. In particular these early white women's missionary biographies served as templates for white middle-class women, redefining notions of their identities while maintaining their appropriate notions of usefulness and service. Myra Rutherdale emphasizes that in missionary work white women's identities became "transformed through their experiences" (155).

An understanding of women's diary writing and publication in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth century requires an understanding of the roles white middle-class evangelical Christian women were playing at the time. The period was one of tremendous social, political and economic transformation in the western world. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall argue that in Britain the development of industrial capitalism removed emerging middle-class men's work from the home, separating men and women who formerly had worked together within the household as the main unit of production (1987). From around the late

eighteenth century, white middle-class women were less likely to contribute to productive work. Instead they supervised the household and socialized children.

The Protestant middle-class turned to evangelical Christian religion, with its emphasis on direct individual submission to God, to understand their changed circumstances. Paradox or double identity characterized the tension white middle-class Anglo-American women experienced in embracing the developing ideology of appropriate female conduct, described by Barbara Welter as consisting of the qualities of "purity, piety, submissiveness and domesticity", which obscured the new opportunities that were opening up for them (154-174). Middle-class women's separation from productive work was interpreted as a retreat from the moral dangers of the world; the domestic sphere was elevated and idealized as the "proper sphere for women's actions and influence" (Davidoff and Hall 115). Nancy Cott, Mary Ryan and Stephanie Coontz all chart the development of the idea of a woman's sphere in the United States from around 1820. Coontz argues that in the United States, with the change from a communally organized agrarian society to a class based, industrial one, reciprocity and duty ceased to be social and political obligations, and instead became gender obligations. Ryan argues that social services such as care for the poor, elderly and the orphaned along with economic productive work all left the home (253).

Most historians also argue that while the identification of white middle-class women with domesticity was constrictive, new opportunities opened up for

them. I argue that Eliza experienced these new opportunities. In the U.S., as in England, women increasingly became involved in the work of providing charity and, in the process, established institutions, collected funds and promoted social change. Potter notes that American women moved from obedience and deference to men to mutual dependence and companionate marriage, and exercised an expanded influence within the home as motherhood became more valued (143). Coontz argues that white American women had more educational opportunities, access to wage work and an expanded role in religious work (144). Women's leadership and creativity in philanthropic work is being explored by contemporary historians (Ryan). Prochaska states that in Britain, philanthropic work gave women practical experience and responsibilities that heightened their self-confidence and self-respect (227).

The conflict, then, between the pervasive ideology of withdrawal into the domestic sphere and an expanded role of influence in religious work fuelled the move of women into missionary work, where outside of the bounds of the dominant culture there was more opportunity to engage in the public work of teaching, advocacy and activism while remaining pious and humble. White middle-class women could experiment with an identity that challenged social norms by emulating the actions of missionary women, whose activism, assertiveness and public visibility were always tempered in their writing by the acceptable language of supporting their mission, either by assisting their husbands or by starting their own endeavours. The language of self-sacrifice

authorized and obscured the inappropriate female assertiveness, while also masking the "mission of social domination in the language of ethical mandate" (Stansell 227). These narratives stimulated questions for their female readers about the possibility of better education for women, more meaningful albeit socially unequal work with other women, and serious acceptance as prospective missionaries.

Missionary Wife as Educator: Parallels in the Lives of Ann Judson and Eliza: "feel impatient to be more useful" (Diary 2.7.32)

To understand Eliza's developing confidence as the author of her own narratives in the diary, it is important to consider the literary models with which she worked. Ann Judson, read by Eliza as she prepared to become a missionary, presented to Eliza a blueprint of deference and duty focusing on a 'calling', parental permission and work as an educator. It also suggested women desired meaningful work, independent adult lives and the possibility to critique the injustices they encountered in the missionary field. As one of the first accounts of a white Anglo-American woman participating in overseas missionary work, it functioned as a practical guide for those who followed. The author crafted the persona of a woman engaged in a mission, reflecting her sense of who she was and what she could accomplish. While Ann and Eliza represented themselves as being dutiful, each demonstrated a strength and belief in their work – in what Ann accomplished and in the work that Eliza anticipated.

Ann Judson, an American born in 1789, left for Burma with her husband Adoniram Judson in 1812 to set up a mission in an unwelcoming political and religious climate. During the war between Burma and the British from 1824 to 1826, Adoniram was imprisoned for two years during which time Ann ministered to him. She saved his translation work, fed and cared for the British prisoners, and lobbied government officials for their release while pregnant and subsequently giving birth to a daughter. She died at the age of thirty-seven in 1826 as a result of illness brought on during the war. Her missionary work preceded that of Eliza Jones, focused on the early half of the nineteenth-century.

Having no models to follow, Ann presented her sense of vocation as one not of her own making: "From the quiet and seclusion of her New England home, she was called to go to the ends of the earth . . ." (Willson 21). This calling was in fact a marriage proposal from Judson. Married on February 5, 1812, they set sail for Burma two weeks later. Patricia Grimshaw argues that the separate female ambition for an independent career was predicated on marrying a missionary (1989). The newly formed American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions had, in fact, stipulated that all its missionaries had to be married. Grimshaw has chronicled the frantic attempts of young male missionaries, preparing to work in Hawaii, to find suitable brides, with the A.B.C.F.M. acting as a kind of match making service (*Paths* Chapter 1). Thus women like Ann married men they hardly knew, since their vocational desire could be fulfilled only through a proposal of marriage by a missionary. In Ann's

biography, there is no mention of any courtship by her intended. There is no sense of Adoniram as a person, nor any expression of love.

In contrast, Eliza wrote of her courtship with Peter in her diaries. Eliza described her attraction to Peter. She wrote while waiting for Peter to return, "there is a sort of preference of affinity, of taste, principles, or pursuits and when piety is the basis of friendship, sincerity and confidence perfect the exalted feeling" (Diary 24.1.33). In her musings on married life with Peter, Eliza emphasized that it would be a partnership: "Oh how my soul longs to be his companion in this glorious work" (Diary 4.9.32). They were to be "fellow labourers and helpers in his vineyard" (Diary 14.12.32). Missionary wives were indispensable workers in the running of mission stations.

Patricia Grimshaw, in discussing the women who would become the first missionary wives in Hawaii between 1820 and 1850, described how women embarked on a course of self education at home (*Paths* 20). She argued that women, like male missionaries, prepared for service through education, work experience and a sense of calling (*Paths* 5). Without access to institutions of higher learning or religious professional work, women's preparation was more a patchwork of volunteer philanthropic work, Sunday school teaching and private reading. Although they lacked any established programs, missionary wives envisioned themselves as educators.

Both Ann Judson and Eliza Field followed this pattern. They each embarked on a program of education, engaged in informal social work and teaching

activities. Ann Judson's religious awakening led her to intensify her religious reading: "I attended my studies in school with far different feelings and different motives from what I had ever done before . . . I therefore diligently employed all my hours in school in acquiring useful knowledge . . . I frequently spent a great part of the night in reading religious books" (qtd in Willson 17). Ann wrote in her journal in 1809, "As Providence has placed me in a situation in life where I have an opportunity of getting as good an education as I desire, I feel it would be highly criminal in me not to improve it" (qtd in Willson 19-20). Her biographer noted, "Her ardor for learning did not abate, but instead of being inspired, as formerly, by a thirst for human applause and distinction, it was now prompted by her sense of responsibility to God" (Willson 16-17). Once again the language of modesty belied the fact that during her lifetime Ann achieved the public fame and reputation she had formerly rejected.

Eliza Field's diary record of preparations for missionary life appears, on first reading, to be impractical. While enhancing her cooking skills seemed appropriate, her rigorous reading plan focused on British history appears excessive. For Eliza, however, the reading of British history signaled her preparation as a teacher, her anglophile sense of superiority, and her possible aspiration to be an historian of important First Nation's history. In addition, Eliza noted in her diaries of 1832 and 1833 that she was reading North American history, travel literature, Upper Canadian Methodist journals such as *The Christian Guardian*, and Canadian newspapers as well as works on North

American Indians such as James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans*. In preparation for life as a missionary wife she also wrote in her diary of engaging in philanthropic work with working class women in Lambeth, England, and of teaching Sunday School.

Eliza's written ambition to exercise her talents in the missionary field reflected more than just evangelical female Christian charity. Like Ann Judson she was ambitious. She also stressed that she wanted to use her knowledge in order to ". . . be useful" (qtd. In Willson 20). Eliza's long wait to fulfill her ambition was reflected in the following diary entry: "I feel impatient to be more useful - to be more entirely employed for the benefit of others" (Diary 2.7.32). Eliza never discussed this desire to be useful in relation to her philanthropic work in England. While Eliza's dominant diary narrative was one of evangelical Christian work, her personal ambitions to write and to serve her community are evident, and underlie her persona of duty and humility.

Both young women emphasized their need for their father's permission. Ann Judson, the younger of the two, was twenty-four when she asked her father to permit her to marry a missionary. The reluctance of her father to see his daughter leave was understandable given Adoniram's letter to his father-in-law: "I have now to ask whether you can consent to part with your daughter early next spring, to see her no more in this world" (qtd in Willson 23). Ann's father was asked if he can, "consent to her exposure to degradation, insult, persecution and

perhaps a violent death?" (qtd in Willson 23). Ann's early death in Burma suggests that these questions were not rhetorical.

Eliza's diary revealed her struggle with her father, and her intent, regardless of permission, to pursue her own plans. Ann Judson's biography recorded resistance from her father, but not of the severity experienced by Eliza. Eliza asked her "earthly Parents" to "let her go"; emphasizing the spiritual mission toward which her "Heavenly Father" had directed her (Diary 12.3.32). In the following diary entry, Eliza revealed the depth of her dilemma:

> My beloved Father who embraced me as his first precious child and has ever loved me with such tender love and done all a father could to make me happy Can I leave him now the evening of life is creeping on and go perhaps for ever far away. Can I go? This is a heart rending question, but dare I refuse have I not a Father in heaven who has not only created me but made me his peculiar property by adoption and by grace . . .
> (Diary 10.1.33)

Eliza used the evangelical term "by adoption and by grace" to emphasize her special relation to God the Father, as one who had been saved through the death of his Son. As an adopted child of God Eliza had the authority to say, "if it be God's will I can leave Father & Mother & go to a distant land with this friend of my choice, my love" (Diary 21.4.32). Eliza uncharacteristically stated, "few understand me", and then crossed over the entry (Diary 28.4.33). Eliza indicated that she was grateful for her individual resolve: "But thanks are to God I am what I am" (Diary 1.6.33).

Ruth Brouwer argues that female missionaries of the late nineteenth-century focused their work on education, social work and health care, not

Christian proselytizing (87). Similarly, once in the mission field, the two missionary wives, Eliza Jones and Ann Judson, wrote of spending more time setting up schools and educating girls and women than on any other aspect of their missionary work. Ann Judson's biographer Willson stressed that the only information her readers needed to know about her was that she was intelligent and well equipped as a teacher. The work of early nineteenth-century missionary women anticipated this emphasis on female skill and ability in later female missionary work.

Educating women was intimately related to spiritual conversion. Joan Brumberg argues that this logic sprang from the belief that if women were taught to read, they would be able to read the Bible, the agent of spiritual transformation and female uplift (Brumberg, *Mission for Life* 87). Both Ann and Eliza wrote that the women to whom they ministered were intelligent and thus receptive to moral and spiritual improvement. Ann wrote, "The females of this country [Burma] are lively, inquisitive, strong and energetic . . . and possess minds capable of rising to the highest state of cultivation and refinement" (qtd in Willson 75). Eliza composed her biography of her niece Elizabeth Jones, "to show what the capacities of Indian children are; and I think prove that they only need the same privileges and blessings that English children enjoy, to make them equally clever and useful members of society" (*Memoir of Elizabeth Jones* 17). The similarity in the above quotes suggests that Ann Judson and Eliza Jones described their pupils' ability to learn as a strategy to facilitate Christian conversion, as well as highlighting and valuing the abilities of women and children.

Eliza entered a community where white female missionaries had been teaching Mississauga children for a decade. Like Ann Judson she recorded that

literacy was of utmost importance; both women devoted their energies to teaching women and children. Willson noted, "Mrs. Judson met every Sabbath a society of fifteen or twenty females, to whom she read the Scriptures and talked about God" (75). She was their first teacher. Eliza joined a group of teachers men and women, Mississauga and white.

Transition: The Diary as Negotiator

The biographies of missionary women suggested to Eliza that the tension between conformity and rebellion could be negotiated both in practice and in print. Felicity A. Nussbaum, in exploring the autobiographical practices of eighteenth-century white women, argued that women's autobiographical writing created a space where cultural assignments of gender were translated into a text, and that this relationship between a woman's experience and her representation would always be a vexed and complicated one (149). This dilemma played out in Eliza Jones' diaries as she recorded many new and powerful experiences in Mississauga and Mohawk communities. Nussbaum argues that this tension between experience and representation was revealed in the contrast between public representations of weakness and passivity, and an overwhelming, strong revelation of private energy (149).

Eliza exemplified Nussbaum's concept of private energy within her diary, in spite of the limits the diary form placed on women's self-representation based on ideas of propriety and women's place. Eliza's diary entries in Canada evolved

and were in keeping with Rebecca Hogan's argument that diaries permitted experimentation with language, with genre, and most importantly, with representations of the self (97). In Eliza's diaries, this experimentation was particularly evident in her depiction of missionary work, in which she constructed a new persona, one that was more overtly dynamic and active than that contained in her record of life in England. This is a persona of greater extremes - one that is not only more curious, inquisitive and adventurous but also more rigid, judgmental and severe.

However, Eliza's diary entries of missionary work were uneven and haphazard in contrast to the one and a half years earlier when she recorded her engagement. The lack of a consistent narrative voice in Eliza's diaries is a feature noted as a common in the diary narrative form by feminist theorists (Bloom 27; Blodgett *Capacious* 10; Hogan 100). Eliza's diaries for this period reflect how she negotiated the new and multiple roles of wife, mother to her own and adopted children, and missionary.

White Missionary Women Among the Mississauga in Ontario: "she was far beyond the generality of children, and her capacity for improvement equal to one who had seen twice her number of years"

([Eliza Jones], *Memoir of Elizabeth Jones,)*

Eliza began missionary work naively recording her aspirations to improve the lives of women, without any knowledge of the extremely important role they played in their communities. She was also unaware of how white Methodist women worked with Mississauga women. The work of these two groups of

women supported the Methodist communities created by Mississauga Methodists. Eliza wrote that community members were primarily non-English speaking, ill and struggling to survive: ". . . after dinner went with my good husband to see a poor sick man, he bled him, his breathing was very short, his feet and hands cold, he appeared hastening to another world, he had but few comforts around him but Oh! what a mercy he was happy . . . "(Diary 27.9.33). She summarized the seriousness of the situation: "There is much sickness in the village" (Diary 20.11.33).

In her early years in Upper Canada, Eliza began writing in her diary to document Peter's work, to record Mississauga and Mohawk history, and to work out her own role as missionary wife. She wrote of witnessing and critiquing the prejudice experienced by Mississauga and Mohawk people. At her first camp meeting she observed that as " Peter held a council with the men – we sat on mats on the ground, the Indians seemed dissatisfied with the apparently unjust partiality that is shewn to the pagans in the distribution of their [treaty] presents." Eliza criticized the "gaze of the vulgar [white settlers]" which was "very annoying and disturbing" and instead chose to "[sat] a short time and sang a few hymns with them" (Diary 3.9.34).

When Eliza Jones entered the Credit Mission in September 1833, the role of white missionary women was changing Elizabeth Muir describes how in the 1820s, white women missionaries organized and sold Mississauga women's handiwork which was an integral part of the economic basis of the Mississauga communities (114). In the 1820s twenty-five single white women had participated in the establishment of the Methodist Episcopal Indian Missions in Upper Canada in their capacity as teachers. As well as leading worship, these

women created and supervised women's groups at six missions. These included the Credit River and the Munceytown Mission where Eliza would later live and work. Eliza mentioned three of these women in her diary of 1833-34, Eliza Case, formerly Barnes, Miss Verplank and Sophia Cook. Muir recorded that Sophia Cook taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography and grammar to almost fifty children at the Credit this education was directed to boys (117). Eliza Barnes and Sally Ash taught reading to twenty-five girls in an ash and cedar bark school house at Rice Lake in 1828.

The primary emphasis of their teaching was on domestic economy - sewing, knitting and braiding straw (Muir 116). Mississauga girls and women worked within the Dorcas Society, a society organized by the white women and named after a woman whom the Apostle Peter raised from the dead after being shown coats and garments that she had made for others (Acts 9: 36-41). Dorcas societies acted as a model in working with white middle-class girls. In this society the Mississauga women made moccasins, gloves, straw hats and brooms, which the teachers sold to raise money for the missions. The white women taught handiwork, not reading and writing. This was in keeping with the growing conservatism of the Canadian Methodist Episcopal Church in the 1820s and its emphasis on women's domestic role, coupled with the idealization of the home as the appropriate sphere for Christian women.

While Eliza wrote of her desire to teach girls and women, the community was in need of skilled teachers for the handicrafts they sold. An 1829 article in the Methodist journal *The Christian Guardian* condemned women's active public participation in the church arguing they could, "preach the precious gospel" through handicrafts which supported the mission communities. Catherine Brown

Sunegoo, Eliza and Peter's niece, recorded this "preaching with the needle" in a letter to Eliza. Catherine wrote: ". . . you taught little Indian girls in that little house across the road and you taught them how to sew and many other things".[1] Catherine was born in 1834, the daughter of Chief Bunch Sonegoo of the Eagle totem and Mary Crane of the Otter totem, both of the Credit River Bands. In 1825 Peter Jones converted her parents, who were his relatives, and baptized their daughter Catherine as Catherine Brown, after the Cherokee Christian whose life is extolled in a biography published in the same year.[2] Eliza taught the young Catherine embroidery and rug making.[3]

Peter frequently remarked in his diary on the skill and industry of Mississauga women who engaged in handiwork that demonstrated the intertwining of Mississauga and settler traditions. On one occasion he recorded conducting a surprise inspection of the homes at the Mississauga mission of Grape Island outside Belleville. The women, despite getting "wind of what I was doing", were already engaged, in addition to boiling corn and pumpkins, in sewing, making brooms and baskets and splitting spruce roots used to sew and fasten birch canoes (P. Jones *Life* 287). Catherine Parr Traill, who immigrated to Upper Canada in the 1830s, also admired the needlework of the Mississauga women in her community at Rice Lake near Peterborough (174).

Peter Jones described in his diaries the role white women mission teachers played in encouraging sewing, making clothes and selling the

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[1]Unless otherwise indicated, material on Catherine Brown Sonegoo is located on pages marked "Notes" in William Sutton's Journal located at the Grey Roots Museum and Archives, Owen Sound.

[2] There are many examples of Catherine's beautiful handiwork at the County of Grey-Owen Sound Museum.

[3]Donald B Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 115, refer to footnote #15.

handicrafts that they produced. He documented that Mississauga women added to their repertoire of harvesting wild rice and making maple sugar by weaving baskets and mats: "It was a most interesting sight there were upwards of 100 baskets of all shapes, sizes and colours . . . at the conclusion, the ladies presented the women with a number of knitting needles and thimbles. The Indian females are in general very industrious" (P. Jones, *Life* 139). In particular, white mission women such as Eliza Jones, who worked in the Dorcas societies, encouraged the sewing of moccasins. Peter enthused that making prunell shoes, or fine moccasins soled with leather, taught by Miss Barnes and Miss E Rolph, "might be a profitable business for our women" (P. Jones, *Life* 355).

The role of the white female mission teacher was not only to sell the products of their work, but also to procure the tools for making them. Returning from the 1832 trip to England where he met Eliza Field, Peter distributed workbags to the women of the six Indian missions (Peter Jones, *Life and Journals* 355). The Credit mission teacher Miss Cook gave each girl "a frock" and her own work bag consisting of "pincushions, needle-cases, needles, scissors, thread, bodkins, thimbles" (P. Jones, *Life* 355). These articles, Peter noted, were "collected by their English sisters for the benefit of Indian women and schools" (P. Jones, *Life* 355). The missionary work of white women focused on selling the products, both of indigenous and settler origin, for the economic viability of the communities. Peter wrote in the late 1830s, after two decades of the Mississauga mission communities, "In general the Indian sisters at the various missions were the most faithful members in society" (*Life* 384). These Mississauga ' women exhibited this productivity through their industry and skilled

craftsmanship. Despite the rhetoric of domesticity, both white and Mississauga women played important economic roles in these communities. Catherine Parr Traill admired the role of Mississauga women not only in producing these goods, but also for their skill as traders.

Eliza, as she wrote in her diary, was not content to preach the gospel exclusively with her needle: "After breakfast went into the school for a short time the children sang well, their writing very good the boys have made good progress in reading . . reformation I long for, may I be enabled to persevere" (Diary 23.9.33). While teaching sewing and other handiwork, Eliza was also determined to provide girls and women with a broader education. She wanted to highlight their intelligence. An opportunity to pursue this wish presented itself to her when she welcomed two of her nieces, Elizabeth Jones and Catherine Brown Sunegoo, into her home. In both cases Eliza acted as guardian. Being a relative of these girls made their relationships more complex - less overtly unequal, but nonetheless of differing cultural power and influence. After her sister-in-law Christiana Jones' untimely death, Eliza wrote that she played "the part of a guardian friend to the bereaved child [Elizabeth]" (*Memoir of Elizabeth Jones* 27). While living with Eliza and Peter, both nieces still had parental homes. Elizabeth's father, John Jones, remarried a white woman, Mary Holtby, whom Elizabeth referred to as "mamma" (D. Smith, *Sacred* 207). John's relatives and mission workers also helped care for Elizabeth. (D. Smith, *Sacred* 148). Despite the six years in which Eliza was unable to carry a child to term, she turned down an offer of adoption of a community member's child (Diary 23.2.35). She took on, instead, the role of aunt or substitute mother to Elizabeth and Catherine, much as she had with her full and half-siblings in England.

Like Ann Judson, Eliza worked with her favoured pupils to teach them to read and write. While the biography of Ann Judson idealized her relationships with her favoured pupils, Eliza's diary suggested more nuanced relationships with her charges. Peter and Eliza assumed responsibility for their other niece, Catherine Brown Sunegoo, in 1836 so that she could continue to attend the Credit mission school after her parents moved to Georgian Bay. Nine year old Catherine's first appearance in the diary is hardly auspicious, but in keeping with the relaxed form of parental traditional authority in Mississauga communities: "Attended the Sunday School but felt discouraged by the impudent and idle conduct of C.B." (Diary 22.12.33). In her twenties Catherine wrote a letter to Eliza that suggested that her difficult behavior continued: "When I look back in days that are past and gone how good you were to CB Sunegoo who once lived at Credit what a naughty girl she was not to know your kindness". (Petrone 64). Eliza persevered with Catherine's education and took her to England in 1837. When Catherine returned to Canada, Eliza recorded this in her diary "received a letter from Catherine . . . God bless the Credit Indians and Catharine and make her a good girl" (Diary 18.6.38). A mixture of fondness and concern suggest that the role of guardian was challenging. Eliza did not record her path of missionary work as straightforward. Eliza, however, achieved her goal of teaching Catherine and fulfilled her own desire to write and record the community's history.

Eliza's relationship with Catherine helped to empower her to become a political representative in defence of Mississauga culture and of their legal, political and land rights. Catherine went on to become an important political force in the Newash community near Owen Sound. In 1839 Peter married Catherine, and William Sutton, a British immigrant and missionary. Eliza acted

as witness. After living eight years at the Credit, the couple took over missionary duties with the Newash band in Owen Sound, where Sutton also farmed.

Catherine lectured and wrote on Indian rights, culminating in an audience with Queen Victoria in 1860, five years before her death. Like Peter, Catherine was particularly concerned with the rapid loss of Ojibwa land and similarly devoted herself to securing title. While marrying a white spouse had no legal consequences for Peter, for Catherine it meant, in part, the loss of her Ojibwa status (Petrone 65). A year before her death, Catherine responded to an editorial dehumanizing Indigenous people. The author of the editorial referred to Indians as monkeys. Catherine wrote persuasively that, unlike the editor, she has actually seen monkeys at a zoo in England. She cleverly debated the notion of humanity, and not in the editor's favour (Petrone 65). Skilfully, Catherine accomplished her goal without specifically stating that the editor was ignorant. Eliza witnessed and experienced the injustices experienced by Indigenous people through the experiences and political activism of her Mississauga adopted daughter Catherine.

Eliza wrote and published a biography of her niece Elizabeth Jones, to emphasize the discrimination experienced by the Mississauga. Nonetheless Eliza, like Ann Judson, idealized the role of mission teacher in this biography. Elizabeth's vulnerability and dependency infused Eliza's diary. In contrast to the exemplary child of the biography, a paragon of female virtue in a seven year old body, the Elizabeth we meet in the diary is a distraught three year old whose mother, Christiana Jones, had died and whose baby brother was deathly ill: "Elizabeth misses her dear mother and at present is pettish with me" (Diary 9.11.33). Eliza described nursing Elizabeth through a bad cold, and taking her

visiting with her to see her ill mother-in-law, who was also Elizabeth's grandmother (Diary 11.12.33; 28.11.33). As with Catherine, the introduction of Elizabeth in Eliza's diary presented the difficulties of assuming the role of guardianship.

When Eliza took her niece Catherine with her to England in 1837, Elizabeth's father John would not allow the seven-year-old Elizabeth to join them. Despite playing "the part of a guardian friend to the bereaved child" Eliza wrote in her memoir of Elizabeth Jones that " . . . a voyage to England made it necessary to relinquish for a time (as she supposed) her interesting charge, as Mr. J. Jones could not consent to allow his dear little daughter to accompany her friends to such a distant shore" (8-9). Eliza depicted John as a doting father, too attached to Elizabeth to allow her to leave on such a lengthy and distant trip. Tragically, Elizabeth did not remain safe at home—she accidentally drowned while Peter, Eliza and Catherine were in England. Eliza entitled the biography she wrote of Elizabeth, published in 1838, the *Memoir of Elizabeth Jones, A Little Indian Girl, Who Lived at the River-Credit Mission, Upper Canada.* Eliza recorded that at her funeral Elizabeth was remembered for her, "early piety, amiable disposition and remarkable intelligence" (*Memoir of Elizabeth Jones* 24). Eliza stressed that her adopted child was uncommonly intelligent: "she was far beyond the generality of children, and her capacity for improvement equal to one who had seen twice her number of years" (*Memoir of Elizabeth Jones* 14). While this excerpt demonstrated the conventions of missionary biography, Eliza's stress on Elizabeth's intelligence ran counter to the Methodist ethos of extolling domesticity as the appropriate role for girls.

Eliza began the memoir by detailing Elizabeth's domestic skills, recording, for example, Elizabeth's assertion, "Aunt, when I am a woman, I will make tea for you, and help you a great deal". It is her intelligence, however, that Eliza extolled, singling out Elizabeth's ability to imitate that which she had observed *(Memoir of Elizabeth Jones* 17-18). She reported how Elizabeth tried to teach an older boy Watt's Catechism, and in the process engaged in a theological debate with him. Eliza emphasized in the memoir her teacher/pupil relationship with Elizabeth. In the course of a few weeks Eliza taught three-year-old Elizabeth, who formerly could only spell words of three letters, to spell words of three syllables and read stories. Eliza lovingly recorded how Elizabeth read, the kinds of questions she asked, and her ability to remember what she was taught: ". . . she would often draw comparisons, and say, "That is like what I was reading about"; or, "that reminds me of such an one you were telling me of" (*Memoir of Elizabeth Jones*, 16-17). Eliza depicted Elizabeth as intellectually curious, inquisitive, and eager.

Thus Eliza's biography of Elizabeth also served as a vehicle to refute the idea of the inferiority of Mississauga people by highlighting the abilities of a young girl. As Culley noted, a diarist such as Eliza would have seen her role as that of family and community historian, albeit in extraordinary circumstances (*A Day* 18). Eliza specifically challenged the idea of the invisibility and obscurity of Mississauga people in her concluding description of Elizabeth's funeral. It was attended by many, both white and Indian, from inside and outside the community. Eliza took a stand against the dangerous belief in the inevitable decline and disappearance of Indigenous people common in the literature, public perceptions and governmental policy in Upper Canada of the 1830s.

Missionary Wife: New Opportunities / Traditional Roles": "At Present I Am Puzzled but I Hope by Perseverance To Find It Easier Soon" (Diary 20.9.33)

Eliza developed a persona in her diary record of missionary work wherein she emphasized her rejection of public speaking in favour of diary writing, a place in which she could confide and develop her skills as an author. While reading biographies of white women missionaries inspired Eliza's confidence and suggested the necessity of preparation for performing the role of educator, her record of missionary work went beyond teaching handiwork or tutoring her nieces. Eliza wrote in her diaries of the dilemma of adjusting to Methodism from Anglicanism and of her rejection of the role of women in Methodist religious ritual. As I will argue in this chapter, the diary also became a place where she wrote of her struggle with the challenge of learning Ojibwa: "Several Indian women came and sat with us. Oh! How I long to understand their language and converse with them", of the magnitude of poverty in Mississauga' communities "Death makes its ravages in every place on this my first day at the Credit . . . under the ground another died" and with the prejudice she experienced not only from white settlers but also from white Methodists: "my peculiar situation in connection with my dear husband excited much unpleasant curiosity, I feel myself gazed on wherever I move" (Diary 28.10.33; 21.8.33; 6.9.34).

Eliza's diary writing reflected her discomfort with the public role of women in Methodist ritual. The religious changes that Eliza experienced permeated the

diaries of transition to life in a Mississauga community, beginning even before she arrived in the New World. Aboard the ship a fellow passenger informed her of the custom in New York of marrying in private homes, something Eliza resisted: "so wedded are we to old customs and local habits that I could not easily be persuaded it would be agreeable" (Diary 15.8.33). Of her wedding to Peter in the Halls' home in New York, she wrote only to note that it had taken place.

As Judy Simons argues, the diary form often functioned as a replacement for public voice, one where critique and alternative forms of contribution could be developed (253). The custom with which Eliza was most uncomfortable was not of indigenous origin, most significantly, but was rather the Methodist practice of men and women speaking and praying out loud. Eliza's diary revealed her preoccupation and discomfort with the public role of women in Methodist ritual, with public prayer something with approached with "dread" (2.2.34). Eliza wrote an entry that showed the depth of her discomfort:

> On Sunday the 2nd of February [1834] my dear Peter and I went to Mr. Case's for the purpose of having a class formed, we met there Mr. Whitehead, Mr Jones' father, and Polly Brant . . . Mr C. prayed, after this he mentioned the purport of our meeting, gave a short account of his experience then called on Mr. A. Jones [Peter's father], after him Mr. Whitehead, Peter, Mrs Case, Polly Brant, he then spoke to me but I was too trembling to answer or rise, He asked me several questions, no doubt with a motive to remove my embarrassment, but they had a contrary effect, and I felt much cast down, and as tho' this was a cross to heavy for me to bear . . . I am now situated to join . .. . so that these meetings may be profitable to me and anticipated with joy instead of dread – Miss Cook spoke well of her enjoyment and with prayer the meeting closed.

Interestingly, it is not Mississauga women who violated her sense of propriety, but rather Methodist practices such as the class meeting.

On her first day at the Credit, Eliza praised the active, visible and vocal participation of the Mississauga women in the chapel: "The Indian women were full of strong and I trust holy feeling They give vent to them without much restraint I could have shouted with them for joy" (Diary 20.9.33). The language barrier complicated her interaction with the community and highlighted the complexities of thwarted communication: "several Indian women came and sat with us Oh! How I long to understand their language and converse with them" (Diary 28.10.33). In copying Peter's Bible translations into Ojibwa, she noted, "at present I am puzzled but I hope by perseverance to find it easier soon" (Diary 28.10.33). Eliza recorded that another Methodist Ojibwa convert preached and spoke on a Sunday when William Case, the Superintendent of the Indian Missions, was absent: "John Sunday said a little in English and Chippeway telling of his former life and conversion to the Christian religion In the afternoon John Sunday preached from V Matt. 1 Verse But Alas! I could not understand him - when he ended Jacob Shippegaw said a few words in Chippeway" (Diary 17.11.33). Later on, Eliza frequently included Ojibwa words in her diary entries, although never to the same extent as Peter, who included full sentences in Ojibwa in his diary (i.e. *History* 285). It was not learning a new and complex language that preoccupied the diary entries, but rather the drama of public speaking.

Eliza's diary entries became more infrequent after 1833, however they also become both more revelatory and more oblique, developing into a text that is more complex, multi-layered, and raw. While Eliza did not keep a daily diary in 1834, she recorded in detail two excruciating experiences she had that year when required to speak at a Methodist class meeting. This trauma inspired the only record she kept for February of this year, 1834.

Eliza's rejection, if not abhorrence, of a public speaking role reflected not only her preference for writing but also the changing role of women within Methodism at the time. Religious revivals had been spreading across the U.S. since 1790, moving west from New England until the late 1830s. White women, Elizabeth Muir argued, were the backbone of these revivals, and were often encouraged to preach and exhort, a form of speech given after a sermon urging people to do their duty (Muir 144). Methodist women were exhorting as early as 1810, taking an equal part in Methodist meetings by 1812 and preaching regularly in New York before 1825. While Methodist Episcopal Church history suggests that women were not encouraged to preach, Muir concludes that women were more active than official church records allow (144).

The most influential of all the white women Methodist preachers was Eliza Barnes Case (1796-1887), who lived at the Credit mission when Eliza arrived in 1833. While Elizabeth Muir argues that there is no record of Eliza Barnes Case preaching after 1830, in 1834 Eliza recorded an occasion on which Case exhorted, as well as another on which she played a role in organizing a prayer

meeting (Diary 10.10.33; 2.2.34). In the 1820s, when she was single, Eliza Barnes was the most celebrated white woman preaching in the Methodist Episcopal Indian missions. Muir grouped Barnes in with a number of American missionary women who came to Upper Canada from a climate where white women played an active role in early nineteenth-century religious revivals (108-110). Prior to her marriage to Mr. Case, the Superintendent of Indian missions, Eliza Barnes worked in a number of Mississauga mission communities, including the Credit where she was hired as a teacher in 1827. In addition to traveling through the Mississauga communities, she was a high profile and successful fund raiser in the U.S. She was particularly well known as a preacher, having caused a "sensation" preaching in York, in addition to being credited with a number of revivals (Muir 139). Interestingly, her husband was known to be a mediocre preacher.

In Eliza's diary of 1833/34, however, it appears that Eliza Barnes, now Case, having married one week before Eliza and Peter, was adjusting to the role of supportive, and secondary, missionary wife. This adjustment was heightened by the fact that in 1833 the Methodist Episcopal Church united with the more conservative British Wesleyans who had passed legislation in 1803 prohibiting women from speaking in the pulpit. White women who had been hired as teachers on the Indian missions in the 1820s were replaced in the 1830s by the unpaid white wives of missionaries. Elizabeth Muir argues that by 1834 white women had stopped preaching. She concludes that many of these women

married ministers or missionaries and in doing so found, "not an opening to influence and power but a downgrading of their position [that] led to public silence" (118).

Eliza almost always referred to Mrs. Case within her home. Eliza frequently recorded sitting with Mrs. Case particularly when she was ill. Mrs. Case was sick for a week and Eliza noted "sat with Mrs Case in the afternoon" and four days later" "Mrs Case but poorly – sent for Mr. J – sat with her some time both morning and afternoon . . . " (Diary 29.11.33; 2.12.33). On another occasion Eliza wrote of taking her first sleigh ride with Peter, following the sleigh of Mr. and Mrs. Case (Diary 21.12.33).

Feminist diary critics stress the role of the diary as confidant, an idea critical to understanding Eliza's writing as supplementing the support she may have received in her relationship with important white Methodist women like Mrs. Case. Despite her contact and familiarity with Mrs. Case, Eliza never recorded their relationship with any of the love and companionship she described with her sister-in-law Christiana Jones. This absence can be interpreted in a number of ways. Often after being with Mrs. Case, Eliza castigated herself for a lack of spiritual feeling, or for being depressed (i.e., Diary 25.12.33). This suggested either that Mrs. Case inspired these feelings, or that Eliza sought her out for consolation. Tellingly, a month after Eliza gave birth to her first child, a still-born baby in June of 1834, she wrote that while sitting with Mrs. Case, Peter brought her a box of presents for the baby that had arrived from England: "he hesitated

not to be the bearer of it" (Diary 20.7.34). Eliza wrote: "Unpacking this box and examining various kind presents and reading most heart-churning and affectionate letters filled our hearts with thankfulness and my eyes with tears . . . "(Diary 20.7.34). In her sorrow she wrote, "I feel at times very lonely and long for a dear Christian friend to talk to" despite sitting with Mrs. Case (Diary 20.7.34). Instead she turned to the diary to write one of her more lengthy entries:

> My dear Father sent me a beautiful cap for his grandchild – my dear mama an elegant white [ ] dear Sarah a beautiful neat frock and dear Samuel the same Emma a pretty cap of [ ] working and Louisa an elegant pair of shoes Aunt Carter a handsome scarlet cloak, Eliza Carter little shirts E. Howell a pretty cap Mrs Fletcher an elegant and [ ] hood and my dear Sarah Butterworth an exquisitely neat covering all far too good for such an unworthy creature as I am And Alas! the precious child is clothed in a grave cloth and buried out of my sight . . . (Diary 20.7.34)

This entry highlighted her supportive family while suggesting she received little comfort from the woman with whom she was sitting.

Eliza increasingly became a recorder of Mississauga experience and history, both in her diary and in publication. She wrote of spending more time acquainting herself with the Mississauga women of the community and with Peter's family members than with the white women working there. One could argue either that Eliza's familiarity, based on her shared racial identity with these white women, led to the taken-for-grantedness of her relationship with them, or that her distress with their active role in worship, given her rejection of women's public role in religious ritual, created a barrier between them. One can read in Eliza's lack of positive reaction to these Methodist women in her diary, as well as

in her silence about the role of women in interpreting scripture and discussing spirituality in the company of men, a rejection of these activities for white women.

As Hogan has argued, a focus on detail is one of the key features of diary writing, and one that we should particularly attend to in our analysis of them (95). Eliza's diary entries emphasized good works, particularly those in keeping with social work, as a more appropriate forum for women. The densely detailed diaries of the fall of 1833, one that recorded a missionary tour to Munceytown in 1834, and an account of a missionary tour to the Niagara region, possibly in 1835, contain the richest descriptions of Eliza's missionary work in Canada. These accounts include the most extensive and lengthy diary entries of the entire diary collection from 1823 to 1886. This detail reflects Eliza's growing confidence as a writer and future published author of Ojibwa history.

Eliza's record of her extensive work in the Credit community is the main narrative of her diary of missionary work. Eliza's participation in missionary work in 1833 was in keeping with the white wives of missionaries now working as unpaid teachers as opposed to their former more visible role as preachers as well as paid teachers. (Muir 123). She wrote of this role as a demanding one; Eliza describes being fully occupied in her first few months at the Credit, not only in arranging her new home and caring for John's daughter, her niece Elizabeth, but in a multitude of tasks she took on in the community:

> This morning I fixed some pocket kerchiefs for the children, took a sketch of the school house and our dwelling wrote part of a letter to Mama before tea took a walk with my dear Nenahbain [Peter] in the woods gathered some roots and leaves. (Diary 25.9.33)

She concluded the entry, "my desires O Lord are large, satisfy them, and make use of me in any way thou seest fit".

Eliza quickly began her role of recording the far-reaching work of a missionary wife – often with a tone that was patronizing and demeaning. Her first and most pressing concern was to address the most visible signs of poverty - unhygienic housing, dirty or absent clothing, hunger and disease. The topic of cleanliness, in particular, infused the diaries of her first few months at the Credit, suggesting that the signs of poverty were the most difficult part of her transition to the community. This emphasis on cleanliness also reveals the strong colonial impulse of conversion to appropriate white middle-class decorum. Of her first visit to the school she wrote, "the children sang well, their writing very good the boys have made good progress in reading but there is a want of neatness in the school and cleanliness about the children, this is a reformation I long for" (Diary 23.9.33).

In addition to making pocket kerchiefs and pincloths for the children, she wrote of immediately meeting with Miss Verplank, the teacher, to arrange aprons for the children, and washing apparatus for the school (Diary 26.9.33). A concern with household economy in general is evident in an entry in which not only the lack of cleanliness of the women and children but also that of the home she was visiting, which was "very dirty and untidy", disturbed her (Diary 16.10.33). She wrote, "shall I ever have the pleasure to see these Indians neat

and clean?", and instructed a group of girls "not to come to me again till they were clean they soon returned with nice clean faces" (Diary 16.10.33). Eliza also tempered this disapproving authoritarian action, as when she makes note of a little girl, Agnes, who has come to have a frock cut out: "with what delight do I undertake anything that may tend to their comfort and improvement" (Diary 17.10.33).

The generosity of the women also seemed to soften Eliza's condemnation and judgments. After musing on the pleasure she received from preparing pincloths for the children, she immediately noted that Peter's mother had given her a washing basket, no doubt one she had made herself. This was a gift she was "much gratified" to have received, and one which inspired her to write, "these tokens of affection are sweet rewards for any little service I may be enabled to render them" (Diary 1.10.33). The association of the pincloths and the washing basket in this diary entry suggest a blending of clothing, washing and reciprocity that mediated tension between women across cultural differences and created a potential meeting place.

Eliza's emphasis on hygiene confirmed the colonial mandate and the daily reality of illness. Underlying her disapproval, one can read Eliza's distress and alarm at the consequences of poverty in the community as she encountered many who were hungry, cold, ill and dying. Eliza wrote frequently of the alarming epidemic of cholera in the community, and of her assistance in aiding the sick. Only two days after arriving at the Credit, she described the funeral of Chief John

Crane (this was the first time she recorded that Peter preached in Ojibwa), and concluded, "I pray god he may stay his judgments and restore the people" (Diary 22.9.33). That same week she wrote of visiting a sick woman and observed "the kind attention of her Indian Sisters" to the invalid (Diary 26.9.33). This visit was in keeping with the attention she had paid to recording visits to ill and dying women and children in England. Here in Canada, the role of physically ministering to the sick was now required. The next day she wrote that she accompanied Peter when he went to bleed a dying man (Diary 26.9.33). She also attended to a women who was dying:

> After breakfast visited a poor sick woman, apparently on her dying bed, at times she is quite deranged when I was with her she was composed, and when told I was Peter's wife appeared to understand. I was gratified to see the kind attention of her Indian sisters. (Diary 27.9.33).

Elizabeth Jones accompanied Eliza when she visited her brother-in-law Peter Jacobs, a Methodist convert, minister and English speaker: "found his little boy very poorly with a rash on his face". Uncharacteristically, Eliza wrote, "mixed some medicine for him" (Diary 29.10.33). In the diaries of England, Eliza never mentioned cooking, either in her own home or for others, and yet after visiting an ill family in the Credit mission, she notes, "did not attend [Sunday] school as I was making food for the sick" (Diary 1.12.33).

While attending to the sick had been integral to Eliza's work in England, at the Credit it involved medicine and food rather than offerings of spiritual assistance. While in England she noted in her diary that she belonged to

clothing societies, whereas now she wrote about the clothes themselves. Peter collected clothes, and she assumed that it would be her responsibility "to distribute them judiciously" (Diary 24.9.33). Her first endeavour was satisfying for her: "had the pleasure to help a poor woman with clothes for her children whose father drinks" (Diary 19.10.33).

Finally, and most importantly, Eliza quickly assumed the role of writing about the mission, a role that she preferred to public speaking. Eliza composed "a few particulars of the Credit Indians" while in York for Peter's ordination as a Methodist minister (Diary 3.10.33). Eliza also frequently recorded copying Peter's translation of the Bible into Ojibwa: "commenced copying some translation of the book of Genesis" (Diary 28.10.33; see also 20.11.33).

It would seem that by perseverance Eliza found ways and means of ministering to the Mississauga people outside the Methodist form of ritual that were more suited to her particular gifts and interests. Eliza still struggled with this enormous transition:

> When I awoke this morning my thoughts flew instantly towards my dear friends at Lambeth and I pictured my beloved Father walking to Surrey Chapel Then in my imagination I saw him sitting in his accustomed seat, listening to the joyful sounds, till fancy almost placed me by his side. But I was roused from my reverie by my dear husbands voice, a few tears fell. I looked above for the strength and I was enabled to derive some comfort from that hope that I was where God would have me to be (Diary 29.9.33).

The detail of this work, suggested however, that despite homesickness, Eliza found a new role in recording her missionary work.

Missionary Touring: Diary Writing as Resistance to Discrimination: "Did I Not Consider that This Is A Cross that I Ought To Take up" (Diary 6.9.34)

Perhaps the most notable feature of Peter's missionary work, as with all Methodists, was his responsibility to a circuit, which took him through the Methodist Indigenous communities of present day southern Ontario. While the official policy of the church forbade white women from engaging in this work, we know that Margaret Dulmage traveled with her husband to these communities (Muir 123). Dulmage's obituary noted that she worked for twenty-one years as a missionary, traveling frequently to Indigenous missions. Eliza's diary indicated that she remained behind on many of Peter's missionary tours; she did, however, record two trips on which she accompanied him.

Eliza recorded participating in a missionary tour "for the purpose of attending a missionary meeting on the opposite side of the Lake [Ontario?]" (Diary 22. fall, 35?). Eliza wrote her boldest statement of rejection of the devastating treatment and characterization of Indigenous people during this tour. Eliza wrote within the context of her missionary work. Eliza's entries on this occasion were exceptionally long. Eliza recorded this trip, and another, possibly in 1835, in great detail in her diary. In each she gave great insight into the depth of her vocation as a recorder of Mississauga history and witness to injustice. Her narrative of these trips, like her accounts of her missionary work in general, opened up a new insight for me into her persona, one that is less judgmental and

yet also still constrained by Methodist dogma and the reformation of Indigenous people.

In 1834 Peter and Eliza travelled to a Methodist camp meeting two hours outside of St. Thomas, Ontario. In her diary Eliza recorded the details of transporting of supplies, the four structures at each corner of the camp for bonfires - "presenting a lively and beautiful scene giving sufficient light for the whole encampment" - a preachers' stand which doubled as a sleeping quarter, benches for the congregation, and in the centre a square enclosure for prayer meetings, all of which were constructed on the first day. She favorably described the Indigenous' tents, in contrast to those of the white settlers: "the Indians' tents were very pretty, covered with cloth or boughs - the rest were principally formed of boards" (Diary 5.9.34). Peter addressed those assembled and Eliza noted, "the people were attentive, almost all came up and shook hands". She concluded this entry: "for the first time in my life I slept on the ground in the midst of a wood".

Eliza recorded her interest and pleasure in the meeting. This ended the following day as she recorded her most anguished response in all the diaries to the discrimination that she and Peter received. While the Indigenous people had a separate prayer ground where Peter preached, he also preached to a mixed audience at the main preacher's stand "to both his white and Indian brethren and sisters". This was a significant moment for Eliza who wrote, "I enjoyed this service the most at present - indeed I feel very thankful that the sincere heartfelt

prayers and addresses of my dear Peter do in general reach my heart". When Eliza described living at the Credit, or at Munceytown, in the predominantly Indigenous communities, she did not write of prejudice. Amongst white people at the camp meeting, however, she was clearly the target of unwanted attention as the white wife of a Mississauga minister: "I felt unwell and somewhat cast down, my peculiar situation in connection with my dear husband excites much unpleasant curiosity, I feel myself gazed on whenever I move, and the consciousness of the many observations that are made are humbling to my pride". She concluded that being "an object of general observation" was unbearable: "Fain would I shut myself up behind the screen where I could only hear and neither see nor be seen". This telling admission she later crossed out. My analysis of Eliza's longing for invisibility, which dovetailed with her desire for silent prayer, reflects the precepts of appropriate modesty, propriety and absence from the public domain without which her femininity, class and race would be compromised.

Yet Eliza resisted succumbing to this desire to retreat: "did I not consider that this is a cross that I ought to take up"? Eliza claimed a kinship with the Mississauga as partners in suffering, experiencing the same lack of respect and misunderstanding as she. Whereas Eliza wrote that she desired invisibility, and then recanted, she was all too aware of the Mississauga's invisibility to the very Methodists who professed to share in their humanity, and labour on their behalf. Public displays of protest, never Eliza's strong suit, were unsuccessful - "I sat for

a short time and sang a few hymns with them, but here I found the gaze of the vulgar [white settlers] very annoying and disturbing". She resorted instead to using her pen to express her outrage, dismissing the "pagan" lifestyle and beliefs of the people, while developing her resistance in print to the idea of Mississauga peoples as invisible, unintelligent and unworthy of attention to their suffering, hunger and loss.

Eliza's diaries of 1833, 1834 and 1835 bring to the feminist literature the recording practices of a white middle-class woman as she adjusted as a missionary wife in these communities at the time. Guided by the writing of prominent missionary women such as Ann Judson, Eliza wrote of her practice of addressing the needs of the community. Rather than being restrained by notions of appropriate white middle-class behaviour Eliza wrote of her own ambitions. I argue that in this context Eliza created a new persona for herself that was passionate and open. She sought to counter the prejudicial attitudes to Indigenous people, emphasizing the visible and strong presence of these women and valorizing these qualities in her diary as in her published writing. Eliza aimed to educate the larger community about First Nation women's intelligence, contributions and humanity. Nevertheless Eliza also contributed to a civilizing and evangelical Christian mandate to improve the lives of the community which undercut the beliefs, practices and cultures of the Mississauga. And she wrote of the changing role of missionary women to a secondary position and of her own activism. Eliza developed a more confident persona – one that moved away from

her dream of leading a missionary life to its fulfilment. I have argued in this chapter that this persona is reflected in her representation of herself as a writer who was compassionate, determined and empathetic.

Chapter 4: "Would That All Who Marry White Men Possessed in Them the Same Lovely Christian Graces That Rendered My Home With My Noble Indian such an Abode of Peace and Love

Eliza and Peter's decision to marry was their most fundamental challenge to the dominant racializing discourses of their times. Buckingham, whose newspaper article in the New York newspaper I cited at length in the Introduction, wrote about their marriage contrasting her as "white and adorned with the sweetest simplicity. . . a little European lady" with Peter as Othello "Hyperion and the satyr . . . the bright-eyed Hindoo" He wrote that she was " . . . a drooping flower by the side of a rugged hemlock". In so doing the author drew on widely circulating understandings about race. Mixing racial metaphors it depicted Peter through orientalist and literary lenses as a danger from which Eliza needed to be rescued. Such writing built on and furthered the cultural process of elaborating differences. And, as Peter and Eliza knew, the effect could be devastating. Peter and Eliza occupied complicated locations as cultural intermediaries between settler and Indigenous peoples, fighting dominant prejudice while seeking converts to Christianity.

This chapter explores the ways both Peter and Eliza sought to counter and contest the prejudice and accompanying understandings about gender and sexuality that their union and their missionary work evoked. It argues that they did so in their own practices, in published material and in Eliza's case, in her diary. The first section of the chapter therefore explores how Eliza and Peter wrote about Indigenous masculinities in general ways that countered the

dominant discourses as well as looking at how Eliza and Peter valorized his masculinity and manliness. The second section turns to how they countered the dominant representations of Indigenous women as "squaws" and "drudges". It concludes by arguing that in using her diary to insist on the success of their marriage and their relationship Eliza was further countering the effects of prejudice on them. They invested a lot in the success of their marriage; others as we will see in the next chapter looked for signs of failure.

My analysis of the construction of Indigenous masculinity and femininity locates these within the broader discourses of civilization and missionary work that are critical to understanding the weight of ideas that made their marriage very problematic.[1] Peter and Eliza' critiqued the dominant racializing discourse of the times through their actions, as well as in their private and public writing. They insisted that Indigenous peoples of Upper Canada deserved respect, and that they could be civilized. However, they also deployed the language of savagery as missionaries.

In negotiating this difficult position, Eliza was emphatic in her diary that their marriage was strong, despite the climate of hostility and the complex

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[1] See Angela Woollcott, *Gender and Empire* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan), 2006. Philippa Levine, "Why Gender and Empire?," in Philippa Levine ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford U P 2004), 1-13; Catherine Hall, "Of Gender and Empire: Reflections on the Nineteenth-Century" in Philippa Levine, ed. *Gender and Empire* (Oxford U P, 2004) 46-47; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, "Introduction: Bodies, Empires, and World Histories" and "Postscript Bodies, Genders, Empires: Reimagine World Histories" in their bodies in *Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham and London: Duke U P, 2005), 1-18, 408-423

positions they inhabited as individuals and as a couple. Eliza concluded her diary of 1833 "we have experienced many favours from friends in this country and have had our feelings wounded by the unjust and unfeeling remarks of several editors of public journals". Nonetheless "instead of experiencing the many calamities predicted by enemies we have only experienced increased happiness and satisfaction in each others love" (Diary 13.6.33).

Indigenous Masculinities

Perhaps Peter was not as great a threat to Eliza as the newspaper writer described him. Othello exists in the Anglo-American cultural consciousness as Shakespeare's "Othello the Moore of Venice" evoking perhaps the analogous title "Peter the Indian as represented by Anglo-American Culture". Othello and Peter, unlike the savages they were depicted to be, won the hearts of Desdemona and Eliza with their eloquence: Othello with the striking story of his life, Peter with his preaching. Furthermore, it is Desdemona's countryman, the Venetian Iago, who deceived Othello and plotted the destruction of Desdemona. Similarly, it was self-righteous American bigots, claiming a desire to rescue Eliza, not the Indian Peter, who presented a threat to Eliza.

Eliza and Peter, however, were undeterred by these conventions, often signaling their artificiality. Eliza did not represent Peter as a conventional white middle-class man in her diary. She initially depicted him as a man familiar with

the woods: "Took a walk with my dear Nenahbain in the woods gathered some roots and leaves" (Diary 23.9.33). Similarly Eliza also wrote that she demonstrated strength, tenacity and even fool-hardiness as exemplified in her description of her conduct on a missionary tour:

> . . . we soon came to a short but very steep hill – I could not muster courage to ride and after much arguing to the contrary I persuaded my dear Peter to let me alight of this I had no cause to repent, for in ascending the hill the wagon struck against a stump which propelled it back again . . . I still wished to continue on my feet . . . dear Peter assured me I had better ride as that was the best part of the road – accordingly I got in again and with much trembling rode over the marsh, horrid stumps and bogs I ever saw – on we went for about a mile when all at once down we came, the linchpin came out, I saw the horse and shafts on before and we in the wagon left behind – in a moment I jumped out, and managed most cleverly to fall flat on the ground before Peter could speak all this was done. . . . (Diary Saturday 30th 1834)

Eliza recorded Peter's response which suggested his disbelief and a shared humour: ". . . when he quietly got out, expressing his wonder that I did not sit still . . ."

Eliza revelled in Peter's command as a preacher, and in his presentation of himself as an iron-framed man of the forest. Peter had a more difficult time negotiating this difficult position which brought him fame, the attention of women and a public questioning of his Indian status. Peter's popularity as a public speaker, whether to an African-American congregation in Philadelphia - "make them free indeed" (*History* 205) - or to thousands in Scotland, to the King and later to the Queen of England, was indisputable. In a rare glimpse of the sexual

overtones of his charisma he wrote of this latter tour that, "a beautiful girl, 18 `yrs said to me 'indeed I should like to go with you to your people . . . I would love you as well as anybody, indeed I would'" (*Life* 205). Throughout his political and religious career, however, Peter was attacked for his white father's relationships with his Mohawk and Mississauga wives. In addition his authenticity and his claim to represent Mississauga interests was queried: "the York *Courier* . . . pretend Ind. Chief, not an Indian chief, not an Ind at all cast a more severe reflection upon my father's family – injured Methodist Society . . . "(*Life* 330)

Throughout his adult life, Peter negotiated the tension between "savagery" and educated missionary in order both to demonstrate his people's ability to reform and to raise money the Mississauga needed to develop their communities. Peter struggled throughout his life with the curiosity, as opposed to the interest in the Indigenous struggles, of the people who came to hear him speak. Lecturing in Indian costume increasingly became a trial for Peter. Peter's private writings reveal that mediating the constructed image of Indigenous identity and masculinity was always a struggle. This struggle informed his defence of Ojibwa traditional masculine norms and practices as well as his admiration for and difficulty with white middle-class male respectability.

While Eliza focused in her published writing on Peter as a pious, gentleman, Peter commented extensively in his published works on traditional Ojibwa masculinity and contested dominant representations of Indigenous men. One of the main criticisms Methodist missionaries expressed with regard to

Mississauga men was that they did not work. White missionary Alvin Torry wrote in the 1850s: "we endeavoured to inculcate habits of industry among them; for in their pagan state they were brought up to think it was degrading for an Indian to work. His business was to sit in the council, smoke the pipe, and hunt and fish". To a white contemporary audience, neither political work nor hunting or fishing constituted work. Historian Elizabeth Vibert argues that the image of Indigenous male "indolence" was the most pervasive depiction of aboriginal masculinity in New World colonial records and accounts. She persuasively argues that the characterization of sloth and laziness was tied to the specific needs of the individual commentators. Her thesis is that on the Plateau of what is present day British Columbia, idleness in British traders' texts meant not hunting, and therefore doing nothing. Anthropologist Mary Black-Rogers argues that for the sub-arctic fur-trade, "laziness" did not mean "doing nothing" - instead it meant "not hunting for furs" (120, 125). Thus, encouraging farming was useful for missionaries, while encouraging hunting was useful for fur traders. "Indolence" then, as Peter Jones and white Methodist missionaries wrote, referred specifically to "not farming"; they characterized hunting as promoting a lifestyle of indolence.

From his position within Mississauga culture Peter concurred with the Methodist missionary notion of work, but he expressed far more respect for the political and economic work performed by Ojibwa men. Overall, Peter wrote most frequently, in his published and unpublished writings, in a dispassionate

and non-judgmental manner about Ojibwa practices and beliefs. He often demonstrated a deep respect and pride in his own culture, as well as a belief in the benefits of colonialism and Christianity. He described the manner in which young men were trained to become medicine men, hunters and warriors as well as the fasting, feasts and religious offerings that accompanied the development of these skills for young boys (*History* 64). Speed and swiftness were skills valued over strength. The ability to run long distances in order to relay political messages was most admired. Peter recounted these activities without censure, saving his greatest reproof for resistance to settled agriculture. Peter argued that hunting fostered a precarious and unproductive way of life. The Mississauga should, instead, "become tillers of the ground" *(History* 172). This opinion may also reflect the lack of game resulting from the two wars on former Mississauga land.

Peter addressed warfare, with its threat not only to women but to the colonial project, in great detail in his history of the Ojibwa people. The War of 1812 had a profound and devastating impact on his mother's band and on his childhood, resulting in his move to the home of his white father and his Mohawk wife. Although this experience must have influenced Peter's perception of masculinity and warfare, he nevertheless recounted previous battles with the Iroquois and the role of the warrior without censure, and even with pride. He described the strategy of stealth over bravado, and dispassionately detailed the instruments of war, from the tomahawk to the scalping knife.

Peter also discussed not only Ojibwa warfare, but also their gentle, humane and hospitable conduct in times of peace (*History* 131). He quoted a white author who catalogued heinous crimes committed by whites against Ojibwa men, women and children (*History* 63). Under a heading "Wit and Shrewdness" Peter related the following anecdote about bravery suggesting that this value was tempered and downplayed, as well as celebrated, within Ojibwa culture:

> It is related that two chiefs [went] from the far West to the city of Washington on business with the government. While they were there, a gentleman invited them to dinner. They went, - and being seated for the first time at a white man's table, they began to eat such things as were set before them, and to help themselves to such as were within their reach. One of them seeing some yellow-looking stuff (mustard), took a spoonful, swallowing the whole. Tears soon ran down his cheeks. His brother chief, seeing him weep, said, "Oh! my brother, why do you weep?" The other replied, "I am thinking about my son who was killed in such a battle!" Presently the other chief took a spoonful of the same stuff, which caused his eyes to weep as did his brother's; who in return asked him, "Oh! I weep to think you were not killed when your son was." (*History* 63)

Peter clearly considered battle humour the domain of all who fight, both white and Ojibwa.

Peter described in great detail the elaborate deer skin dress of Ojibwa men, including the decoration of quills, beads, silver brooches, feathers, furs and tails. Even when European clothes were introduced, Peter claimed they continued to be worn in a traditional manner (*History* 76-77). Calling some ornaments fantastic, Peter mocked the elaborate detail of Ojibwa clothing. He made light of the injury to a man's vanity of having his ear ornaments torn out in a fight. Peter chided what he perceived as a feminization of Ojibwa men, implied

by the elaborate attention to dress and the body. The fop was a source of derision with respect to the image of appropriate white middle-class manhood. While Peter was quick to argue in favor of a changing economic role for the Ojibwa, he was by turns respectful, ironic and proud of his people's masculinity and its relationship to warfare, hunting and spirituality.

Peter's portrait of Ojibwa masculinity was measured, depicting men as loving and devoted husbands and fathers, rather than lustful, vengeful, brutal savages. In contrast to the white middle-class ideal of men who prudently supervised their households, what emerged was a depiction of masculinity in which valour, honour, bravery and skill were valued above all else, mixed with vanity, imprudence, stoicism and humour.

Eliza was quick to note in her diary her appreciation of the men of Peter's family, who were physically active members of the community, as well as those who as Methodist preachers inspired her admiration despite difficulties with the language barrier. As I have noted, Peter further challenged the indolent savage stereotype by taking her hunting, fishing and collecting, in addition to healing the sick, caring for the needy and preaching to the converted and the pagan. While Eliza was at pains to present Peter as a mild, hardworking, pious white middle-class husband, she also suggested that Peter was an exceptional husband because of the values of Mississauga culture, values that also made him a superior father. Eliza admired the cultural differences among the men in the Mississauga community. For example, Eliza wrote in her diary "Peter Jacobs

was with us in the evening He is an intelligent pious active Indian" (Diary 21.10.33).

Writing against stereotypes, Eliza characterized her husband and the Iroquois chief Joseph Brant as following the expectations for quintessential white Christian, middle-class men, and as superior leaders of their people (D, Smith, *Sacred*). According to Eliza, Joseph Brant and her husband Peter were Christian men who defended their people and worked to establish self governing agricultural communities on secure land bases. In two published historical sketches Eliza emphasized how both men fulfilled the dominant culture's model of an exemplary life. Eliza wrote that by dint of their own extraordinariness, hard work and determination, they "overcame" their First Nation backgrounds and rose to greatness. Thus she concluded Brant's biography: "Brant was a high-minded, large-hearted, philanthropic man . . . in spite of disadvantages, he stands forth, in many respects, a bright example for the more favored of our race" ([Eliza Jones], *Ka-ch-ah-gah-me-qua* 14). In her "Brief Sketch of the Life of the Author" for Peter's *History of the Ojebway Indians*, she described Peter's character, "I think the circumstance of his rising so superior to the generality of his countrymen should be noticed . . . he rose by industry, honesty and piety to a respectable and honourable station in society" (P. Jones, *History* 254). Unacknowledged by Eliza, however, was the manner in which she maintained silences, presented selectively in her writing, of the racial dichotomy in order to create these idealized portraits. She avoided mentioning the circumstances of Peter's birth, which

foregrounded his father's so called "polygamous" relationships; she claimed Joseph and Peter "overcame" their Mohawk and Mississauga background in order to succeed. Eliza, the chronicler of her chosen people, employed the material at hand to honour her heroes.

Catherine Hall summarized early-nineteenth-century English, white middle-class manhood in the following manner: "devoted husband, loving father, paternalistic employer, responsible public man, generous to all his dependents, whether child, servant or apprentice, kind to animals" (1992). Eliza employed a similar framework in her published brief sketch of Peter's character, beginning paragraphs with, "As a husband", "As a father", "As a master", "As the priest of his family", "As a friend" (P. Jones *History*). Similarly, sections of her *Sketch of the Life of Captain Joseph Brant* are entitled, "His Manners", "As a Man of Rule", "Brant's Shrewdness and Sagacity".

Through the mode, format and structure of her writing Eliza made claims about Peter's masculinity as a worthy middle-class man, however, she drew attention to the fact that Peter was not white. Eliza emphasized Peter's Mississauga heritage to argue his superiority to white husbands in his exemplary conduct toward her, and in his indulgence with his children. She represented him as a loving father, fondly recalling him spending hours telling stories to his children, thus passing on important Mississauga customs, traditions, history and knowledge ("Brief", P. Jones, *History* 251-252). Above all, she wrote that he embodied the qualities of "consistency, humility and moderation". (Eliza Field

Jones, P. Jones *Life and Journals* 424). In her writing Eliza consistently described Peter as gentle and kind: "Would that all who marry white men possessed in them the same lovely Christian graces that rendered my home with my noble Indian such an abode of peace and love" (Eliza Field Jones, P. Jones *Life and Journals* 420). In constructing this portrait of Peter, Eliza strongly refuted the three main faults ascribed to savage masculinity. Firstly, Peter, rather than being indolent, worked hard to make something of himself. Secondly, he was not violent toward her, and thirdly he was faithful, both in contrast to the reality of polygamy within Ojibwa and white settler practices. In short he was the ideal husband.

It was the construction of masculinity of the traditional Ojibwa men as rough that highlighted Eliza as a creature of habit, one who added to the image of Mississauga men as potentially dangerous. Eliza, the typical diarist, began an entry by recording the comings and goings of the community before writing, "this morning without ceremony before I was dressed an Indian man came in, this is common" (Diary 15.10.33). A few days later she described how several Indian men came to talk with Peter, "they annoyed me much by spitting, this is a dirty habit, but it is a little trial I must bear patiently" (Diary 17.10.33). They invaded Eliza's space and 'annoy' her, but rather than threatening or alarming, they appear in a matter-of-fact manner.

In the diary Eliza chose to highlight the woods, rivers and lakes and their role in providing traditional Ojibwa sustenance through hunting, fishing and

gathering. While in this struggling community these activities were of primary importance, what is striking is Eliza's respect, not censure, of traditional masculine activities. Once at the Credit, Eliza focused less on Peter as a man of God, as in her diary writing while waiting in England and in her future published writings, and more on Peter as an "iron framed son of the forest". Two days after recording the offence of spitting, she wrote, "walked with my dear Peter over the River and had my first paddle in a canoe enjoyed it much my husband very handy" (Diary 19.10.33). Rather than noting the village, its houses, its forms of industry and agriculture, Eliza spent the fall becoming acquainted with the woods and streams of her husband's youth: "walked with my dear husband thro' the woods by the river" (Diary 25.9.33). She also wrote: "took a walk in the evening to see the salmon fishing" and "walked in the afternoon to the Lake Nenahbain took his gun, but did not kill any thing" (Diary 20.11.33). These activities of hunting, fishing and gathering suggest the important role of the products of rivers and forest in the community, and Eliza's immediate interest in them. Eliza created a depiction of Peter as an ideal middle-class husband, but also a man of his people, skilled and knowledgeable in hunter gatherer medicine and a provider of indigenous food.

"White Squaw" and "Squaw Drudge"

Just as Eliza did not represent Peter in her diary or published writings as fitting representations of the male savage she did not subscribe to the representation of the "squaw drudge". Clare Midgley describes the triple discourse of anti-slavery in tracts of the early nineteenth-century in which the high privileges of British females were compared to black chattel slavery, the slavish position of women in savage societies and the sensual enslavement of women in the harem under "Oriental despotism".[1] Midgley argues that initially, privileged white women advocated on behalf of women who were enslaved. White women drew parallels between their own situation and that of female "slaves", albeit within the image of the superiority of the mantle of Empire (163).

Eliza's ethnocentric yet anti-discriminatory depictions of Mississauga and Mohawk men and women in her diary and in her public depiction of Peter and Joseph Brant were in keeping with Claire Midgely's argument about the nature of abolitionist writing. Feminist historians of the early nineteenth-century, in reaction to the emphasis on shared women's culture, have long explored differences and power relations between women. Historian Nancy Hewitt, in her article "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood", is critical of the way feminist historians have analyzed the ideology and practice of cross-class, inter-racial and inter-ethnic relationships between women in the nineteenth century (1985). She

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[1] Clare Midgley, G*ender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), Ed. Clare Midgley., 166. "Hyperion and the satyr" is a less effective analogy for what the author is trying to convey. Shakespeare's *Hamlet* compares his beloved dead father to his usurping uncle Claudius as "Hyperion to a satyr", Hyperion being a Titan sun-god whose powers and attributes were later assumed by Apollo (Hamlet 1.2.140).

states that, historically, conflict between women has been minimized. Feminist historians reinforced the idea that bonds between women based on gender have been stronger than barriers between women based on class or race (303). Vron Ware suggests, in her study of white feminists in the late nineteenth century, that these tensions symbolize "the perpetual crisis within women's politics over the negotiation of race and class differences" (242).

Eliza's depictions of her Mississauga community in her publications made a major contribution to nineteenth-century literature on Indigenous women. This literature came from a wealth of sources by Ojibwa authors, written in the 1820s and 1830s, not just from Peter's books. Other Ojibwa ministers such as John Sunday wrote in the Upper Canadian Methodist journal the *Christian Guardian.* All contributed to representations of Indigenous women that were troubling and largely discriminatory.

Eliza was pitied in the newspaper article describing her marriage as joining the ranks of the downtrodden Indigenous woman. Peter as "Rugged Hemlock" was an accepted, though troubling, image ". . . She looked like a drooping flower by the side of a rugged Hemlock . . .". The image of woman as drooping flower was far more intricate. Inherent in this image is one of victimization. The drooping flower image implicitly suggests physical and sexual violence associated with male "savagery" in heathen societies. Articles written during the 1830s in the Upper Canadian Methodist journal *The Christian Guardian* frequently warned white women about the inhumanity, brutality, and

lechery women endured when they were enslaved in chattel bondage, in "savage" societies and within the harem. In contrast, white middle-class evangelical Christianity promised women not only spiritual equality with men, but also a pious masculinity, one that was economically and domestically responsible, affording women not only moral, but also physical, protection.

In the Methodist *Christian Guardian* "savage" societies were represented as secluding their women from the men, including the Mississauga, who practiced menstrual seclusion. According to one 1835 article this practice created the conditions whereby women, separated from their families, could be physically and sexually assaulted. (16.9.35). "Heathen" women were defined by their sexuality as courting temptation as a result of being "degraded, enslaved, and secluded from society" (*Christian* 11.5.36). In contrast, a middle-class woman's husband was not ashamed of her. He did not hide her, but rather walked arm and arm with her in public. Peter insisted that Mississauga women were appreciated in their culture. In his *History* he wrote that women boiled corn and pumpkins, "split spruce roots to use to sew and fasten birch canoes", made brooms, and baskets (285). On August 9th 1837 he wrote in his diary " . . . the Indian sisters at the various missions were the most faithful members in society" (*Life*). In addition, he noted they were the most important economically after the loss of hunting land in the 1820s. Nonetheless he also noted the practice of women walking behind their husbands reflecting "the Mississauga woman's enslaved status" (*History* 60).

Secluded or separated from the men, "heathen women" were thus presented as in danger of physical assault and neglect. Methodist Mississauga men stressed women's vulnerability within their own culture, except for men and women who had embraced Christianity. The Methodist Mississauga missionary John Sunday wrote of one man who attacked his wife with a knife because she wanted to convert to Christianity, and Peter Jones wrote an account of a drunken man who killed his own mother when she tried to prevent him from injuring his wife (*Christian* 2.10.33; P. Jones *History* 61). While the reports of extreme incidents such these were rare, Peter argued that women's secondary, removed status translated into women and children neither receiving medical care, nor getting enough to eat (*History* 240). The Rev. William Case's emphasis on having Ojibwa men and women sit down together to eat at a table suggests more than just social equality. One can also infer a concern for women's health. Peter suggested that women traditionally ate what the men did not want after them, and slept in the least desirable places within the wigwam, where they were most exposed to the elements (*History* 60). He concluded that, "In accordance with the custom of all pagan nations, the Indian men look upon their women as an inferior race of beings, created for their use and convenience" (*History* 61).

While a debate raged at this time among white female commentators as well as between both white and Ojibwa missionaries as to the status of Indigenous women, all commentators suggested that the manual labour performed by Ojibwa women constituted drudgery. Peter elaborated on the

specific nature of their work: "They [the men] therefore treat them as menials and impose on them all the drudgeries of a savage life such as making the wigwam, providing fuel, planting and hoeing the Indian corn or maize, fetching the venison and bear's meat from the woods where the man shot it: in short, all the hard work falls upon the women so that it may truly be said of them, that they are the slaves of their husbands" (*History* 60). To this list of duties the nineteenth-century Ojibwa historian William Warren added, "making mats, picking dry berries and harvesting the wild rice crop, which is very hard work" (Warren 265). Warren did not even refer to the women as women but calls them "drudges". The nineteenth- century white Missionary Alvin Torry concluded that Ojibwa women "in fact do all the drudgery" (Qtd in Graham 83). This physically hard work was at odds, as it was with working-class families, with the slender vine image of white middle-class femininity.

The above statements articulated the dominant perception of Ojibwa women performing stereotypical public, male activities. Eliza summed up in publication the 'improvement' brought by western codes of conduct: "The women, who formerly were slaves to the men, have no longer the drudgery and hard work to perform, but are living in comfortable cottages, neatly clothed, and enjoying that peace which the religion of Jesus alone can give" ([E. Jones], Ke-che-ah—gah-me-qua *Sketch of the Life* 15). Methodist missionaries emphasized in the early nineteenth century the necessity of permanent homes in which women, in their natural sphere, could perform a more appropriate domestic role. White

Methodist missionary Alvin Torry argued, "The women must stay in the house, bake the bread, cook the victuals, wash and make the clothes" (Graham 83). These activities were not represented as work as much as appropriate female responsibilities. Contrasting with the stereotype of the "drudge" was the image of the clean and orderly white middle-class woman. In his assessment of the new Christian Mississauga settlement at Grape Island in 1828, Peter admired the ideal of "white squaws" who had orderly and neat homes (*History*).

Contemporary anthropologists, ethno-historians, and historians have tried to tease out a richer understanding of the lives of First Nation women masked by this imagery of the squaw drudge. Elizabeth Vibert concludes that the white fur traders she studied "homogenize women into a collective 'they' and hone the essentializing further to create an iconic 'she' [Indigenous woman]" (128). Vibert suggests, nonetheless, that Plateau women defied the "drudge" categorization, demonstrating considerable power in their own right (139). Ethno-historian David D. Smits, in his survey of the use of the "squaw drudge", observes that "the Indian" itself was a general category to European observers wherein they overlooked a range of permitted individual deviations (294). European observers constructed a generic "Indian" that belied their diversity. Smits argued that the most insidious implication of the stereotype of the "squaw drudge" and the indolent "savage" was as a rationalization of white hegemony. These images acted as a negative reference group and counter-image by which Euro-

Americans could demonstrate superiority and rationalize dispossession, thereby facilitating Euro American cultural imperialism (Smits 301).

Eliza, as a result of the missionary civilizing agenda, often represented Mississauga and Mohawk women in her published writing as the stereotypical beasts of burden, passive victims in need of release from their state of slavery to men. Eliza, Peter and white Methodist missionaries deployed the "squaw drudge" image in their attempt to retain Methodist and Mississauga lands, working to improve and protect rather than exterminate their people. These missionaries employed the language of the abolitionist movement in arguing that early nineteenth-century missions improved the status of all women. Eliza is explicit about her admiration and respect for the Mississauga and Mohawk women in her family and community. In her diary, and published writing Eliza championed Indigenous women's intelligence and accomplishments.

Methodists used the idea of equality to argue for Christian improvement. The head of the Methodist Church, William Case, stated that the Mississauga "men should lift the burden from their oppressed wives, and treat them not as slaves, but as companions and friends" (*Christian* Oct 2, 1833). Case therefore believed that Christianity would bring companionate marriage. He continued this argument for apparent social equality in a sermon to the Mississauga of Lake Scugog: "Our breakfast being ready, I said, Now, brothers, invite your wives and daughters, and seat them by your side at the table . . . they at length gave the invitation, and the sisters took their seats, perhaps for the first time beside their

husbands at the table - There was much smiling with the women when the invitation was given, and all seemed happy and cheerful and enjoyed the season finely" (qtd P. Jones *History* 61). Peter echoed this sentiment in his history, declaring "now the men treat their wives as equals" (*History* 237).
The ideology of the domestic realm as white woman's proper sphere also highlighted the tension between spiritual equality and social subordination that was present in Christianized communities. The ultimate success of missionary work was measured by the treatment of women.

Peter Jones' diary, on the other hand, demonstrated concern for economic parity. He outlined the development of the relationship between white Missionary women and Mississauga women at the Christian mission stations in creating a business to support their communities, a theme discussed specifically in Chapter 3. It was the industry of the Mississauga women in which Peter took an enormous amount of pride. He frequently noted their skill as workers, their industriousness, their adaptability and their persistence. Peter did not write about Mississauga men taking up agriculture with anywhere near the same zeal and attention.

The 'Rugged Hemlock' and the 'Drooping Vine'

On September 6, 1834, one year after the newspaper article appeared comparing Peter to Othello and herself to Desdemona, Eliza wrote a lengthy

response. It had been a difficult year. She sadly noted the death of their first child, a still-born boy, on June 13, 1834, but wrote, "we have been cheered by the tidings of much good news from our dear friends in England". Eliza continued, "we have experienced many favours from friends in this country and we have had our feelings wounded by the unjust and unfeeling remarks of several editors of public journals". Pointedly, she recorded in her diary, "instead of experiencing the many calamities predicted by enemies we have only experienced increased happiness and satisfaction in each others love".

In this chapter I explored Eliza's response to the journalist's "drooping flower by the side of a rugged hemlock", with its suggestion of sexual violence, a corruption of the "lofty pine and slender vine" metaphor which, according to Davidoff and Hall, depicted the quintessential white middle-class couple of the early nineteenth century (287). Privately, in their diaries, both Peter and Eliza constructed each other along these conventional lines. Eliza depicted Peter's strength and protectiveness as a "son of the forest" and her delicacy and need of support. They also drew upon and contested dominant representations of Indigenous masculinity and femininity. Peter represented Mississauga and Mohawk masculinity as mostly admirable. Eliza, in turn, rejected the "squaw drudge" stereotype. I have analyzed their attempt to address derogatory stereotypes that emphasized differences as opposed to understanding and tolerance.

Eliza and Peter's marriage constituted their major challenge to dominant racializing discourses. Historian Adele Perry has argued that in nineteenth-century British Columbia sex between white women and Indigenous' men was "constructed as literally impossible" (177). This may have been the dominant representation, but it was not the only one. Eliza's lived experiences within Mississauga and Mohawk culture fuelled her written critiques of stereotypes and discriminatory practices. As I will discuss in the following chapter, her respect for these women was profoundly influenced by the support she documented receiving from her kinswomen during pregnancy and childbirth.

Chapter 5: Kinship and the Status of Women: "I Bless God Who Has Given Me Favor In The Eyes of This People": 1833-1841

Eliza was not alone in admiring much about Ojibwa women's positions in their societies. Three of Upper Canada's most widely read gentlewomen then and now – the settler Catherine Parr Traill and the temporary visitor and future feminist promoter of property rights for women, Anna Jameson, as well as Ann Langton - also wrote at some length on the subject. This chapter begins by comparing Eliza and her writing about her Mississauga and Mohawk female kin and friends with the location from which these three women wrote and the qualities they claimed to admire. The second section looks at how she wrote about life and death at the Credit Mission and her first two first pregnancies and children's deaths, while the third turns to her growing interest in the powerful Brant family and in Mohawk women's place in their society. It concludes by returning to the importance Peter and Eliza placed on the success of their marriage and to the ways they used the naming of living sons to assert their inter-racial identities.

As we saw earlier, Eliza prepared for her experience in the Credit Mission while still in England. She assumed she would bond with the women of the community as she had with middle-class white women in England. Eliza wrote in her diary of her hope that Christiana Brant, wife of Peter's older brother John, and granddaughter of Joseph Brant, would be not just her sister-in-law, but her companion. Christiana spoke English and was already an important influence on

Christian reform in the seven year old Credit Village. Eliza noted that Christiana was the first woman to welcome her and in the next two weeks visited with her regularly. A month after her arrival, Eliza wrote in her diary "sat working with Mrs. J. Jones, the more I know her the better I like her, may our friendship increase and may we be a blessing to each other" (Diary 18.10.33). Two weeks later, Eliza recorded that "dear sister Jones was delivered of a fine boy" (Diary 31.10.33). Three days later Christiana became ill and Eliza proposed sitting up with her. Her tone in recording this incident in the diary is the same one she used when writing of nursing one of her ill sisters or friends in England. Typically she made no mention of Christiana's pregnancy, only of the baby's birth.

Four days later Christiana Jones died of complications following childbirth. Eliza wrote one of her longest and most detailed diary entries in her sixty years of diary writing, recounting the horror of Christina's death, the loss of a crucial relationship, and a portend of life in Indigenous communities:

> Past a night of most painful anxiety Dear Christiana in great agony, high fever and inflammation she appeared fast hastening to another world John on the ground tortured with his finger which from the scratch of a pin was festering. The dear babe very restless. Saw McCallans wagon pass to fetch the doctor for their afflicted family
>
> (Diary 3.11.33)

The entry continued with a reverie Eliza experienced while walking home, Christiana's baby just born, Christiana apparently near death:

> being wearied out I left this house of mourning at ½ past 5 and as I paced across the way I thought of Peter, of friends in England and then I thought of Heaven. The stars were shining brightly, the silver light of the lovely moon reflecting on the frosty ground gave it a brilliant sparkling appearance.

She wrote with premonition of the difficult life ahead of her:

> All was still, and as I walked alone to my solitary dwelling I felt that I was in circumstances different to any I had ever experienced before, now I thought my trials are beginning, my cup has been full of mercy and comfort hitherto, my time had been engaged on the things of time in anxiously preparing for my new abode, fancy had pictured bright days in prospect and now a heavy foreboding seemed to whisper prepare for sorrow, disappointment and death. (Diary 3.11.33)

Eliza was blunt about her misguided idealism - a rare admission. This entry was one of the few that gives insight into Eliza coping alone with adversity, finding a public voice and being completely bereft:

> I got together some wood and after a time made a fire to burn but my feet were cold and my thoughts too wandering for sleep, thus I lay musing on the past and future till Catherine [servant] came and told me breakfast was ready, but I was too tired to rise, and took a cup of coffee in bed, after this I fell into a sweet sleep for a little time and then awoke . . . I rose dear Christine was much more easy but I feared it was not good symptoms was what I dreaded thro the day our hopes grew fainter and fainter in the afternoon we prayed and sung with her and she seemed happy peaceful and resigned, enjoyed some religious conversation after returning from Christenes [sic] and for the first time I prayed aloud in the presence of Mrs Case and Miss Cook I retired to rest fatigued but I trust in some little measure resigned tho sorrowful about two oclock Miss Cook came to my room and said "Sister Jones is dying" I could not or rather would not believe her, again and again I said "what?" cold do you say alas! she made the sad truth really known We quickly rose and sallied to the house of solemn woe We found the breath nearly gone, all was still, we sang and prayed, and then seeing the end approaching we were obliged to make the melancholy preparations, for which purpose we returned to Mrs Cases, very soon she was again sent for and about an hour returned the bitter ? that the spirit was gone (Diary 3.11.33)

She concluded the entry "thus died my beloved friend and sister Christene [sic] at ½ Past 5 on the 4th of Nov 1833" (Diary 3.11.33).

Following Christiana's death Eliza cared for her daughter Elizabeth, and "kept house for brother John" (Diary 8.11.33). Mrs. Sawyer, David's wife, Christiana's half kinsmen (she and David both shared Joseph Brant as their father), took the new born baby boy. Sadly, two weeks later Christiana and John's newborn baby also died. Eliza wrote, "felt much depressed in the evening" (Diary 15.11.33).

Any naïve fantasies Eliza had about missionary work ended with Christina's death. Her focus in her diary shifted to the women she came to save but also deeply admired, even revered. Mississauga women were Eliza's sisters-in-law and community members by marriage. Eliza went on to write in detail of their assistance during her two still births, two miscarriages and, happily, the birth of two sons in 1839 and 1841. Eliza developed a new assertive persona in her diaries authorized by her intimate knowledge of these women. Eliza's diary entries about the support she received from Mississauga and Mohawk women strongly pointed to the role they provided in addition to her written confidant, her diary, as her primary means of solace.

Counter-Images: "The Swarthy Matron", "Absolute Mistress in Her Own Wigwam", Shaman[1]

Eliza was unique in her first-hand lived experience with female Mississauga and Mohawk kin. Eliza wrote in her diaries of these women as in need of reform, while highlighting her fascination with their skills, intelligence and histories. Other

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[1] Traill, *Backwoods*, 233; Jameson, *Winter Studies*, 397, 395.

white female women commentators also criticized the status of women as beasts of burden while admiring their prowess. Gerson suggests that from the "easy advantage of hindsight" the writing of Parr Traill and Moodie can be challenged. Gerson argues as scholars it is difficult for us not to critique their engagement with the other and focus on their projection of their own concerns on Indigenous women (1).

Parr Traill and Jameson and Langdon as well as Peter Jones, wrote about the laudable qualities each valued in their relationships with Ojibwa women. Just as the role of women's work loomed large in the accounts of political leaders such as Peter Jones, for whom the economic viability of the Christian communities was paramount, similarly prominent white women writers revealed very specific motivations in their positive depictions of Ojibwa women. Eliza Jones most significantly wrote in her diaries of her sister-in-law, Christiana Brant Jones, as the ideal Christian woman, caring for her family and children and exerting a beneficial influence in her community. Catherine Parr Traill, in her guide for white women emigrants, also depicted a Mississauga woman, Mrs. Peter, as embodying all the ideal qualities of a settler's wife. Like Eliza, Parr Traill was a Christian and linked to abolitionist circles. The writer Anna Jameson portrayed Ojibwa women as feminist role models. She journeyed to visit Ojibwa people, women in particular, to forward an argument in favour of the emancipation of all women. All three women authors wrote of Ojibwa women extolling the idealized version of the very qualities their authors aspired to

themselves: Eliza's mild Christiana Brant Jones, loving mother, intelligent and pious Christian, Traill's ingenious Mrs. Peter, skilled craftswoman and deft trader, Anna Jameson's soulful Mrs. Schoolcraft, expert storyteller and font of information. Each author depicted these Ojibwa women as embodying the qualities of quiet yet influential leadership, economic self sufficiency, and moral and spiritual authority, respectively, that each desired to instill in her female audience. These white women commentators rejected, to varying degrees, the notion of the drudgery of the work of Ojibwa women in favour of portraying their productive and useful service. Just as these commentators did not see themselves as inconsequential or invisible, neither did they describe Ojibwa women as such. Eliza, Catherine and Anna, all colonizing white women, admired and wrote of Ojibwa women's position and saw it as something that British women might emulate.

When Eliza had finally received her father's acceptance of her marriage, she prepared gifts for her sister-in-law Christiana Brant Jones, daughter of Joseph Brant, and for Christiana's daughter Elizabeth, in expectation of their close relationship as friends and sisters-in-law. In contrast to Traill and Jameson's relationships with Ojibwa women, as visiting outsiders, Christiana was Eliza's sister through marriage.

Eliza's relationship with Christiana was brief and tragic. Christiana was a woman who shared Eliza's religious beliefs and who could have introduced her to Mississauga culture. Eliza greatly admired Christina. In her *Memoir of Elizabeth*

Jones Eliza extols Christiana's virtues "Mrs. John Jones was a woman of strong mind, fine understanding, and good judgment. She united to a most amiable disposition unassuming yet dignified manners: all who knew her loved and respected her" (6). Christina's harrowing death, and the reality of life at the Credit Mission, was palpable in the diary and the publication.

Friendship, as described by Parr Traill and Jameson, with Ojibwa women, was more condescending. Catherine Parr Traill wrote of "our friend the hunter Peter's squaw" and "squaw Peter" and "my old squaw (as I always call Mrs. Peter)" (136, 174). This friendship was marked by gift exchange: "I wore a beautiful pair [of moccasins] all last winter, worked with porcupine-quills and bound with scarlet ribbon these elegant moccasins were the handicraft of an old squaw, the wife of Peter the hunter" (170). In response, in thanks for a canoe ride home by Mrs. Peter, Traill recorded giving her "a few beads for working moccasins and carefully securing her treasure by tying them in a corner of her blanket with a bit of thread" (233).

Within an hour of meeting Mrs. Schoolcraft, Anna Jameson proclaimed, "no fear, you see that we shall soon be the best friends in the world!" (376). Jameson's friendship was one of sisterhood, notable among white middle-class Anglo-Americans, and enhanced by the broader sense of sisterhood in Ojibwa culture in which adults, as well as children, were frequently adopted. Upon leaving, a week later, Anna Jameson wrote "I thought I had said all my adieus the night before, but at early dawn my good Neengai [mother] came paddling across

the river with various kind offerings for her daughter Wa,sah,ge,wo,no,qua, which she thought might be pleasant or useful, and more last affectionate words from Mrs. Schoolcraft" (485). Thus Jameson claimed her adoption into Ojibwa culture, referring to Mrs. Schoolcraft's mother as her mother and to herself by the Ojibwa name, the woman of the bright foam, given to her by her adopted mother.

Not surprisingly, neither Parr Traill, nor for that matter Jameson, described their relationship with Ojibwa women in detail. Instead, as Gerson expressed of Traill, they wrote vignettes of Indigenous women (84). Both women make a claim to friendship across race and class, based upon a respect and admiration for the particular qualities in the Ojibwa women that they aspired to themselves. Catherine Parr Traill was most interested in the economic role that Mississauga women played. She wrote *The Backwoods of Canada* in order to "enable the outcoming female emigrant to form a proper judgment of the trials and arduous duties she has to encounter". Traill summed up her advice to them:

> . . . a settler's wife should be active, industrious, ingenious, cheerful, not above putting her hand to whatever is necessary to be done in her Household, nor too proud to profit by the advice and experience of Older portions of the community, from whom she may learn many excellent lessons of practical wisdom (149).

Mrs. Peter functioned in Traill's letters not only as an older community member who dispensed wisdom, but as the model settler woman herself. She introduced Mrs. Peter to the reader as a pious woman:

> I was much pleased with the simple piety of our friend the hunter Peter's squaw, a stout, swarthy matron, of most amiable expression. We were taking our tea when she softly opened the door and looked in; an encouraging smile induced her to enter, and depositing a

> brown papouse (Indian for baby or little child) on the ground, she gazed down with curiosity and delight in her eyes (136).

Traill continued by describing her simple prayer before eating and then her exit, as quiet as her entrance. She concluded that this gentleness and good humour typified all the Ojibwa women she had met, and added "whether this be natural to their characters, the savage state, or the softening effects of Christianity, I cannot determine" (139). Admiration of this secondary role of women, their silence and absence, was also present in Peter's *History*, where he commented that Mississauga women were naturally shy, modest and quiet around strangers. Parr Traill's valorization of the women's character in and of itself is significant, and informed her respect and admiration for Mississauga women.

Of particular interest to Traill was the role of Mississauga women in trade. She argued that "they are very shrewd and close in all their bargains, and exhibit a surprising degree of caution in their dealings" (139). She claimed, in fact, that it was harder to bargain with the women than with the men, as they were more skilled. Watching Mrs. Peter sewing coloured porcupine quills onto a pair of moccasins one day, Traill described how she was able to procure some of the quills only by promising to provide her with some beads. Mrs. Peter exhibited the class specific virtue of practicality, as opposed to excess or mismanagement. Women in Mrs. Peter's community of Rice Lake preferred useful rather than ornamental articles. Traill described the women bartering their baskets, venison, ducks and mats for her flour, pork, potatoes and clothing. She depicted both the

men and women as honest, always living up to the bargains they made, always returning anything that they had borrowed (135).

The products that these people manufactured impressed Traill, as well as Peter Jones. Traill depicted their handiwork as "very ingenious". She detailed a rich variety of beautiful and elegant birch bark baskets, some of which were entirely waterproof, some dyed and ornamented with porcupine-quills - all practical for tasks inside and outside of the home. Traill noted her own useful collection of a bread-basket, knife-tray and sugar-basket, in addition to work-baskets, letter-cases, and flower-stands (139).

On sitting in a wigwam for the first time in winter, Traill, rather than making the typical exclamations about dirt, overcrowding and disease, wondered how this family managed to store their goods without access to closets. Once again she discovered "their ingenuity" in creating reservoirs in the lining of the wigwams for food, skins, clothes and "a thousand other miscellaneous articles" (176). At a summer encampment of the same Mississauga family the next year, Traill noted that they shared a different wigwam structure with two other families: "perfect amenity appeared among the three families". Again Traill is not judgmental about this living arrangement, noting instead how they shared the space, including the holding of cooking implements in common (232). While she was not above moralizing, Traill judged the work of the women in constructing and maintaining wigwams, in creating birch bark baskets, vessels and containers, in sewing beautifully ornamented clothing, and skillfully bargaining with white

settlers to be not only admirable, but also instructive for the prospective emigrant white woman.

Traill argued, in fact, that the work of the emigrant white woman, rather than drudgery, was appropriate to the new circumstances to "which it may have pleased God to call her":

> Since I came to this country, I have seen the accomplished daughters and wives of men holding no inconsiderable rank as officers, both naval and military, milking their own cows, making their own butter, and performing tasks of household work that few of our farmers' wives would now condescend to take part in (150).

Mrs. Peter again typified the ideal settler woman in her creative use of the resources available to her. Traill used examples to depict Mrs. Peter's economic intelligence, her design skill and her physical prowess, qualities understood as more typical of the middle-class man, than the middle-class woman. She tempered these inappropriate attributes by emphasizing Mrs. Peter's gentle, warm, and amiable disposition. Mrs. Peter was simultaneously the "swarthy matron" who propelled her canoe with "an Amazonian arm" and the devoted Christian singing hymns (233).

Nineteenth-century white settler Ann Langton also wrote of the role of physical labour for women immigrating to Upper Canada, warning women that "there cannot well be a more unpoetical and anti-romantic existence than ours" (94). Langton described settler women's physical work managing a dairy, making cheese, bread and candles, "so you see what ladies talk about here" (126). The reason for Eliza's omission in her diary of what morning housework

entailed became clear in Langton's following disclaimer: "I begin to feel ashamed of recording these household occupations . . . so I think I shall drop these vulgar matters in future journals" (122). Langton and Eliza both extolled the value of glass and china while expressing shame for drawing attention to the mundane and the practical (104; Diary 26.10.33).

The role of physical labour for women in Ojibwa communities and settler women profoundly challenged nineteenth-century Anglo-American men and women's middle-class expectation of appropriate gendered behavior. The idea of Ojibwa women's physical prowess was deeply at odds with the image of the delicate female form, so compellingly employed to represent Eliza as emblematic of white, middle-class womanhood. Ann Langton and Eliza's anxiety about work, not merely its supervision but their active participation in it, suggested the difficulty of adjustment from metropolis to colony, from urban to rural setting, that troubled the established distinctions between working and middle-class women. Langton argued that this work "has a slight tendency to sink us, it may be, into a more natural and proper sphere than the one we occupy in over-civilized life" (60). This cautious nod toward a shared experience with working class women was more explicitly developed by the feminist writer Anna Jameson, who concluded her analysis of the status of the Ojibwa woman by suggesting that her work, rather than making her a drudge, demonstrated her equality with Ojibwa men (516).

Langton, Traill and Jameson all shored up their class identity by specifically criticizing idle women, a particularly easy target. They used these women to represent uselessness, the epitome of female failure. The evangelical Christian woman was revered for her good works, as opposed to the secular woman, who was valued as an ornament. The evangelical Christian woman left her household to help the orphaned, the widowed, and the poor, while the secular woman left her home to dance, attend the theatre and be "admired abroad": "the business of the one is pleasure; the pleasure of the other is business:" Thus the evangelical Christian woman distinguished herself "as the equal, the companion, and the helpmate of man". (*Christian Guardian* 26.11.34). Langton, Traill and Jameson all lamented, in Jameson's words, the secular woman's "cheerful self-dependence . . .cherished physical delicacy . . . and weakness of temperament". Jameson concluded that such a woman, being "idle and useless", occupied a position "as lamentable, as false, as injurious to herself and all social progress, as where she is the drudge, slave and possession of the man" (519).

Jameson traveled inland to Sault Ste. Marie from May to August of 1837 in order to "form a correct estimate of the people and more particularly of the true position of their women" (28). Despite this intention, Jameson did not demonstrate the same insight as Catherine Parr Traill into the work and daily life of Ojibwa women. Clearly this reflected the contrast between Jameson's two week trip, and Traill's daily life in proximity to Mississauga peoples. Both women,

however, wrote rich ethnographic accounts of their experiences. Traill observed, from the position of a participant observer, whereas Jameson relied on a central informant, Mrs. Schoolcraft, who was part Ojibwa, and part German. Mrs. Schoolcraft was a delicate individual -- refined, educated, and with a taste for literature: "When in conversation with her, new ideas of the Indian character suggest themselves; new sources of information are opened to me, such as are granted to few, and such as I gratefully appreciate" (394). Unlike Traill's gentle, honest and amiable Mrs. Peter, Mrs. Schoolcraft was "special", enabling Jameson "unique" insight into Ojibwa culture.

Peter Jones met Anna Jameson during her trip and described her as "the lady of the Vice Chancellor of Toronto, the celebrated authoress" who presided over "a great canoe race of women of all the different nations present" (*Life* 384). Peter's comment suggested he valued Jameson's admiration for the Indigenous women. As a respected author she could influence the broader culture and counter the stereotype of woman as drudge. I believe that Jameson's depiction of Mrs Schoolcraft as educated, admired and respected resonated with Peter. Mrs. Schoolcraft's talents as a scholar, a storyteller and a muse were paramount to Jameson. Mrs. Schoolcraft also introduced Jameson to her mother Mrs. Johnston, "a woman of pure Indian blood . . . who had never resided within the pale of what we call civilized life, whose habits and manners were those of a genuine Indian squaw" (454). Mrs. Johnston represented the heart of Jameson's

journey into the core of Indigenous culture, a place where she was embraced, adopted and reborn.

Jameson concluded with a cautious cultural relativism, arguing neither for superiority nor inferiority of Ojibwa culture: "I do not positively assert . . . that soap and water are preferable as cosmetics to tallow and charcoal; for these are matters of taste, and mine may be disputed" (460). She continued, "I should doubt, from all I see and hear, that the Indian squaw is that absolute slave, drudge, and non-entity in the community, which she has been described" (397). Jameson argued that both women and men worked very hard, and that there was an equal division of labour. She noted, like Traill, that the contents of the wigwam were the property of Ojibwa women, including the crops she raised and the maple sugar she procured - "they are hers" (518). Furthermore "a woman is always absolute mistress in her own wigwam!" (397). Contrary to the depiction of despotic servitude, she noted that women could scold and even hit their husbands, "and it is in the highest degree unmanly to answer or strike her "(397).

Unlike Traill, Jameson did not describe in detail the work of women. They both, however, had a stake in redressing the notion of work as unfitting for women, be they Ojibwa or British. Jameson stressed that the absence of a class system in Ojibwa culture benefited women. All Ojibwa women worked; none were idle while others toiled. As a feminist writer, Jameson claimed a kinship with Ojibwa women, arguing that, like them, British women had only recently had access to suitable ways to make a living. She concluded that the only real

assessment of all women's status is ". . . regulated by her capacity of being useful . . . " (519). To that end, Jameson argued that she would rather be born an Indian squaw than a Turkish sultana. This echoes Clare Midgley's argument that early feminists worked to save women not only from slavery and savagery, but also from the harem.

Jameson also wrote accounts of spiritually empowered women, as did many Methodist missionaries, including the Mississauga men Peter Jones and John Sunday. These sources suggest that while spirituality had been thought to be the prerogative of men First Nations women participated in spiritual activities more than has generally been acknowledged. Before Christian teaching Ojibwa men's success in work such as hunting or curing was believed to require spiritual assistance. Ojibwa women, while having access to spiritual power, did not require it to perform their work as processors of food and manufacturers of goods. To protect men's spiritual power, women were subject to many taboos. How this related to the status of Ojibwa women is open to many interpretations.

In his *History*, Peter detailed how, in addition to a pantheon of Gods, each individual pow-wow conjuror, juggler or medicine man had personal or familiar gods. Young candidates fasted alone until visited by a spirit, their own personal munedoo, whom they called on whenever they needed assistance. If they dreamed of a weapon, they gained invulnerability in warfare; of an animal, the defensive powers it possessed (87-88). Jameson provided an account of Mrs. Johnston's vision quest. Mrs. Johnston dreamt of a white stranger who brought

her food, and of a spirit who carried her up to the heavens and promised to protect her people from fire. Jameson concluded that "her future husband and future greatness were clearly prefigured in this dream" (468). Oshah,gush,ko,da,na,qua secured prosperity for her people by marrying the white trader John Johnston. Jameson also wrote that Mrs. Johnston, who hunted as a young woman, continued after her marriage to manufacture maple sugar and to fish with her people. Jameson described her intelligence and her domestic skills, concluding that her "noble birth "rendered her an object of great veneration among the Indians around, who . . . apply to her for aid or for counsel" (471).

Jameson also wrote of another Ojibwa woman who in a vision quest dreamt she was married to the moon, an avocation she took to heart by living alone. She constructed her own wigwam, made her own clothes, and hunted to feed herself. Jameson contrasted this woman's great age and freedom of lifestyle to that of a European woman, who surely would have been burnt as a witch or ostracized (395). In neither example did Jameson specifically expound on the women's spiritual powers. In the first, however, she described an influential woman sought out by others for aid and counsel, and in the second, a loner, who earned the veneration and fear accruing to conjurors and shamans. Jameson's depiction of Ojibwa women's spiritual powers suggests a lively interest in the subject of women and religious leadership. Jameson countered but also fed into her readership's interest in the other.

Reports from Ojibwa and white Methodist men in the early nineteenth-century suggested that women not only had vision quests, but often became prominent spiritual leaders. James Evans, for example, a white Methodist missionary, described for the Methodist periodical, *The Christian Guardian*, the initiation of a young girl and boy into the Midewewin society, the Ojibwa Grand Medicine Society at the St. Clair Mission. Women prepared the ground, built a wigwam fifty by twenty five feet in diameter and cooked nine kettles of "pork, hams, venison, ducks, squirrels, raccoons, bears meat and other game". Women, however, did not only perform the background work. Of the eleven shamans present at the ceremony two were women:

> The Medai [shaman] now arose, all the rest remaining seated in silence and each took his or her mahshkekeh mahahkemoot, or medicine pouch, an otter skin, containing from fifty to a hundred very small parcels of mahshkekeh, or medicine used in conjuring, consisting of roots, leaves, bark, cinnamon cloves, tobacco, a small wooden box, some mekis, or sea shells, a wooden snake, some porcupine quills, a mink or squirrel skin, also full of medicine, a tahpejegun, or cords to tie a prisoner in war, a sheshegwun, or rattle used in curing the sick; and a variety of other small articles – and hung it in the belt around the waist. (*Christian Guardian* 28.1.35)

There followed in the article a rich description of the ceremony itself, detailing the participation of male and female shamans, and male and female members of the community. Women also accompanied the drum with rattles, and sang and danced with the men.

White female commentators were among those who depicted Ojibwa women as traders, hard workers, skilled craftswomen, story teller and shamans.

All suggested that Ojibwa women were not drudges but held positions that would be desirable for white women that were not generally afforded them.
Not only did Peter reject the idea of his savagery, as I have noted, some middle-class white women found the power and respect for women in First Nations cultures appealing – hence Traill and Jameson, who in their published writings, and Eliza, in her diaries and publications, offered opposing images.

Credit Mission: Kinship and Midwives: "One of the best and fondest of mothers" (Diary 2.5.35)

The diaries of 1833 to 1835 are coloured by Eliza's pregnancies, which informed her experience of culture shock and adjustment. Eliza, unlike Parr Traill and Jameson, lived in Indigenous communities. She entered the Credit community at a critical juncture in its development. Descriptions of the community, in present day Etobicoke, from the 1820's and 1830's vary widely. Built as a mission in 1826, it boasted a chapel, school, and homes with cultivated half acres. Basil Hall, an English traveler, remarked in 1827 that it reflected "civilized" life, its occupants "neat" and "clean", using beds, tables and chairs (Graham 75, 30). Peter's older brother John was the school teacher; Peter became Chief in 1829, at which time a hospital and mechanics' shop were also constructed (Graham 21, 165). Stinson, one of the white Methodist missionaries at the Credit, noted in 1838 that the village had two stores, seven barns, a

carpenter's shop, a parsonage house, a blacksmith's shop and sidewalks (Graham 75, 31).

Anna Jameson passed through the Credit Mission three times in 1837, four years after Eliza's arrival. Her portrait is chilling and in contrast to her idealized portrait of Mrs Schoolcraft: "a wretched, degenerate remnant of the tribe still continued to skulk about their old haunts and the burial place of their fathers" (Jameson 165). While she wrote that some of the young women and children are "splendid creatures [?]", overall both the people and place struck her as "gloomy" (Jameson 166).

Jameson wrote: "Peter Jones, otherwise Kahkequonaby, a half-cast Indian . . . . married a young enthusiastic Englishwoman with a small property" (165). Eliza did not record in her diary meeting Jameson, no doubt due to Jameson's prejudice. It was death that typified Eliza's diary entries and defined Eliza's first few years in the community. Jameson was correct in noting that the Credit Mission was ravaged by disease and child mortality (Jameson 166).

Eliza, however, made no mention of hunger, devastation or disease, immediately upon her arrival at the Credit Mission in 1833. "My heart was full, too big for utterance I felt that now I had entered the scene of my future labours" (Diary 20.9.33). Eliza also had a stake in depicting the Mississauga as ideal settlers. In contrast to Parr Traill, however, she recorded shock in her diary as her overriding reaction. Only a quarter of the Mississauga spoke English, and most were only nominally Christian. She wrote throughout her diary that the

community was extremely poor, most were hungry and suffering from the ravages of cholera.

Peter's extended family suffered greatly in the cholera epidemic at the Credit Mission. When Eliza met Christiana Jones, she had already lost four children. The baby whose death Eliza recorded was her fifth child to die (Eliza Jones 13). It appeared Christina's children died prior to the cholera epidemic of 1832/33. Eliza's first reference to Peter's cousin David Sawyer, son of his mother's brother the Mississauga chief Joseph Sawyer, was of the loss of his child: "after service my dear husband buried David Sawyer's child" (Diary 13.10.33). In a two-year period David lost not only his only child, but also his mother, her two sisters, his mother-in-law, his brother and his only sister (Donald B. Smith 161). Peter witnessed the death of over fifteen of his family members in this brief period of time.

The narrative of the diaries shifted when, after her arrival, Eliza became preoccupied with her own first pregnancy. From October to December of 1833, Eliza was in her first trimester. She wrote of being "unwell": "I can account for these occasional attacks of low nervous feelings from physical causes" (Diary 15.11.33). When John and Christiana's baby died Eliza wrote, "spent the day at John's, a fortnight now since dear Christeen made our hearts glad by hearing of her safe confinement. Ah now she is sleeping in the grave, her happy spirit will this day welcome the spirit of her babe home to glory " 14.11.33). This was a rare admission of unhappiness. Eliza did not record entries with the same depth

as when Christiana and her baby died. Eliza did not write of her body as a female body. I read this passage in particular to focus on what she could not write - her own fears for her unborn child.

This narrative of her pregnancies is deeply embedded in the diary entries. Eliza did not make explicit reference to her own condition. Though she was pregnant seven times in the next ten years and twice in her forties, Eliza referred directly to her pregnancies only three times. Similarly, in her earlier diaries in England, Eliza refrained from mentioning the pregnancies of her sister Mary or her sister-in-law, the wife of her brother Charles. Instead of intimating that a childbirth was imminent, she recorded instead the birth of the baby. She wrote in detail of helping her sister Mary after her two daughters were born; yet she does not mention Mary's pregnancies. Whether this silence resulted simply from Anglo middle-class propriety, one of what Eliza called the "old customs and local habits" to which she was "wedded" (Diary 15.8.33), or whether it was also part of what in this same chapter Peter calls the natural modesty of First Nations women, is impossible to judge. Eliza's silences suggest both possibilities.

Eliza's pregnancy propelled a new urgency in Eliza's diary entries. Eliza wrote at length of her preparation for her new home. Eliza's first home at the Credit was humble. Eliza wrote, "My first Canadian house was one room, which my dear husband called his study in it a bedstead, a writing desk, a table, a few chairs, Indian mats on the floor and round the bedstead—an open fireplace" (D. Smith *Sacred* 145). It is clear that the romantic one room of Eliza's "dear

husband" was not going to be sufficient. In the context of preparing her new home, Eliza made a veiled reference to her pregnancy: "many circumstances render it very desirable that we should do this as soon as possible" (Diary 10.12.33). She stressed, "we have no settled resting place" (Diary 12.12.33 Eliza's emphasis). This urgency, I believe, was not only about setting up a home with Peter that she could consider proper, but also about preparing for their first child.

Eliza recorded her first pregnancies in her diaries which demonstrated her deepened respect for the women of the community. Her admiration came from her intimate knowledge of these women and her determination to write them into the record. While Christiana, the ideal Christian convert was gone, Eliza's sisters-in-law and other women in the community supported her during her pregnancies. They acted as companions, nurses, procurers of medicine, and midwives.

Soon after Christiana's death Eliza wrote in her diary that she "felt very unwell" and "not able to exert myself much all day Caty Chechok and two other women came and sat in the afternoon – I am glad to see them, but I feel their dirty habits a trial to me" (Dairy 13.12.33). "Dirty habits" signal the initial culture shock Eliza experienced, similar to the rough masculinity of the traditional Ojibwa men discussed in Chapter 4. Eliza, who was "glad to see" these women, criticized their habits but not the individuals. Catherine Chechock was Peter's Mississauga sister from his mother's marriage to her Mississauga partner

Mesquacosy (D. Smith *Sacred* 8). Catherine, or Caty, was raised entirely in the Mississauga culture, unlike Peter who lived his youth with his white father. Catherine was therefore closer to her First Nations culture. She had not received any formal education. Catherine Chechock was very different from the English-speaking Christiana Brant Jones. Nonetheless, Catherine remained a support to Eliza throughout her life. Eliza recorded her thoughtfulness, steadfastness and presence in her life in diaries as late as the 1880s.

Other women demonstrated their support with gifts. Eliza recorded on December of 1833, "I am poorly all day" She wrote, "Mrs. Oswego gave me a pair of moccasins" and "dear Peter's mother brought me a mat" (Diary 17.12.33). This gift giving, recorded by both Jameson and Traill, signaled membership in a community and family. For Eliza this membership was real, not the ritual of Jameson's adoption or the sisterhood of Parr Traill's idealized, "amazon" Mrs. Peter.

Eliza became ill while rushing to put her house in order. Her diary became key to recording her pregnancy, however masked. She had been baking pies, shelving books and placing carpets (Diary 24.12.33). Having "past a restless feverish night so unwell in the morning" she did not "rise till 10 o'clock" (Diary 26.12.33). The contrast here with the strict rules of conduct governing Eliza's life in England, with its emphasis on early rising and productivity, is pronounced. On this occasion, "Mr. Jones sister Caty Muswell from the Grand River called – like her very well" (Diary 26.12.33). In contrast to Peter's Mississauga half-sister

Catherine who was married to a Mississauga man, his Mohawk half-sister Catherine had married a white stonemason, and prospered. Peter's kinswomen, sisters and mother immediately responded to Eliza's needs early in her first pregnancy.

Eliza did not write daily at this time. As Eliza's pregnancy progressed into the third trimester, Eliza ceased recording in her diary for four months. Elizabeth Hampsten reminds us to consider when a diarist does not write and to pay particularly close attention (11). Eliza began writing diary entries again from April until September of 1834. The long but infrequent entries of 1834 as well as 1835 suggest that the diary entries were written after the events they chronicle. They are often records of loss. At the end of April, 1834, she wrote, "It was on the 8th attacked with rather alarming symptoms (considering my situation at the time)" so Peter sought medical advice. (Diary 27.4.34). These alarming symptoms boded ill for the child she gave birth to on June 30, 1834. This, their first child, was a still born boy, two months early: "they tell me it was a lovely babe perfect and fat . . . and like us both". Her writing at this time addressed her pregnant body and the loss of her first child, her deep grief, heartache and loneliness.

Eliza did not resume her diary keeping until her entry on December 20, 1834. In this entry she specifically wrote of the miscarriage of their second child. She began to make diary entries five days before the miscarriage occurred. She wrote ominously, "towards evening unpleasant sensations - anticipated no evil and rose on the following morning". On the 23rd of December Eliza wrote "this

morning symptoms of miscarriage". While awaiting the doctor Peter asked that she be kept quiet and cool. He also recommended remedies. Mrs. H(erkimer) and her sister-in-law Polly Brant (Peter's sister Polly, married to Jacob Brant) stayed with her all night. Three nights later, on December 26th, she wrote in her diary,

> still I felt as tho' I could not give it up, it was a feeling I never had before – requiring someone to sit with me and being anxious to have one of the children: I had Catherine Soonego [her niece], she was a quiet attentive nurse I bless God who have given me favor in the eyes of this people, so that they are ready to do me a kindness

On December 27th she wrote that Peter "wept with her, he had given it up". The entry implied that she lost the baby that day. This was the second child Eliza and Peter lost in 1834. Throughout these experiences, "The favor in the eyes of the people" that Eliza received was a powerful and profound reversal of her desire to help the community; instead they supported her.

Eliza wrote that her distress in recovering from her miscarriage, "this affliction", was acute (Diary 1.3.35). Eliza described feeling unwell throughout January 1835. Writing in retrospect, she recorded that for two weeks she stayed in bed, despite her desire to run her household and assist Peter in translation work for a missionary meeting in Toronto. This is the only time Eliza recorded remaining in bed, let alone for a two week period. She concluded with thanks to the women who nursed her: "during this confinement the Indian women were very kind to me making me medicine of herbs to take one of them Mrs. John Keshegoo gave me some that appeared to do me much good" (5.2.35). That

Eliza accepted this medication unquestioningly attested to her growing confidence in the skill and knowledge of these women.

Eliza's entries marked a moment of epiphany in her diary record. The generosity of the Mississauga women proved to be beyond anything Eliza wrote that she experienced or might imagine in her white middle-class culture. Eliza detailed how Mississauga women supported her – ways that exceeded her written description of her help to her sister Mary through the birth of her two children in England. After Eliza's miscarriage, Mrs. Keshegoo, in keeping with Mississauga adoption practices, offered Eliza her own daughter, a child that Eliza had "taken a great fancy to, as being quiet and interesting" (Diary 1.23.35). Peter replied to Mrs. Keshegoo that Eliza would rather wait for their own child. Eliza wrote, "if not perhaps I might be induced to take her child as my own to bring up entirely as I liked" (Diary 1.23.35). Eliza's response is exceptional in her diaries in Upper Canada. To even contemplate this offer from a family that was not her own suggests the extent of her immersion in Mississauga culture. Perhaps her role in raising her much younger step-siblings in England influenced her contemplation of the offer of a child through Ojibwa custom. Nonetheless, Eliza recorded a pivotal moment in this experience of equality. Her diary record was deeply personal, not couched in missionary zeal or evangelical diary conventions.

In responding to women in need who had nurtured her, Eliza wrote one of the strongest statements of female unity in the diary. Having made no diary entry

since February, 1835, when she wrote of the offer of Mrs. Keshegoo's child, Eliza noted that the children of both Mrs. Herkimer and Mrs. Sonegoo, who had sat with her during her pregnancies, were both in danger. Mrs. Herkimer's four-month old child died: "the poor mother is much cast down and looks very ill [-] . . . . she now requires nursing herself" (Diary 2.5.35). Eliza continued the entry, "this evening poor Mrs. Sunegoo came almost broken hearted to tell me her sweet and much loved child was almost gone – she wants a piece of white calico to make it a little grave dress" (Diary 2.5.35). She quoted Mrs. Sunegoo verbatim:

> "It is very hard to lose a child, it is better not to have them then to lose them, my last was four months old when it died, and I thought as this was nearly a year it would live' She cried much and said 'my poor baby, if I lose my baby what shall I do?"
>
> (Diary 2.5.35)

Eliza described Mrs. Sonegoo as "one of the best and fondest of mothers" (Diary 2.5.35). This was a very strong statement of female solidarity.

Both Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill praised Ojibwa women, as well as men, as excellent parents. Moodie wrote that "the affection of Indian parents to their children, and the deference which they pay to the aged, is another beautiful and touching trait in the character" (Moodie 287). Traill agreed: "the Indians seem most tender parents; it is pleasing to see the affectionate manner in which they treat their young children" (Parr Traill 287). Neither of these women, however, had the direct experience of pregnancy, nursing and loss

that Eliza experienced alongside her Mississauga sisters-in-law and community members.

Eliza wrote in her diary of parenthood as an experience that was equally shared by white and First Nations women. Eliza was much more emphatic in her support of Mrs. Sunegoo and Mrs. Herkimer: "Oh God none but a mother can know what such a trial is" (Diary 2.5.35). Eliza's diary entries focused on her respect for these women, and her desire to write of them as having dignity.

As Rebecca Hogan has noted, a particularly unique feature of the diary is its ability to cope with "fragments and lack of closure" (100). During this period of loss, gaps in diary entries reflect the lack of language for pregnancy and associated despair and disappointment. Through the retrieval of her British family names as a community act, Eliza found a means of dealing with the losses that were weighing heavily on her mind. In one of her infrequent entries, Eliza named newly baptized children in the community - Charles, for her father, and Frederick, after her young half brother (Diary 3.5.25). These are the two names she would give her sons born in 1839 and 1841. In August, 1835, she recorded the death of the missionary Mrs. Case's baby, "I have seen many near death but never before saw any in the act of dying" (Diary 7.8.35). The baby's death led her to, "reflect on my own situation, having just recovered from an illness during which our hopes of becoming parents were again for the third time disappointed" (Diary 6.8.35). She recorded that her pregnancy "on the 22nd of August terminated in miscarriage" (Diary 6.8.35).

Eliza concluded her diary entries for 1835 describing a joyful spiritual experience she had within the community. Eliza wrote a paragraph lamenting her loss, but concluded the entry describing a successful Sabbath: "In the evening attended prayer meeting and there with the dear Indians enjoyed a happy time" (Diary 13.8.35). The depth of Eliza's diary writing about her close relationships with the women of the Credit, both immediate and extended family, is greatest in these entries about motherhood, stillbirth, miscarriage, and death. While her sisters-in-law Caty Chechock and Polly Brant, and her niece Catherine Sunegoo appeared in Eliza's diaries over the next fifty years, they were never as integral to her record as when they nursed her through her suffering over the loss of her children.

Mohawk Women

Although Eliza never overtly wrote that the role of Mississauga or Mohawk women was comparable to that of white women, her references to motherhood in the community suggest, in her personal experience, a profound equality. Eliza also wrote in her diary about her growing understanding of the influence women had within their own societies. She learned of the important role of women beyond the household economically and spiritually in her relationship to the politically important Brant family women. Christiana Jones, Brant's granddaughter, represented for Eliza the promise of an influence that exceeded

the role of mother. Christiana's grandmother, Catherine Brant (1759-1837), Joseph Brant's third wife, was the most politically powerful woman at the Grand River Tract. In her biography of Joseph Brant, Eliza articulated her clear understanding of Catherine's role: "As the inheritance of chieftainship descends through the female line, Mrs. Brant had power to appoint her own son or if a grandson, it must be the child of her daughter." ([Eliza Jones] Ke-*che-ah-gah-me-qua* 10). Anna Jameson incorrectly described Elizabeth Kerr, the daughter of Joseph Brant, as "the hereditary chief of the Six Nations" (Jameson 233). Eliza, understanding the nuances of relationship, recorded that while Mohawk women did not assume political titles, they influenced, and in this case, controlled, who received them. Eliza continued the clarification of Catherine Brant's role: "The head chief of the Six Nations is styled Tekarihogea, to which station the mother appointed John, her fourth and youngest son, whose Indian name was Ahyonwaighs" (Eliza Jones, *Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua* 10).

Eliza did not record in her publication of meeting the elderly Catherine, who left her home on Burlington Bay when Joseph Brant died in 1807 and returned to the Grand River. Eliza wrote of Catherine's death at the age of seventy-eight, noting that she was "dignified and stately in manners, tall and handsome in person, she well merited the title of "the Indian Princess" ([Eliza Jones, Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua 11). Historian Gretchen Green described Catherine Brant as a woman who ". . . dressed in Mohawk style at all times" (243). She noted that Catherine understood English but chose not to speak it –

"spoke only Mohawk", even in her later life (243). Catherine disdained much of the genteel way of life adopted by her husband. Rather than make requests of servants, as did her husband, she asked her children to fetch things for her (Kelsay 666). After Joseph Brant's death Catherine returned to the Mohawk community (Green 245). Catherine did not see her rejection of civilized life as an obstacle to her faith in Christianity, and in later years Catherine went every Sunday to the Mohawk Chapel, "dressed in a black velvet skirt, black silk over-dress, a black cloth blanket and black velvet cap with a fur band" (Kelsay 666).

Only hinted at in Eliza's text, Catherine's political history is equally fascinating. In 1793, when Lieutenant Governor John Grave Simcoe refused to give the Six Nations an unrestricted deed to the Haldimand grant on the Grand River, Catherine met with the women in council and charged their warriors to defend their land. Throughout the early 1800's she, along with her brother Henry Terihogen, persisted in pursuing, unsuccessfully, unrestricted deeds to their land. This was also the goal of many chiefs such as Peter Jones, lobbying for greater economic opportunity for their people. In spite of Catherine's rejection of "civilized" life, Eliza promoted the idea of the Brant family and the women in particular as a significant part of Upper Canadian history. Eliza's written work reflected her immersion in the culture of her Mohawk family. It also authorized her more self-confident persona.

In Eliza's publication of Peter's history of the Mississauga, as well as in her biography of Joseph Brant, she emphasized the importance of protecting

land rights. Eliza furthered the political cause Catherine worked toward throughout her life. Eliza wrote: "But as the Indian possesses not Title Deed for his lands . . . [nor does he] possess any civil or political rights as British subjects . . ." [Eliza Jones], Ke-che-ah-gah-me-qua 15). While Eliza did not claim to employ the same political influence as Catherine, her understanding of Catherine's goals suggests respect for the traditions of female authority in Six Nations culture. Eliza did not write explicitly of women's political influence as something to emulate. Rather, she continued to overtly emphasize discrimination based on race, not on gender.

Eliza's brief sketch of Catherine Brant is useful, not only in describing Catherine's character, but in establishing Eliza's relationship with the most powerful woman of the Six Nations, Catherine's daughter, Elizabeth Kerr. When Catherine and Joseph Brant's son John died in 1832, Catherine conferred the title of Tekarihogen on Simcoe Kerr, Elizabeth Kerr's baby son. After her first difficult year at the Credit, two months after her child was stillborn, Eliza wrote in her diary that she met Elizabeth Kerr. On their missionary tour to the Grand River and Munceytown, the mission near London, they stopped at the Brant estate, Wellington Square, in Burlington Bay. Eliza described the Brant "mansion", originally built on 700 acres: "We slept here in a large room, I could fancy myself in the old mansion of some English Nobleman" (22.8.34). She wrote of being particularly impressed with Mrs. Kerr: "Mrs. Kerr is an elegant and handsome woman she wears on her head a turban and still retains the short

gown black silk over a petticoat of the same, ornamented at the bottom in every other respect she is truly English" (22.8.34). In spite of her colonial sense of superiority, Eliza was in awe of the most influential woman in the Six Nations.

Pregnant with her third child in May, 1835, Eliza recorded spending a week with Mrs. Kerr, instead of attending a camp meeting at Munceytown with Peter. "Having spent a week at Wellington Square with Mrs. Kerr I desire to make for future reflection a few observations" (Diary 5.30.35). Rather than describe Elizabeth Kerr's dress, she now described her as a friend: "have found Mrs. Kerr a very sensible kind woman, and have enjoyed much pleasing and profitable conversation with her". Mrs. Kerr allowed her to sketch portraits of her father Joseph Brant, and her brother John Brant, the former Tekarihogen. Eliza recorded that Mrs. Kerr explained to her the history of the Six Nations confederacy and their former division into distinct Iroquois tribes. She also taught her about women's roles in the political system. Eliza learned that the land was not empty or new. Eliza's respect for Mrs. Kerr and for the support she received while pregnant as a guest in her home suggest her interest in the history of the Six Nations. Eliza wrote Mrs. Kerr into her written record as a woman of high status, intelligence and distinction. Eliza's confidence as a chronicler of this distinguished and knowledgeable woman was evident.

While traveling to Munceytown on their first visit in 1834, Eliza and Peter stopped at the Grand River. Eliza wrote of her appreciation of local dress, albeit tempered by her disdain of the ornamentation out of keeping with Methodist plain

clothes: "Many of the women had most interesting countenances . . . but appear to wear a profusion of ornaments one child had silver brooches all round her petticoat" (Diary 24.8.34). Eliza exhibited a respect for Mohawk women in keeping with her growing understanding of their influential role in Mohawk culture.

Upon meeting Peter's father, Augustus Jones, Eliza noted that she admired the Mill he was building, and the "stream occasioned by the constant bubbling up of cold water, called the 'Cold Springs'". Eliza sketched his house and, "after dinner we walked to the plains and gathered some sweet grass, saw the grave of Sarah Jones, Nenahbain's [Peter's] youngest sister, and learned how to make sweet grass chains spent the night with this kind family" (Diary 26.8.34). Eliza's fascination with Peter's family life among the Mohawk, and with making First Nation's handicrafts, was entirely new in her diary, which she had previously infused with death, hardship and poverty.

Non-Christian Mississauga Women: Eliza's Changing Perception of "Pagan" Culture

New complexities are evident in Eliza's evolving self-assured persona and her deepening respect for First Nation culture. There is a marked difference in Eliza's diaries of her missionary work with non-Christian Mississauga and Muncey in Munceytown, the site of Peter and Eliza's missionary work in the 1840s. Her representation of "pagan" culture is far removed from her early

response to those at the Credit from whom she initially recoiled. Eliza wrote in her diary based on her experience and with the benefit of Peter's interpretations.

Located thirty kilometers southwest of London, Munceytown at this time was a large community of a thousand people, half Ojibwa and Munsee and the other Oneida, members of the Six Nations Confederacy. Eliza struggled with the language and cultural differences while deepening her interest and conviction in her work and that of her husband. Eliza referred in her diary to non-Christian Mississauga as "pagan" and her first visit to Munceytown in 1834 suggested the further cultural distance she would experience, and record in her diary. Arriving at the camp ground at Munceytown in 1834, Eliza was unprepared for her first experience of non-Christian Mississauga, suggesting her earlier experience with the nominally Christian women of the Credit: "some women were squatted on the ground making mats, the men sitting idle smoking, everything looked wretched beyond description they had scarcely any covering and appeared beyond the power of reformation" (Diary 1.9.34). Peter met in council, and Eliza learned that this poverty stemmed, in part, from unequal treaty goods distribution. He had "considerable conversation with" the Indian Agent on the subject (Diary 3.9.34).

While in Munceytown, Eliza wrote with fascination of "pagan" clothing, describing a woman "dressed in heathenish style, a little black hat and feathers with some coloured ribbons intermixed, her petticoat most richly ornamented, a vast number of heads round her neck and large earrings" (Diary 31.8.34). She described the men in more detail:

> Several pagan men were present their appearance is different from the Christians, they wear more ornament and dress in a looser manner – instead of trousers, leggings are generally worn with the shirt hanging over; a handkerchief forming a turban on the head – some of them had two scuffs one over each shoulder and fastened under the arm, others a scarf. (Diary 31.8.34).

Earrings were the ornamentation that disturbed Eliza. The men, women and children "wear earrings some 6 or 7 in each ear" (Diary 31.8.34). She lamented the sight of a baby, "an infant in a cradle with its poor ears pierced and full of earrings" (Diary 30.8.34). Eliza was pleased, however, that the community was receptive: "the people were attentive" at the meeting that evening (Diary 31.8.34). Peter warned Eliza that the only pagan at the meeting was a white man.

While Eliza was resolute in the necessity of Christian conversion and farming, she turned to Peter for help in interpreting what she saw. Eliza continued her observations; Peter corrected her: "I remarked how very dirty one of them was – Nenahbain [Peter] said he was in mourning for his wife – they have a custom when a relation dies, to smear their faces – put dirt and ashes on their clothes and make themselves as dirty as they can and throw dust in the air" (Diary 2.9.34).

When Peter was invited to Lower Muncey, Eliza rode on horseback with him. She wrote, "the Indians here speak a language called Muncey much harder in sound than Chippeway [Ojibwe]" (Diary 2.9.34). Peter spoke through an interpreter, "giving them an account of his visit to England, and telling them that their great father the King wished them to become Christians" (Diary 2.9.34).

Eliza focused on the appearance of Muncey men and women, who were culturally different from the Mississauga, and on the work of the women:

> Several of the boys have long hair plaited down behind, men two or three small plaits many of the women had their long hair done up in a bunch in a cloth behind some of them were making thread of ind. flax.
> (Diary 2.9.34)

The detail in Eliza's descriptions suggested her keen interest and a curiosity far removed from the idealized plans of missionary work she had envisioned in England.

Eliza was most moved by "natural talent only needing cultivation to bring it to perfection" (1.9.34). She praised the drawing of one boy, and referred to another artist, whose sketch was influenced by being in a trance for a week, as "a natural genius" (Diary 1.9.34). She described his work as one of "intellect – it was all so glorious and beautiful". Next to her emphasis on the intelligence of the Muncey, these comments on their artistic ability - in particular the refrain lauding their genius - are some of the strongest statements she makes in appreciation of First Nations people. This appreciation is significant and in keeping with the unique shift Eliza demonstrated in her diary. Eliza was impressed by the skills that she witnessed. Some she experienced in her own culture, and others from a culture so distinct from her own upbringing.

Overcoming Racist Marginalization with Culturally Complementary Naming

Eliza's record of appreciation of Indigenous women and men was in strong contrast to the derogatory discourses of the dominant culture. In 1837 Eliza and Catherine visited England. The New York Sun published an article recalling her marriage to Peter four years earlier, which "created quite a 'sensation' in this city", "where for some time she awaited the arrival of her swarthy adorer, with a constancy not to be shaken by the tremendous battery of entreaty, argument and ridicule, where with from all sides she was assailed". (Qtd. D. Smith, "Eliza and the Reverend Peter Jones", *The Beaver* 165). Despite the fact that Peter was preparing to join them in England, many in Upper Canada believed she had left him. Anna Jameson wrote in *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* that Eliza had permanently separated from her husband (165). Furthermore, Peter received a report that Eliza and Catherine had died: "[the news] went through me like a dagger" (qtd in D. Smith, *Sacred* 189). These reports suggest the persistence of the underlying colonial fantasy of savage violence. Peter, the monster, is again invoked, now driving Eliza to an early grave, fulfilling, albeit tangentially, the prophecy of Othello's murder of Desdemona. Less dramatically, the report of their marriage, and then of Eliza's imagined separation from Peter suggested disbelief that the marriage could last.

Eliza's diary focus shifted with the birth of her sons beginning in 1839. In a climate of censure and ignorance, Eliza and Peter's fortunes turned and their family began. Eliza and Peter remained in England for two years. Eliza became

pregnant and again did not record it in her diary. No doubt good food, medical care, and healthy living arrangements in England helped Eliza to conceive their first child upon their return to the Credit Mission in 1839. On April 25, 1839, Eliza wrote in her diary, "on this day ½ past 10 am my first living child was born . . . Ebenezer . . . he hath answered my petition". Ebenezer, the name Eliza recorded in a diary of her youth as her ideal choice, was the name given to numerous Methodist churches established in the early nineteenth century. Meaning literally "stone of help", it is a name bestowed by the prophet Samuel commemorating the place where God provided help to the Israelites in a victorious battle against the Philistines (1 Samuel 7.12). Eliza's choice of Ebenezer suggests she recognized the help of God in the long anticipated birth of her son. Ebenezer later became Charles Augustus, after Eliza's and Peter's fathers. Peter's mother's brother, Joseph Sawyer, one of the chiefs of the Credit, named Charles Augustus Wahweyakuhmegoo "the round world, or he who encircles the world". (D. Smith, *Sacred* 389). This naming, performed according to a Mississauga custom, was executed by an elderly kinsmen or grandfather who called on the great powers of the spiritual world to bless the child's name (Jenness 28).

Eliza wrote only two diary entries in 1841. On March 29th she recorded that "at a quarter past 5 pm our second dear boy was born". She alluded to an easier labour that "wonderfully mitigated and shortened my suffering". Eliza and Peter named this son Frederick, the name of Eliza's half-brother in England, then

fifteen. To this name they joined his Ojibwa name, Wahbegwuna "a white lily or flower" (D. Smith, *Sacred* 191). Confounding the forecasts of their failure, Eliza and Peter began their life as parents by symbolically joining both their families and both their traditions and cultures in the new life they had created.

This chapter highlighted Eliza's more assertive persona which I argued was directly related to her close links to her First Nations female kin. In Eliza's diaries of 1834 and 1835, women, whether "pagan", Christian or prominent Mohawk figures, supported her during her first pregnancies with deep compassion and practical support. Eliza's location as a member of this community informed her representation of these women as family. They were neither drudges nor the idealized sisters of Parr Traill and Anna Jameson. Eliza's diary entries provided her with consolation over the loss of her children, a key role that diaries fulfill, as noted by Kadar (*Afterward* 176). Eliza's Mississauga and Iroquois women kin offered her another view of the status of First Nations women. She noted relationships, many of kinship, the most important of which lasted for over fifty years. These relationships are reflected in lengthy, detailed, albeit infrequent diary entries about Mississauga and Mohawk women who occupied her entries as had the women who filled her first diaries in England. My analysis of this profound moment in Eliza's diary narrative makes a significant contribution to feminist scholarship. Eliza's interest in prominent Mohawk female political figures would inform her publications of Peter's work in the 1860s. This chapter ends powerfully with Eliza's diary record of the birth of

Eliza and Peter's first living sons, occasions that provide opportunities for culturally complementary naming.

In the final chapter I analyze Eliza's diaries of widowhood as she writes retrospectively of her life, of her concern for her adult sons and of her role as a prominent writer of Mississauga and Mohawk history. In these diaries her personal representation coalesces into one of confidence as she affirms her central persona as a missionary wife and fellow worker.

Chapter 6 The Culminating Persona: "Married 50 Years Ago Today"

In this Chapter I focus on Eliza's developing persona in her diaries between Peter's death in 1856 and 1883. She died in 1890. Peter's death in 1856 marked a change in Eliza's diary entries and in her representation of herself. Her persona as one of struggle began after Peter's death as she moved to numerous homes in Brantford, Ontario and entered into an unhappy second marriage. In 1863, still married to her second husband, she travelled to England to sell Peter's *History of the Ojbeway.* Her diaries of widowhood from 1869 to 1883 are the richest of the collection, second only to those that she wrote as a fiancé. In the 1870s, a more secular age, Eliza wrote extensive daily diary entries detailing her mission work, visiting, and relationships with her adult sons. Eliza represented herself as enterprising, active and engaged in her work in the community of Brantford, and the New Credit reserve where her son Peter Edmund was Chief. She wrote not of piety but of her temper, her pride and her openness to new experiences. The final diaries, from 1879 to 1883, reflect concerns about money, an even greater attention to her sons, and a yearning for Peter. This focus ties together her life narrative as an aspiring missionary, a partner with Peter in that work, and reflection and reminiscence on a life of service, hardship and exceptional determination.

Peter's Death: "None but God Can Ever Know the Feeling of Loneliness and Bereavement I Feel . . ."[1]

Eliza's diary entries of the 1850s consist of very intense fragments documenting death. Eliza's persona shifts to one of suffering. Eliza's representation of her struggles with death during the 1850s suggests the role of her diary offering both consolation and expressing inconsolable grief. In the 1850s, a devastating decade, four of Eliza's most beloved family members died: her sister Sarah, her father Charles, and her husband Peter; most horrendous was the death of their boy Arthur at eighteen months. Peter's deteriorating health, first noted by Eliza in her diary in 1845, eventually prevented him from continuing his duties as chief and missionary. In 1850, he was ordered to retire from the ministry. The following year, Peter and Eliza built a red brick home they called Echo Villa on a thirty acre lot near Brantford. Eliza lived in this home for less than a decade. During their residence at Echo Villa Eliza wrote only irregularly in her diary.

Eliza's representation of Peter's death epitomizes her consistent and central persona in the diaries as missionary wife and fellow worker. With Peter's death in 1856, Eliza recorded what Pat Jalland refers to as the prevalent idea of the "good death" of the evangelical Christian, one typified by a prolonged but painless illness (26). The invalid was fortunate in his family circumstances,

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[1] Catherine Sutton transcribed Eliza's letter to her in her's husband William Sutton's Journal in a section marked "Notes", Grey Roots Museum and Archives, Owen Sound.

having led a virtuous life which provided time for preparation, and family support. Importantly, the manner of dying provided proof of salvation (Jalland 21). Eliza's diary account of Peter's death reflected these precepts almost to the letter.

Eliza's lengthy diary entry of the death bed scene confirms Jalland's argument about the representation of death as of vital importance to family solidarity and togetherness in death (26). Eliza emphasized in the diary the Christian family. She wrote that their children, Peter's mother, and his sister Polly were all present at his death. In the four day vigil that preceded his death, Eliza recorded verbatim conversations between Peter, herself, friends, family and their children. An unusual diary practice for Eliza, it revealed the custom noted by Jalland of the dying person, who is lucid, speaking individual farewells to each family member (26).

> . . . after taking a little ice jelly, he spoke feebly to each of his dear boys, giving Charles one of his bibles, and his dressing case – commending him to God and telling him to be a good obedient loving son to his Mother and as much as possible fill his place and urging him to give his heart to God – he then put his hand on dear Fred's head gave him another of his bibles and told him he hoped that blessed book would be his guide to heaven, and that he would read it, and meet him there he also gave him his gun then said god bless you my son be a good son to your Mother and loving to your brothers – then to dear P.E. he said putting his hands on his head God bless the dear lad – take this watch which I have had for so many years, and keep it for your dying fathers sake, give your heart to God and we shall meet again – take this testament and read it and may it be a guide to you through life Then dear George, who sobbed aloud he clung to him and told him to be a good boy, to love god obey his Mother be kind to his brothers – then gave 2 vol History of all Nations – and putting his hand on his head said god bless you my sweet child . . .

After this detailing of Peter's dispersal of his special possessions to his sons, Eliza wrote that Peter "drew me to him and said I commend these dear children to God and to you I leave them to your guidance and trust we shall be an unbroken family in heaven". Eliza ended the entry with Peter's bequeathing three books to his sister Polly Brant, who shared Peter's Christian beliefs, saying, "I give you these as tokens of remembrance of the brother who was converted at the same time as you were . . . and may you all meet in a better world".

Eliza's purpose in the diary was to immortalize her husband, focus on their family and confirm her own faith. Eliza wrote in her entries of Peter's awareness of his spiritual state until the end, his resignation to God's will and his noble bearing while suffering. These were three key features of the nineteenth-century evangelical Christian's good death. Eliza recorded that Peter said to his sister Mary "may God bless you and your family, and may you all meet me in a better world . . . (Diary 26.6.56). To his friends Eliza noted he said "God bless you, be faithful unto death, and you shall have a crown of Glory" (Diary 26.6.56). She included Peter's last words to his close friend Rev Nelles, his doctor and his friends. "When he [Mr. Nelles] asked him how he felt – he replied sinking – sinking – I said yes dear into the arms of Jesus he replied yes" (Diary 26.6.56). Eliza concluded her entry on June 29th, 1856, "Excepting George we all waited to watch the closing scene". Writing of the closing scene Eliza's depictions appear edited and stage-managed, unlike her typical brief entries. This is the formula that Jalland also describes. Eliza appears to have written the diary entries after

his death as a vehicle to promote his status in the community. Eliza may already have envisioned that she would edit and co-author the two accounts of his work and life.

Eliza's other written records of Peter's death suggest that as an author she was very aware of her varying audiences. In introducing Peter in his published *Life and Journals*, Eliza focused on his role as "a departed popular Indian missionary" (415). She recounted that many prominent Mohawk women, including Miss Johns, the elderly daughter of Captain Joseph Brant, visited Peter's deathbed. She recorded that his mother and sister Polly came with the rest of the family to view his body. This published account underscored Peter's importance to the Mississauga and Mohawk communities as a whole, as well as his support from the Mississauga and Mohawk women in particular.

Eliza shifted audiences again in her private letters to her Mississauga niece, and adopted daughter Catherine Sonegoo. In these letters she described different details of Peter's death. Catherine copied these letters.[1] They are grittier and less sentimental than her diary entries, or her published account of Peter's character in the *Life and Journals*. She wrote that Peter became exhausted from spitting up blood. This is not the painless good death but the reality of suffering. She also wrote to Catherine of her loss as a woman and a wife, expressing her despair: "none but God can ever know the feeling of loneliness and bereavement I feel as I wander from room to room and he is not

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[1] Pages on Catherine Sutton marked "Notes", William Sutton's Journal, Grey Roots Museum and Archives, Owen Sound.

there. I look into the garden but the hand is stiff in death that culled the flowers and planted the trees . . ." Here she wrote of the harsh reality of her bereavement. Eliza may have imagined that her diary would one day be published, whereas the letter was a personal place to express her grief.

In Eliza's letters to her Mississauga niece, she did not describe Peter as surrounded exclusively by the converted or by the powerful Mohawk women who appeared in the publication, but also by the mostly unconverted and many nominally converted, non-English speakers of his Mississauga community, living within their own culture. Eliza wrote that twenty-seven of the Credit Indians came two days before his death. Their brother-in-law Chechock travelled as far as Rice Lake for a noted Indian Doctor. Eliza wrote to Catherine: "I do feel so much for the dear Indians – their lot is great . . . Peter's mother and Katy [Peter's Mississauga sister] and Chechock [Katy's husband] . . . overwhelmed with grief". Rather than memorializing a figurehead, Eliza poured out her suffering not only for Peter but also for his people and especially for his family. Eliza recognized that the Mississauga community had their own terms for understanding Peter's death. Alone, without her husband's or father's support, Eliza wrote to Catherine a more transparent account which acknowledged the new difficulties she would face.

Eliza recorded only a few brief entries following Peter's death in 1856, a gap in her diary. She appears to be protecting her self-representation as the wife of Peter whose reputation was paramount to her. A year later, in 1857, Eliza

married Peter's friend John Carey, a white Methodist schoolteacher at Munceytown whom she had known for some twenty years. Eliza was immediately in despair:

"circumstances have placed me in contact with persons of very uncongenial feelings and my once happy home has been rendered most unpleasant . . ." (Diary 28.6.57). Eliza was even more specific two years later: "Through many severe trials of faith the Lord has vouchsafed my delivering mercy since my late husband left me I have many times been brought into great straights as to temporal affairs not knowing from what source supplies would come to meet pressing demands . . ." (Diary 11.12.59). Eliza continued ". . . I need supplies now which I know not how to obtain my credit is at stake I have no earthly friend to turn to in this time of need on whom I have any claim to assist me . . .". She concluded the entry ". . . and those who ought to help me are unable or unwilling". Her critique of Carey, only written in a few entries, was severe.

Eliza noted in an unpublished sketch of her son Charles' life in her Exercise book that shortly after their marriage Carey drove her two eldest sons out of their home. Charles would have been eighteen and Fred sixteen. Eliza contrasted Carey with Peter:

> As the dear departed was endeared to us all by natural refinement and amiable qualities they could not any more than myself be reconciled to our new circumstances. My 2nd husband was not without his good qualities and he shewed at times affection for us, *but we were out of our right positions.* (Exercise Book, my emphasis)

Eliza and Carey may have been "out of our right positions" due to the financial hardship Eliza briefly recorded during her second marriage. Eliza never again wrote in her diary about severe financial difficulties. No doubt it was to Carey that she referred when she recorded that her "credit is at stake": "those who ought to help me are unable or unwilling" (Dec. 11, 1859). Her two eldest sons moved to the United States. The grief from losing them must have been another devastating blow, after the loss of her dear husband Peter.

Eliza wrote while in England in 1863 that "on my return found a letter from Mr. Carey hearing doleful news. God help me" (Diary 17.11.63). This was the last entry that Eliza wrote of John Carey. In contrast, Eliza steadfastly continued to write as the wife of a great man, the widow of Peter Jones. Her record in the Exercise book suggests Peter's superiority as a husband, someone of exemplary status and natural refinement. While Eliza did not mention that Peter was Mississauga, she implied that his community had afforded him qualities superior to her second, white husband.

Eliza began memorializing Peter in her diaries, an act which was central to the persona she continued to develop. Ever since their first meeting in 1831 she had consistently recorded his abilities, accomplishments and loving nature. Peter grew in significance: "seventeen years since he first entered his heavenly mansion - How incomparably nobler he must be now then when he first entered his heavenly mansion. Seventeen years of uninterrupted progression in holiness and bliss . . . "(Diary 29.6.71). On the date of their anniversary she repeated the

refrain: "28 years to day since I was united in marriage to one of the dearest and best of men Peter Jones and more than 17 years since he was taken from me . . . "(Diary 8.8.71). The repetition of "seventeen years" is reminiscent of Eliza's memorializing impulse as a diarist. It also harkens back to her repetition of her mother's death in the diary of 1832 when she and Peter planned their life together.

Eliza represented Peter in an increasingly idealized manner. She never criticized Peter in her diaries always representing him as the ideal companion in her shared aspirations and their fulfillment in missionary work. The absence of information regarding Carey suggests that not writing about him was her preferred method of critique. I read Eliza's silence regarding Carey in her diaries as a profound criticism.

Diaries of Early Widowhood 1869-1872: "had three of my sons with me" (Diary 1.8.69)

As a widow Eliza's diary entries shifted as a persona developed of confidence and pride, a reflection of a more secular age, and a culmination of themes in the earlier diaries of strength and tenacity. The diaries from 1869 to 1883 form the most complete diary record of the collection; they draw the reader in as her diaries of 1832 and 1833 did. John Carey had disappeared from her diary entries: "Oh Father of the fatherless", she exclaimed in 1869 (Diary 1.1.69). Eliza expressed a range of emotion beyond Christian zeal as she documented a wider variety of activities and pursuits necessitated by her need to support

herself and her sons. Without financial support Eliza taught drawing, sold Peter's books and sought support from her brother John. She also continued to record her good works as she had in her youth. Her world as an evangelical Christian, as signaled in her trips to England, was expanding. This was the focus of the diaries of early widowhood.

Eliza wrote more candidly in her diaries of the challenges widows or women alone faced supporting themselves. Her changing living arrangements indicated a downward movement economically and socially, which occasioned displays of anger and wounded pride. After Eliza tried taking in boarders at Echo Villa she sold her home. In 1869 Eliza was living in Brantford, boarding with Egerton Ryerson, Peter's close friend, and the first white Methodist missionary at the Credit Mission (Exercise Book). She wrote on January 13th, 1869 that she had begun to teach drawing in the Ryerson's home, her first reference in her diary to work for pay. Ryerson ". . . offered me rooms for teaching drawing" and Eliza began with ". . . five pupils all seemed interested" (Diary 30.1.69).

Eliza's diary record of boarding at the Ryerson's' is deceptive – happy though it may have been, she had lost her ability to control her own home. Eliza wrote in her diary as though she were part of the family. On March 10th she recorded "read a considerable amount of James II reign to Mr. Ryerson". This companionship with Mr. Ryerson is reminiscent of her entertaining her brother-in-law when staying with her sister Mary almost forty years earlier. In each case Eliza had duties and responsibilities in the households she lived in - she was not

a guest. Eliza made frequent references to visiting in the community with his wife Mrs. Ryerson. On March 19th 1869, she recorded in her diary that she "taught drawing called on Mr Curtis obtained letter of introduction for [her son] Charles [and] took tea at Mr Edgars". Boarding with the Ryersons appeared to enhance her well-being. On March 13th she was "busy at dress taught in the afternoon read History evening . . . ". It can also be argued that she was there as a help, a companion and dependent on their support.

Eliza gave up her autonomy when she moved into Ryerson's home. This living arrangement did not last. Eliza experienced a falling out with the Ryersons which precipitated her decision to move. On May 9, 1869, she wrote, "had my feelings much hurt by Mrs. R telling me Mr. R did not like my pupils coming to the house – determined to leave". As the first missionary to work with Peter at the Credit, Egerton Ryerson had played an important role in Eliza's life. Her entry with regard to the breakdown of their relationship suggested that Ryerson requested that she stop teaching in his home, not living in it. Gendered and class ideology made her work with the students visible and thus untenable to the Ryersons' gentility. Her impulsiveness and pride in leaving are evident in her move. Lacking entirely in Eliza's diary entries of this event was the meekness and retiring nature that suffused her early diaries.

Eliza also wrote more directly of her changed financial position as a widow. She represented herself as resourceful in her vulnerable financial position. With her son Peter she chose and bought a cottage for $700 in

Brantford that she named Lambeth cottage, after the town where she was born in England: "used means to raise the money for three months . . . found him willing to loan on high interest" (Diary 17.5.69). She then requested support from her brother John in England: "he had much pleasure in giving instead of having the 100 pounds. I wrote immediately to thank him" (Diary 28.6.69). After living in the house for only six months she rented it ""to Brakes for one year at $200" (Diary 5.7.72), going to board with a Mrs. Bastedo. Borrowing and renting became new necessities in Eliza's increasing financial straights. In the move to her cottage, however, Eliza was not alone: "had three of my sons with me" (Diary 1.8.69)

Eliza's diary focus returned to mission work - daily entries emphasized a persona of a life given over to service. Eliza noted missionary meetings, prayer meetings and Sunday school teaching (Diary 15.8.69; 15.10.70; 19.2.70 ;). Her good work remained focused on girls and women, as it had in her youth in England. Handicrafts predominated as she recorded making cushions, doing needlework, and learning new skills such as making a pipe box (Diary 14.1.70; 25.1.70). Eliza recorded two holidays, noting in 1871 that she went to Niagara in July and to Woodstock in August. Visiting, as always, was a focus of the diary. She recorded daily interactions with women of her church and visiting with the sick (for example Diary 2.7.69). Eliza continued to work with Mississauga, Mohawk and white women.

Her new openness and directness in these diaries informed her presentation of herself as productive and engaged. For example, on June 20th

1869 she recorded "visiting ill girl Emma Louise Cook", "female prayer meeting" and that she "took ill woman some strawberries" (Diary 2.6.69). In addition to this missionary work she recorded her pleasure at the visit of her son, "Peter came", and a "letter from dear Charles". (Diary 1.19.69; 1.24.33).

In the context of her work with girls, Eliza recorded the physical act of caring for a dying child. She related in great detail attending to Emma Louisa Clark whom she visited daily. She changed her clothes and washed her. She wrote "found Mrs. Wilson alone performing the last offices to the poor emaciated body, felt it my painful duty and trial to assist her – a perfect skeleton" (Diary 26.6.69). Eliza spent the day in making part of her shroud. She noted Emma's burial date on the 27th and on July 1st wrote an account of the young girl's life. Eliza wrote with a new immediacy of the death of this child – it was mournful, it was necessary, and it was part of life.

Significantly Eliza noted in her diary her continued work at the New Credit, as well as in Brantford. Eliza began the diary of 1869 listing words, including kinship terms, which she translated into Ojibwa. She recorded "teaching Indians" on June 1869. She remained interested as always in individuals and their cultural achievements. She wrote that she attended an Indian concert (Diary 8.12.69). She emphasized again her work as an artist: "commenced the drawing of Indians" and "busy painting commenced 'The Chieftains friend' (Diary 11.11; 23.12.69).

Eliza was seventy. Her son Peter became the Chief of the New Credit Mississauga (Diary 4.6.74). Having received his medical degree at Victoria University in Toronto, Peter became the doctor for this community, living in Hagersville, not far from his mother in Brantford. Peter supported his mother's work, visiting, for instance, Emma Louisa Cook, the dying girl Eliza nursed in Brantford. Eliza recorded that she "procured some medicine" from him (Diary 24.6.69). Eliza referred to her son, who in 1869 was twenty-five years old, as "dear Peter" and "a great comfort" (Diary 15.2.69; 3.3.70). In prayerful terms, Eliza recorded Peter's political role: "Peter came on Indian business – has had a most exciting time in council . . . May god in mercy give him a wise and understanding heart that like Solomon of old he may administer justice and go in and out amongst his people with a perfect heart" (Diary 24.5.69).

The diary also provided new insight into the challenges of daily life. Eliza, despite representing herself as impoverished, continued to employ servants, noting with more candour than usual the difficulties she experienced. During the winter of 1869 and 1870, Eliza hired Mary Simpson whose "strange conduct", the doctor suggested, was caused by "liquor" (Diary 27.12. 69). Eliza wrote one of the most disapproving entries of all her diaries about her: "Mary stupid slow and quite inattentive to her duties my patience so tried I told her she must leave next day" (Dec 29 69). Eliza gave her another chance: "Mary came while we were at breakfast I requested her to do the washing, it was a beautiful day, she put on the boiler, and left saying she would be back by - the time the water was boiling

hot – but she came not again showing what sort of woman she is" (Diary 31.12.69). This entry echoes the way many middle-class women wrote about their servants. This comment was also reminiscent of the contrast Eliza drew in her early diaries between working class individuals and the refinement of the Mississauga and the Mohawk. In previous diaries she would not have written with such pique.

In contrast to her earlier modest persona, Eliza wrote in her diaries of entering the public arena without humility. She displayed anger and resentment when one of her drawing pupils took first prize to her second in a local fair:

> . . . heard my student took the shine off me – she taking 1st prize and I second. The absurdity is of the two paintings they award the 1st prize to the one of least merit and me 2nd to one that has far greater artistic merit. With such judges I shall never send for competition again. (Diary 5.10.69).

Later she wrote that she herself became a judge at a fair (Diary 10.10.71). To publicly display her work and to act as a judge were roles that would previously have been anathema to Eliza. Her level of offence at losing first place in the art contest suggested how seriously she took herself as an artist.

Eliza wrote that Prince Arthur visited Brantford in 1869 and in her entry she demonstrated even more self-confidence in taking a very public role. On this occasion she had "the gratification of presenting him with one of the Ind. Histories – Indians danced war dance – and made the Prince a Chief – and gave him the name of Karakonda meaning, in Iroquois, the "Progress of the Sun". (Diary 1.10.69). Eliza wrote of her pride in her accomplishments, and in the

Mississauga and Mohawk community. These public roles again are in sharp contrast to the mute, painfully shy persona of an evangelical Christian that she recorded in her twenties and thirties.

Eliza expressed interest in local events, unprecedented in previous diaries in England or Canada. Eliza never before recorded the secular world around her. Her persona in her diaries was worldlier and less narrowly focused. On December 17th, 1869, she watched a fire in Brantford at 4 a.m.: "saw the roof and sides fall in poor Bates badly hurt". On the same day, she visited a woman who had been robbed. In typical diarist fashion, without a change in tone, she also noted who came to tea that day. On July 16th, she recorded that a man "shot his wife from jealousy". On August 30th, she wrote of a "poor wolf killed by the train". Fires, robbery, murder and accidental death are topics entirely new to Eliza's diary, and uncharacteristic of her previous focus on more spiritual concerns.

Eliza's diaries also focused, in detail, for the first time, on her children, much as she had on her family in her diary of 1832 and 1833. Alone, a widow, Eliza returned to writing entries as detailed as those she had almost forty years earlier when waiting for Peter to return to marry her. Her emphasis became her adult children. George, the youngest, who was twenty-two in 1869, stayed with his mother and supported her with his daily presence. As a companion George was sometimes found wanting. Eliza described how George spent Christmas of 1869 with his mother: "had a plain dinner together". She wrote that they both walked home six miles from services. On New Years Eve George went to Paris,

Ontario rather than spending the evening with Eliza, although her expectation of him are clear: "As George did not come home I spent a very lonesome evening much agitated on his return shewed him his ingratitude and thoughtless in thus neglecting his mother". The first entry Eliza recorded in the year 1872, April 21, was a "sad day", because George had left for the day.

Eliza did not address in this diary, or any other diary, the difficulties that her four sons may have faced as a result of their inter-racial heritage. Despite being chosen as Chief, her son Peter's success in the New Credit community can be read as reflecting the powerful role segregation was playing in the dominant culture.

Pursuing her work as an author and disseminator of positive information about Indigenous peoples, Eliza published *Sketch of the Life of Captain Joseph Brant, Thayendanagea*, in 1872, under her Mississauga name Kecheahgahmequa. This was the first time she publicly acknowledged having an Ojibwa name and hence an Ojibwa identity.[1] This was profound as it countered Eliza's silence about her sons' First Nations heritage and her role within it. One can construe, for the first time, Eliza's confidence to publish with her Ojibwa identity, a major development in her confidence as a writer and in developing a public voice. Publishing under her Ojibwa name legitimized her experience. In this book, she emphasized Brant's fight for title to the Brant tract.

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[1] Eliza's Mississauga name Kecheahgahmequa "the lady from beyond the blue waters" was translated by her son Charles in a letter to Lyman Draper, Brantford as noted by Donald B. Smith in *Sacred Feathers* note # 56 page 303.

She quoted Brant's mockery of the idea of "savagery": "In the government you call civilized, the happiness of the people is constantly sacrificed to the splendor of empire" (13). Brant continued: "observe that amongst us we have no prisons . . . our wise men are called Fathers; they are always accessible . . . cease, too, to call other nations savage, when you are ten-fold more the children of cruelty than they." (13). As a writer, Eliza continued her work for the rights of the people to whom she ministered. Donald B. Smith notes that Eliza won first prize for this manuscript in a contest sponsored by the *Montreal Witness* in 1872 (*Sacred Feathers*, 274). This was a significant event. Eliza's publication, a work on Mohawk rights, also validated her life-long writing as a diarist, and my conviction that she aspired to be not only a missionary but also a creative contributor as an author.

Shift in Diary Writing, England in 1863 and in 1874: "we all got in the omnibus for Christmas dinner at Hendon" (Diary 25.12.63)

New themes emerged in the diaries in two extended trips to England, the first when Eliza was fifty-nine and the second at sixty-nine. Writing with authorial confidence in her diaries, Eliza not only returned to familiar themes such as the joys of nature, long walks, frequent travel and immersion into the lives of family and friends, but she also introduced new scenes of worldly pleasures and the pursuit of religious diversity.

While in England with her sisters, Eliza wrote as if she had stepped back into her youth as she represented it in her diary of 1829-1833 (Diary ex. 18.11.63). The following entry could have been written thirty years earlier: "Miss Gooday left. Mary [sister] and I went to Sutton dear Mama and Loui [half-sister] met us Mary went to Kates [half-sister], I to Mamas, Loui exceedingly depressed – Mary came to sleep" (Diary 12.1. 63). The comings and goings between households within the day, the departure of a female guest, and Eliza's close connection to her sister Mary remained. Her half-sister Loui (Louisa) appeared to suffer from mental illness; this was a new, more open theme in her recording of the family dynamic. The female family members continued to support one another as widows and single women.

The focus of the diary in England was also on reminiscences of her youth. Eliza recorded sitting "in the very spot where 41 years ago I read my late husbands first letter" (Diary 14.2.74). Eliza reconnected with her friend Louisa Dowling and "thence walked through the Park and Spa where in days gone by I have had so many never to be forgotten walks with dear friends" (Diary 7.12.63). Recalling her brother-in-law's resistance to her marriage to Peter, Eliza reflected upon "dear John and Mary's late residence, where also I have spent happy and miserable days – Oh! how altered all those scenes" (Diary 7.12.63). These recollections were wistful.

Still robust as she aged, Eliza wrote that she continued her vigorous walks: On June 27th, "Started with [sister] Emma by train to Walnut Tree Station,

then crossed the river Taft on foot up a very steep mountain called the Garth Mountain visited an old Welsh woman who lives at the top in farm house".

While in England, Eliza returned to chronicling her on-going involvement with missionary work with the New Credit Mississauga. On June 6th 1873, she recorded, "16 young girls and 1 young ladies [sic] came to work for the mission box *History of Elizabeth Jones* read to them they remain two hours working singing, and hearing reading." Almost forty years after writing her biography of her niece Elizabeth Jones, daughter of Christiana and John Jones, Eliza read it to a new generation of young women. Her pride in her writing, her love for Peter's extended family and her adopted daughter, as well as her unwavering belief in her missionary work, are all evident in this entry.

In contrast to the pervasive rigid, evangelical Christian conviction of her youth and early mission work that Eliza had presented in her early diaries, she displayed in this diary surprisingly open, ecumenical interests. She attended the services of Quakers, Plymouth Brethren and even the Catholic Church (an earlier anathema). Miss Morgan, a Quaker, "of wealth and intelligence – she kindly doctored me for a headache took a lovely walk to see the Prospect – the Church very ancient, two trees growing inside . . . " (Diary 13.12. 63). On the same Sunday she attended a meeting of the Plymouth Brethren ". . . my name was read out as a sister from Canada wishing to worship with them – they sang, prayed and short exhortation – then the bread and wine . . . In the evening "went and heard a Baptist minister " . . . of originality of thought . . . ". Her peace of

mind is evident as she closes the diary entry: "ate blackberries from garden – there are primroses and carnations in bloom" (Diary 13.12.63). Eliza's participation in the wider community of religious practice reflected a broadening of the evangelical movement that began in the 1860s, as well as of her own conservative stance. It also suggested the influence of her proximity to Ojibwa culture.

Eliza recorded in her diaries new forms of taking pleasure such as the celebration of Christmas, never mentioned in any of her previous diaries except with her son George during the 1870s. With her step-mother, six of her siblings and their children she noted, "we all got into the omnibus for Christmas dinner at Hendon [brother John's residence] . . . reached there at 3 o'clock – splendid dinner . . . too much wine and levity" (Diary 25.12.63). Despite her disapproval, this was a rare admission of pleasure and holiday making, and the only reference to family members drinking alcohol. Eliza goes so far as to note that John read Dicken's "Xmas Carol". This is the first reference to fiction in forty years of her emphasis on evangelical Christianity in her diary.

Interestingly, on her visit in 1863, Eliza wrote her first entry displaying vanity, mentioning that: "a very lively German gentleman . . . complimented me too much by saying I looked younger than my sisters" (Diary. 21.11.63). Eliza's youngest sisters would have been in their forties, while Eliza was almost sixty. Although she rejected the compliment, she recorded it. This was out of keeping

with the reserve and modesty of the diaries of her youth and early marriage to Peter Jones.

As a reader encountering the record of secular pleasures in which Eliza engaged, it is as if one had stepped out of the narrow world of evangelical Christianity, both in the England of her earlier days and in Upper Canada, into a world of wonder, beauty and modernity. On April 28, 1874, Eliza visited an aquarium and saw an "octopus very wonderful and most wonderful and beautiful anemone" (Diary 28.4.74). On July 8, 1874, she went with her sister Kate, now forty-four, her brother Edmund, forty-two, and two of her brother Fred's daughters to a horse show in Alexander park where she witnessed "a lady thrown twice and gent once". She wrote that she went to the Crystal Palace to see fireworks and "Lynor's slight of hand" (Diary 18.10.74; 23.10.74; 24.10.74).

Cumulative themes as in Eliza's diaries are, as Hogan notes, so definitive in diary writing (100). In Eliza's case this expansion into new possibilities mark Eliza's diaries of her last trips to England as transitions from the painful diaries of the 1850's to the contentment of her life in the 1870's.

Late Widowhood 1879-1883: "baby very interesting at the social" (Diary 22.1.82)

The diaries that span 1879 to 1883, written when Eliza was approaching her eighties, are the last in the collection. The entries became more focused and solidified, reflecting Lynn Bloom's argument that a diarist creates an overall

narrative structure, despite separate apparently unrelated individual entries (1996). In Eliza's case, this narrative structure came about, in part, due to Eliza's practice of diary keeping over a sixty year period. In addition, I believe that Eliza began to focus her entries and her story-line when she started, in her late seventies, to lose her eyesight: "eyes felt very weak" (Diary 8.6.74). The diaries contain fewer entries than the detailed diaries of 1869 to 1872. Eliza's last entries encompass the memory of suffering and loss, so much the focus of earlier ones, with the hope of a future for her children and by extension for Indigenous people. In the concluding entries her narrative chronicled her son Charles' death and the birth of her first living grandchild.

She noted on March 10, 1880, that she obtained eye glasses. Because of her failing eyesight Eliza spent her last years in Hagersville nearer to her son Peter. She did not describe in her diary in whose cottage she was living, but it is likely Lambeth Cottage, her last home. Her relationship with the New Credit Mississauga community was prominent in these diaries as she harkened back to her husband's legacy, emphasized her son's role as an important Chief in the present and reflected on a lifetime of her own missionary work. She noted going to the "Indian Mission" on February 24th, 1879 in the hopes of new converts. A month later she wrote in her diary of a "most glorious meeting" she attended where "60 new converts went forward to partake of the sacrament" (Diary 16.3.79). On June 15, 1882, Eliza attended the opening of the new Indian

Council house. Eliza's diary centred on the work she and her husband Peter began.

Remaining robust, Eliza continued to write diary entries that suggested her love of travel both for religious and secular reasons. She wrote of being even more active in attending missionary conferences in her late seventies than in her early widowhood. She noted that she left Hagersville to go to Simcoe, where she attended a Female Missionary meeting on March 6, 1880, and later in June, on the 12th, she went to Woodstock to attend another conference. Travelling for secular pleasure, Eliza enjoyed her annual holiday in the summer: "spread a large shawl and squatted on the grass" (Diary 1.8.79). A week later she "started at 9 am with 300 holiday keepers on an excursion to Toronto". Her record focused on her own mobility, exceptional as she was then seventy-four.

Family members are the last major focus of these diaries – Mississauga, Mohawk and British. Eliza retained her English family connections by correspondence, especially with her full-siblings from her father's first marriage. Peter's Mississauga sister, Cathy Chechok, who Eliza introduced into the diaries when she came to help Eliza during her first pregnancy, continued to be present in Eliza's life after fifty years. Eliza wrote: "Mrs. Chechock . . . called Mrs. C gave me a pretty sweet grass basket" (Diary 27.12.82).

For the first time, Eliza wrote in her diary about presents for birthdays and wedding anniversaries. On June 1, 1879, she noted that it was her seventy-fourth birthday and her son Charles and his wife Hannah's eighth wedding

anniversary: C[harles] and H[annah] came and gave me slippers C gave H a broach. I gave C and H a bracket and sofa cushion" (Diary 31.6.79). The pleasures of gift giving were part of the on-going secular feel in the diaries, a shift away from the more rigid Methodism of the early nineteenth century. Anniversaries and birthdays, in contrast to memorializing the dead, suggest happiness.

As in Eliza's early widowhood, the relationship that stands out in these diaries is with her youngest son George. In 1879, George's lack of employment was a financial drain on Eliza's limited resources. Eliza sent him $5 on March 24th, and noted that she had given him $35 over the year. On December 8th, she shopped for him. Again she treated the everyday much as she did the significant. A year later she wrote, with characteristic brevity, that she had been introduced to "George's intended – like her appearance very much" (Diary 8.5.80).

"On the 24th of December George and I went to Peters spent Xmas day there met Mrs Flanders a Mohawk Indian, a good singer and very clever at fancy work . . .". This entry at the beginning of the 1880 diary suggests Eliza's ongoing interest in the skills of Indigenous women and the connection that informed her life and work as represented in her diary. Eliza also raised funds for an important art exhibit: "went to art exhibition in evening many rare relics some 500 or 600 years old." (Diary 2.10.82).

Eliza lost two more sons to an early death in these latter years. On March 4th, she wrote, "Dear Fred came home to die". But the death she wrote most of, and that concluded the narrative of her diary, is that of her son Charles, aged forty-three. Eliza returned to record Charles death in the evangelical Christian manner in which she had recounted Peter's death in the diary. At the back of her Exercise book Eliza wrote a lengthy record of Charles's life, similar in style to that which she wrote for Peter in the her preface to the *Life and Journals.* Charles was her eldest son and, like her, a writer. In one of his jobs, Charles worked as a reporter for the "Exposition" in Brantford. Eliza described her son as a gentle man. In his obituary she wrote: "He was not calculated to fight the rough battles of life or meet with vigor the many rebuffs to which all public men are exposed" (Exercise book). Is this a covert reference to the discrimination to which he may have been subjected? It appears that Eliza was writing a draft of Charles' life in preparation for publication.

In contrast to Charles' death, in the final diaries Eliza recorded joy at the birth of her first grandchild, the child of George and his wife Minnie: "my first living grandchild born at ¼ past 7 a fine boy" (Diary 30.4.82). On George's thirty-fourth birthday she wrote that she spent the day with Minnie and the baby (Diary 30.6.82). The baby's photo was taken on July 13th and, significantly, she wrote "baby with me in the morning" (Diary 3.8.82). She noted the following January, "baby very interesting at the social" (Diary 22.1.82). This is a small glimpse into such great joy, following so much loss.

Eliza died in 1890 in Brantford. Due to her failing eyesight she stopped keeping a diary in 1883. Eliza dictated her last entries in the diary, possibly to her daughter-in-law Hannah or her daughter-in-law Minnie. This act suggested the utmost importance of the diary to Eliza. On September 8, 1883, appear the words, "was married 50 years ago today".

The discrimination that Eliza had written of in her diaries of the 1830s had not abated in the 1870s and 1880s. Intense scrutiny and critique followed their twenty-three year marriage beyond Peter's death in 1856. Almost twenty years into their marriage, and four years before Peter's death, they continued to be ridiculed in print. Susanna Moodie, in *Roughing It In the Bush*, quoted her brother as having said to her when Peter and Eliza wed, "I cannot think how any lady of property and education could marry such a man as Jones" (Qts in Moodie 287).

In this chapter I analyzed Eliza' representation of herself following the death of Peter, her brief second marriage and her return to regular diary writing in her widowhood. Eliza managed and carefully constructed her depiction of Peter's death. A lifetime as a diary writer authorized her work as a chronicler of Peter's life and an editor and historian of Mississauga and Mohawk peoples. Eliza's depiction of her widowhood in diaries from 1869 to 1872 provided a rich portrait of a more secular time. Eliza wrote, without crossing over entries, of her strength of character, tenacity and fortitude in the face of the ridicule which she had experienced for over fifty years. Her entries suggest she was wilful, self-

centred and confident. The diaries culminate with the central persona Eliza had created as a missionary wife and fellow worker. Her diaries of late widowhood, 1879 to 1883, chronicle her on-going missionary work with her son Peter, Chief of the New Credit. Eliza crafted a persona of a resilient woman; her life was exceptional and extraordinary.

Conclusion

Eliza was a remarkable woman who left a rich corpus of work. Her diary and unpublished writing allowed me to analyze the changing functions of her writing and the persona that it revealed to me. This persona was rooted in the difficulties she faced and her ability to use her writing and diaries as a source of solace, consolation and contestation. Initially this was against her father's refusal of the marriage; later it was against the prejudice she and Peter encountered as a couple and that she saw applied against those who became her people. Diary writing, in turn, along with her experiences, gave her the determination to write more publicly to contest dominant racializing derogatory discourses. She did this from a very different location than other women interested in the place of women in Ojibwa and Iroquois societies. She moved to a more public persona from private diary writing, through publications, public speaking and prominence as the mother of the Chief. The diaries also show her becoming less evangelical over the years as was true of Methodism more generally.

I have developed a form of textual and inter-textual reading that focuses on the diary in which Eliza created narratives that both reflected and contested social conventions. I utilized feminist diary theory to develop a reading strategy that recognized the diary's potential historically while not over-emphasizing that value to the exclusion of other modes of interpretation. Reading the separate entries in Eliza's diary revealed a developing persona, one that emerged through

separate yet cumulative entries. The detail in Eliza's diaries was overwhelming and yet nuances emerged. This detail, along with repetition and reminiscence, allowed me to interpret Eliza's writing, not as trivial and impenetrable, but as the writing of an author crafting a narrative of her remarkable life and her representation of her adopted Mississauga family's' humanity and history. This is the major and most significant contribution of my dissertation to feminist scholarship.

Diary theory informed my reading of Eliza's diaries of 1832 and 1833. Eliza shaped these diaries around her mother's death, her inspiration for missionary work and her engagement to Peter Jones. Eliza's began writing diaries at a unique juncture in British and Canadian colonialism. Evangelicalism flourished in England with abolition, an increased interest in Indigenous peoples and missionary expansion. This context legitimated her determination to become a missionary and to marry a Mississauga man. Eliza, an evangelical Christian, wrote of herself as weak and powerless. Nonetheless her diary entries suggest freedom to travel, to study and to participate in the social causes of the day. Eliza's negotiation of these apparent contradictions suggests they may have been overdrawn in feminist scholarship. This is also an important contribution of my dissertation.

Eliza also struggled against prejudice and class structures to pursue the life of her choosing. Eliza's narration of self and others in her diaries adheres to

the ideals of early nineteenth-century evangelical Methodism, while at the same time challenging "racializing" imaginings of the other.

In Eliza's diaries of 1833 to 1835 it is evident that life as a missionary afforded her life experiences that far exceeded the opportunities available to most nineteenth-century European women. This is another major contribution of my dissertation. Missionary work informed Eliza's self-representation in her diaries; she wrote with growing confidence. While Eliza's opportunities for self-expression and political involvement were circumscribed by forms of patriarchal control within Methodism, her participation was significant. By the early nineteenth century women were no longer allowed to preach, and much of Eliza's work was accomplished through promoting her husband as a great man and Methodist preacher. The writings and biographies of missionaries such as Ann Judson offered a model for Eliza's future. I explored the parallels and contrasts between Ann Judson's and Eliza's preparations for life as a missionary wife. While Eliza's dominant diary narrative was one of evangelical Christian work, her personal ambitions as a writer and missionary were evident, and underlay her persona of duty and deference.

I explored the ways Eliza used her diary as a place to work out a new voice and a different biography for herself in the new context of life in Indigenous communities as a missionary wife. While Eliza was intent on working to end the nomadic lifestyle of the Mississauga people and to transform their religious beliefs, her diary and published writing sought to counter the discriminatory

denigration of Mississauga and Mohawk men and women. Her diary was a place where they were visible, significant and intelligent. Eliza developed a persona as one who imagined and then led a life of missionary fulfillment. This persona is reflected in her representation of herself as a writer who was compassionate and empathetic.

Eliza and Peter's religious identity gave them the opportunity to push against gender and racial barriers of their day. Mississauga gender complementarity also played a major role in their ability to contest gender barriers. Their decision to marry was a challenge to the derogatory and prejudicial discourses of the time. I examined how Eliza and Peter wrote about Indigenous masculinities in general ways that countered these discourses as well as how Eliza and Peter valorized his masculinity and manliness. In addition I examined how they countered the dominant representations of Mississauga and Mohawk women as "squaws" and "drudges". I concluded my analysis by arguing that, in using her diary to insist on the success of their marriage and their relationship, Eliza addressed and countered the effects of prejudice on them. Eliza and Peter both wrote of their investment in the success of their marriage. Others undermined their relationship and forecast failure.

These public depictions of the couple focused on differences – they occupied difficult positions as cultural mediaries between settlers and Mississauga and Mohawk peoples. Eliza and Peter simultaneously fought discrimination while seeking converts to Christianity. Eliza and Peter wrote both

privately and publicly to counter this ignorance and the understandings of gender and sexuality that their marriage and missionary work evoked. Their collaborative role as cultural intermediaries was rare and my analysis provides insight into their particular shared understanding. A further contribution of the dissertation is exploration of Eliza's lived experience within Mississauga culture that informed her written critique of stereotypes and discriminatory practices

Eliza wrote in her diaries from 1833 to 1835 about her Mississauga and Mohawk female kin and friends from her specific position within the community. This exceptional position informed how Eliza wrote in her diaries about life and death at the Credit Mission and her first two first pregnancies and children's deaths. Her respect for Mississauga and Mohawk women was profoundly influenced by this support. Eliza's more assertive persona in her diaries was directly related to these close links. The depth and range of her depiction of her interaction with these women was exceptional and is an important contribution of my dissertation.

Eliza was a social reformer in terms of race relations throughout her life as depicted in her unpublished and published work. Her diaries of widowhood, from 1869 to 1883 are more revealing, less evangelical and focus on the secular world. Peter's death, in 1856, marked a change in Eliza's diary entries and in her representation of herself. In her early widowhood she moved to numerous homes in Brantford, Ontario, and then entered into an unhappy second marriage. Her diaries of widowhood from 1869 to 1883 are the richest of the collection,

second only to those that she wrote as a fiancée. In the 1870s, a more secular age, Eliza wrote extensive daily diary entries detailing her mission work, visiting, and relationships with her adult sons. Eliza represented herself as engaged in her work in the community of Brantford, and the New Credit reserve where her son Peter Edmund became Chief. She wrote not of piety but of her temper, her pride and her openness to new experiences. Eliza's final diaries, from 1879 to 1883, reflect concerns about money, an even greater attention to her sons, and a yearning for Peter.

A lifetime as a diary writer authorized Eliza's work as a chronicler of Peter's life and an editor and historian of Mississauga and Mohawk people. In these last diaries Eliza wrote, without crossing over entries, showing her strength of character, tenacity and fortitude. She crafted a persona in these last diaries that was bolder and more transparent. She represented herself as wilful, self-centred and confident.

Together Eliza's diaries tied together her life narrative as an aspiring missionary, a partner with Peter in that work, and her reflections and reminiscences on a life of service, hardship and exceptional determination. Eliza wrote as a recorder of her marriage to an important Mississauga chief and leader. Peter's central role in the diary is evident, but not so as to suggest the diary was a testament to him. Rather Eliza stands out as the recorder of her own history, as a woman with missionary aspirations who chose a life of hardship and

struggle, one she valorized in her diary and in her published work. She wrote herself into the historical record as an important woman in her own right.

In taking Eliza's words seriously, our understanding is deepened of the historically specific forms of discrimination suffered by women, but especially by Indigenous people. This dissertation has explored the forms of prejudice prevalent when Eliza wrote and notes the ways in which Eliza both co-opts and resists that language. After the abolitionist movements of Eliza's youth, there was a brief moment when the focus shifted to Indigenous peoples. Although both Eliza and Peter were subject to the intolerance of their time, which included romantic ideas of the "Noble Savage", Eliza struggled against this characterization throughout her life.

This thesis contributes to studies of life-writing, by showing how narrative strategies on the part of a diarist create particular selves and new forms of understanding. Eliza Field saw the world from a unique perspective, and she understood her family's place in that world differently than her contemporaries. She wrote into her diary new ways of being. I imagined the past from her point of view, in which new forms of womanhood and social relations between diverse cultural groups were entertained.

Eliza tells a story in her diaries about her self, her husband and her family. It is a story about love, travel, and survival in Upper Canada. It is also a story about faith, ingenuity, and inter-racial relations. The diaries of Eliza Field were written at a critical point in British colonial history, as settlers and Indigenous

North Americans were negotiating relations and building new communities in Upper Canada. In many respects the lives of Eliza and Peter Jones disrupt the standard story of colonialism, which tends to focus on the terrible exploitation and hostile relations between the two communities, which are almost always imagined as separate. Eliza Field and Peter Jones, an English woman and a Mississauga man, imagined things differently. They believed Mississauga and Mohawk people were worthy of land rights, educational opportunities and historical attention. Together they lived a life of mutual respect and shared convictions. Peter's life has been told. Their story, as shaped by Eliza in her diaries, is worthy of our attention. This dissertation sheds light on Eliza's life as she depicted it in her diary and published works.

Eliza is significant as a woman who occupied a unique place in the history of colonialism in Canada, Methodism and in the changing dynamics of race, class and gender across her lengthy life.

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